

THE
SIEGE OF PARIS

BY AN
AMERICAN EYE-WITNESS

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PREFACE.

IN presenting this volume to a generous public, the author desires to state that he was in Europe in 1870, 1871 and 1872, while the fierce struggle for supremacy between France and Germany was in progress and while other important events were taking place on the Continent :

In Paris seven months, during the last days of the Empire of Napoleon III. and during the whole of the Great Siege ; in Berlin two months, during the demonstrations on the return of the conqueror, William I., Emperor of Germany ; in Paris a second time at the close of the Insurrection by the Commune, and in Paris a third time after a tour through Spain, Italy, Austria, South Germany and Switzerland.

He has, therefore, made an effort to represent the French Capital in a series of chapters during these eventful years. He has also given brief sketches of the movements of the contending forces in the Departments and of the great battles in which a million Frenchmen resisted unsuccessfully the advance of a million Germans.

In the meantime the Italian army advanced upon Rome and bombarded the city ; Pope Pius IX. surrendered the last vestige of his temporal power and declared himself a

prisoner; Victor Emanuel II. was proclaimed king over all Italy; his son, Amadeo, was crowned King of Spain, and the French Republic was established under the presidency of Louis Adolphe Thiers—all of which are referred to as results of the great war.

In the preparation of the several parts or chapters, the basis of which is a series of letters, the historical order and style of the correspondent have been retained. The illustrations are the work of French and German artists. The following works have been freely used :

Gouvernement de la Défense Nationale, par M. Jules Favre; L'Illustration; L'Effondrement de L'Empire par M. Rolla; Le Siège Prussien, du Même; Paris-Commune et le Siège Versaillais, du Même; Mémorial Illustré des Deux Sièges de Paris; Rapports Militaires Officiels du Siège de Paris; La Science pendant le Siège de Paris; La Musique pendant le Siège de Paris; Etude sur la Mortalité à Paris pendant le Siège, par Le Docteur H. Sueur; Paris Assiégé par M. Jules Claretie; Le Siège de Paris par M. Sarcey Journal du Siège, par Madame Edgar Quinet; Les Deux Folies de Paris; Paris Livré par M. Gustave Flourens; Le Comité Central et la Commune; Vollständige Geschichte des Deutsch-französischen Krieges von 1870, Von Karl Winterfeld, etc.

R. L. S.

Carlisle, Pa.

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PRINCE LEOPOLD.

FIRST PART.

BEFORE THE SIEGE.

CHAPTER I.

LONDON, AUGUST 2, 1870.

Rumors of War at Queenstown and Liverpool—Visit to Scotland and Ireland—Arrival at London—Excitement in Paris.

THE declaration of war against Prussia by the French government, the movement of large armies, and the certainty of a serious conflict have disconcerted the plans of many American tourists. Some have already returned home, whilst others are preparing to do so. Being myself one of the number whose plans have been completely upset, I can appreciate, as never before, the quaint words of Scotland's favorite poet:

The best laid schemes o' mice an' men,
Gang aft a-gley.

It is now a full month since I sailed from New York, my chief object having been to visit some of the larger cities and hospitals of Europe, and to return in the early spring. The noble ship on which I embarked—the City of Paris—was crowded with representatives of all professions and occupations—Roman Catholic clergymen bound for the Ecumenical Council at Rome, Protestant missionaries

and their families for India and China, merchants for London, and tourists for all parts of the Old World.

We reached Queenstown, in less than nine days, after a delightful voyage, though I was a stranger to all on board. Here the Dublin newspapers gave us the first intimations of excitement in Paris, and of the possibility of war. Another twenty-four hours and we were safely landed in Liverpool—a city of merchant kings, great docks, great warehouses and six hundred thousand inhabitants.

It was a beautiful day, and I spent the greater part of it in obtaining a bird's-eye view of the city and its surroundings. A lovely evening ensued and with it, between nine and twelve o'clock, there was a total eclipse of the moon—a rare occurrence—and, according to the comments in the newspapers, millions of people in Europe gazed upon the phenomenon with anxious forebodings, regarding it as the forerunner of national disaster, possibly to France, possibly to Germany.

The next day I hastened off to the Cumberland lakes, in the north of England, and to Edinburgh, where I spent a week and became greatly interested in antiseptic surgery as practiced by Prof. Lister in the Royal Infirmary, thence to Glasgow, the Island of Iona, and to Fingall's cave; afterwards through the north of Ireland, the home of my ancestors, and to Dublin.

Weary and worn out, but perfectly enchanted with the life of the tourist, I find myself at this date in a comfortable French hotel in the center of London. The all-absorbing topics of conversation and discussion in the great city, and in both houses of Parliament, are the relations of Her Majesty's government to the continental powers, including, of course, the condition of the British army and navy.

But let us return for a moment to the 5th of July, at which time all Europe was at peace; there was nowhere

to be seen in the political sky a single cloud. The three great empires of the north and east—Russia, Turkey and Austria—were quietly watching the movements of the other members of the great family of European nations; nevertheless the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria was busily engaged reorganizing his army. Switzerland, in the deep gorges of the Alps, studied only the arts of peace. Italy was divided, Pius IX. being in Rome, and Victor Emmanuel in Florence, each jealous of the other. The Holy Father had called together the representatives of the Roman Catholic church and was taking his seat at the head of the great council, whilst the good king at Florence was working with the patriotic Garibaldi for the union of the Italian states. Spain on the south was without a king and without a queen, and was looking about for a foreign prince to set upon her vacant throne. England, independent and mercenary, was guarding, with her immense fleet, the Straits of Gibraltar, the Dardanelles, and the Indies. Prussia on the north, ambitious and artful, was playing a game of euchre with France—Count Bismarck against Napoleon III.—two of the shrewdest politicians of the day. The cards were turned with unusual dexterity and with mutual suspicion. A pretext for a quarrel was found, and the hour for trying the temper of the French people was at hand. Suddenly, as a flash of lightning, there came to Paris, through the French ambassador at Madrid, the following brief dispatch: “His Majesty, the King of Prussia, has nominated Prince Leopold King of Spain.”

The nomination was soon after announced on the boulevards and printed in the journals. It was believed; it was disbelieved; it was discussed; it was denounced as an outrage. *Jamais! jamais!* Never! never! shall the House of the Hohenzollern take the place of the Bourbon! Never shall a German prince sit upon the throne of

Charles V.! Never shall the barbarians of the north furnish kings and princes for the Latin race! These sentiments were freely expressed on the boulevards, in public meetings, and in the daily journals; and in a few hours afterwards were printed in the London newspapers.

The next day, July 6th, Duke Gramont, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, called upon in the House of Deputies, made the following statements :

“It is true that the Spanish throne has been offered to a prince of the Hohenzollern family, but the people of Spain have not yet expressed their sentiments. We know not what will be the result of a negotiation which has been concealed from us.

“France has not yet determined upon a complete neutrality in regard to the several pretenders to the throne of Spain. She has not exhibited sympathy for, or aversion to, any one of them. We do not believe that the respect which is due to the independence of a people will oblige us to permit a neighboring nation to take possession of the throne of Charles V., nor will we permit a foreign power to disturb the equilibrium of Europe to the disadvantage of France.”

These deliberate statements were received with intense emotion and with demonstrations of approval. A discussion of the subject would have ensued had the President of the Assembly not united with the Minister in an urgent request to delay until further information could be obtained.

The temper of the House being thus tested, the Duke hastened to prepare instructions which were to be telegraphed in cypher to the French ambassador at Berlin. But the affair at this juncture, though serious enough, assumed a somewhat amusing appearance. The weather was hot, and every one interested seemed to be on a vacation, except Marshal Prim of Madrid. The King of

Prussia was already at Ems, drinking the water of the springs, and recuperating his health. Count Bismarck had retired to his farm at Varzin, and, it is said, refused to answer dispatches until his hay was gathered in. Prince Leopold, supposed to be in command of his brigade in the little army of Sigmaringen, was preparing to spend the summer in Switzerland. There was great excitement in Paris at this time, and much gossip was circulated in the newspapers. The Prussian Chancellor declined to make any statement, and Duke Gramont was obliged to direct the French ambassador at Berlin, Count Benedetti, to go to Ems, and seek an explanation from the King himself.

On the 13th, the Minister of Foreign Affairs appeared in the Senate and, in response to a call, replied:

“I have the honor to make, in the presence of the Senate, the following statements:

“The Spanish ambassador informed us officially yesterday, that Prince Leopold has declined the Spanish throne. Our negotiations with Prussia, which relate only to this subject, have not yet terminated. It is, therefore, impossible to submit to the Senate, and to the country, a general exposition of the affair. At present, we have nothing further to add.”

A reaction was now beginning to set in, and demonstrations of peace were made on the boulevards, as there had been demonstrations of war. The republican journals were beginning to criticise the ministers and ambassadors, and those of communistic tendencies to indulge in the comical and ridiculous. But the next day the situation of affairs was completely changed. Dispatches were received from Ems, stating that the King of Prussia had refused to receive Count Benedetti as ambassador of France, and a Paris journal received in London contains these words: “The hour is solemn! War is inevitable! And what a war!”

In the evening of the 13th a council of ministers was held in the Tuileries, the Emperor presiding. At the same time the news spread throughout the city, and the greatest excitement prevailed. The *Marseillaise*, which the people had not heard in public for many years, was chanted by old and young, and the demonstrations began in earnest.

The reader will recall the fact that the fugitive Isabella, on account of the revolution in Spain two years ago, was forced to take refuge in St. Sebastian, a fortified place in the Bay of Biscay. Recently she has been in Paris, and the leading French politicians—Bonapartists and Bourbons—have been in sympathy with her. They have not only been opposed to the republican movement in her distracted country, but to the nomination of a German prince. The republicans in the Spanish Cortes have not been able to govern the country, and Marshal Serrano has been chosen regent in the interregnum. In spite of the almost superhuman efforts of their recognized leader, Castelar, they elected last year only thirty-five deputies.



Prinz

CHAPTER II.

LONDON, AUGUST 4, 1870.

The Kindness of an English Lord—The Houses of Parliament—
Movements of Armies—Prince Leopold—Declaration of War—
The Ecumenical Council.

IN my hasty tour through the north of Ireland a few days ago, I had the pleasure of an interview with an English gentleman at Dragheda, where I had put up for the night. We met at the breakfast table—a passing acquaintance of course—and from one topic to another the conversation turned upon the recently emancipated slaves in our country. What are their prospects? Can they be educated? Will they provide for themselves? These questions contain the substance of his inquiries. The remarks which I made in reply were in favor of the emancipated freedmen, and were received with apparent satisfaction; and as we were about to separate, he said: “Perhaps I can be of service to you as you are going to London.” At the same time he took from his pocket a card and pencil and wrote: “Admit the bearer to the House of Lords.” I accepted his kindness with thanks, and turning the card saw with surprise in beautiful scrip, “Lord de Ros;” another admitting me to the Tower of London, of which he had charge, and we bade each other good-bye with a hearty shake of the hand.

At three o'clock this afternoon, I presented the card of my lord to one of the guards at the entrance to the House of Commons, and at the same time my own with the

request that the former be returned, as I desired to make use of it in gaining admission into the House of Lords. In a few moments an usher was detailed who conducted me to a front seat on the gallery, and took pleasure in pointing out to me the distinguished members of the House. The old custom which requires the officers to wear wigs and gowns, and permits the members to sit with their hats on, is still retained, though I noticed that a few, possibly those more democratic in their feelings, were willing that the spectators in the gallery should have an opportunity to study the shape of their heads.

After a number of subjects had been disposed of and several speeches had been made with frequent interruptions of Hear! Hear! from different parts of the hall, the Prime Minister, Hon. William E. Gladstone, was announced, and as reliable information had reached London during the early hours of the day, that the French troops had crossed the frontier at Sarrebruck, every eye was turned towards him, and silence for the moment reigned. He stood at a distance from the speaker of the House,—tall, straight, intellectual,—and spoke with a clear voice, assuring the representatives that Her Majesty's government had thus far advocated a strict neutrality in relation to the impending struggle between France and Prussia, and that this policy would be adhered to, unless there should arise complications which no one could foresee.

The Secretary of War was then called upon for remarks, and numerous questions were asked and answered. In like manner the Secretary of the Navy was interrogated as to the number of vessels at hand and their condition. Some of the questions proposed would have appeared impertinent under other circumstances, but they were entertained in view of a possible and sudden emergency.

At five o'clock the House of Lords convened, and I was conducted to a comfortable seat in the gallery in which

there were scarcely more than a dozen of spectators. The hall is rectangular and plain, and the gallery small, evidently designed for the accommodation of a few persons who may be favored with tickets of admission.

About fifty of the noble lords were present, including four or five bishops, who sat, in white gowns, on the right of the chancellor. Lord Granville, who is Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Earl of Derby, and the Duke of Argyle, took a leading part in the discussions and business of the session. One of the bishops spoke. There was no haste, for I observed that time was given for conversation between the speeches and motions that were made. At the close of the meeting Lord Gray commenced to read a dry report on the subject of education, which drove the dukes and the earls to the lobbies, and myself to my hotel on Golden Square.

The latest news from the continent shows that events have crowded upon each other with unusual rapidity. The French army has apparently moved upon Germany in three columns. Marshal MacMahon, commanding the right, is in the Valley of the Rhine; Marshal Bazaine, commanding the center, has his headquarters in Metz; and Marshal Canrobert, commanding the reserves, is in the neighborhood of Chalons. The Germans, in like manner, have moved upon France in three columns, crossing the Rhine at Coblenz, at Mayence and at Speier. General Steinmetz commands the right, Prince Frederick Charles the center, and the Crown Prince of Prussia the left. South Germany has united with North Germany against France; and the young King of Bavaria has placed a large portion of his army under the command of the Prussian Crown Prince. The French have about four hundred thousand men in the field; the Germans have about six hundred thousand. General Frossard has crossed the frontier at Sarrebruck, but has been driven back; and it is reported

that the army commanded by General Steinmetz is advancing upon Forbach.

But let us return to the 13th of July, when all hope of a peaceful adjustment disappeared. Eight days of suspense for the French people had elapsed. The rocket thrown into the air had exploded. The Germans regarded it with satisfaction; the French people with fear. The King of Prussia kept his secret long enough for the anger of both nations to rise. In the meantime the press enflamed the worst passions of the bitterest enemies. Misrepresentation and revenge took the place of reason; and what is worthy of notice is this, that both sovereigns, in their addresses to the representatives of the people, appealed to Almighty God to witness the justness of their cause.

The war between France and Germany originated, as we have intimated, in the negotiations for a successor to the throne of Spain. Marshal don Juan Prim, a brave soldier, had been entrusted with these negotiations. He had been made Count of Rêus by Queen Christiana, and Marquis of Castillejos by Queen Isabella; at present he is Minister of War in the interregnum, or regency, of Marshal Serrano. He had offered the throne to the Duc de Montpensier, to Prince de Gênes, to don Fernando de Portugal; more recently he offered it to Prince Leopold. France would have acquiesced in the nomination of any of the former, but she could not endure the thought of the Spanish government passing into the hands of a German prince. It was enough if the influence and rivalry of her ancient enemy should be felt on the north. She became for the moment insane!

Whether Marshal Prim addressed his communications to Prince Leopold or to his father, Prince Anthon, is not clear; nor is it certain that the King of Prussia received communications from Marshal Prim, though he no doubt was consulted by Leopold.



M. OLLIVIER.

An editorial which appeared in a Paris journal ten days afterwards reads as follows :

“Last Friday (July 15) M. de Gramont, in the Senate, and M. Emile Ollivier, in the House of Deputies, read a communication which was listened to very impatiently and which resulted in a declaration of war.

“This communication, carefully prepared in council and expressed in nearly the same terms in both houses, informs us as to the nature and result of the late negotiations with King William at Ems. It is proper to make an exposition of these negotiations, because history will attach to them the origin of the gigantic strife which commences.

“The European powers have generally admitted the justness of our claims on the subject of the candidacy of the Hohenzollern prince to the Spanish throne. But the Cabinet of Berlin was unwilling to recognize the claims of France, pretending that they were ignorant of the affair and that the Prussian government had nothing to do with it.

“M. de Gramont was therefore obliged to turn to King William. The King confessed that he had taken part in the scheme of M. de Bismarck, and that he had authorized the Hohenzollern prince to accept the candidacy. But he added that he had acted in the affair as chief of his family and not as sovereign. Here, truly, is a distinction which places in the background all the distinctions of philosophers.

“In the meantime our government received from the ambassador of Spain the news of the renunciation of the Hohenzollern prince. This non-acceptance reached us on the 12th of July, and we arrived at an issue which we certainly did not expect.

“Our Minister of Foreign Affairs then asked King William, through M. Benedetti, to acknowledge the renunciation and to make an engagement, if the crown was offered to the Prince again, to decline a recognition of it.

The request was certainly legitimate, and it was intended to save France and Europe from the return of similar disturbances.

“The King of Prussia refused to enter into an engagement of this kind, and stated to M. Benedetti that he wished, in this as in other matters, to reserve for himself the right to consult the circumstances.

“This took place before the rupture. The negotiations were therefore not abandoned by M. de Gramont until information was received again and again at Paris that the King of Prussia had refused to receive our ambassador, that he had transmitted this refusal to him by an adjutant, that the Cabinet of Berlin had officially informed the powers of this fact, and that M. de Werther had received an order to leave.

“After intrigue, refusal to admit our just claims! After refusal, outrage! It was too much! Since the insult offered by the Dey of Algiers France has not undergone such a humiliation. It remained only to recall our ambassador and to appeal to the sword to safeguard the interests and honor of France.

“This declaration was received in the Senate with the greatest enthusiasm, and the high assembly went solemnly to Saint Cloud to bear to the Emperor the expression of their patriotism and entire devotion.”

On Wednesday, July 20, a formal declaration of war was presented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and adopted with enthusiastic demonstrations. It reads as follows:

“GENTLEMEN: The exposition which was made in the House of Deputies on the 15th inst. has shown that the causes of war which we maintain against Prussia are just.

“According to usage and by order of the Emperor I have directed the chargé d'affaires of France to make known to the Cabinet of Berlin our resolution to demand, by the use of arms, the guaranties which we have not been able to secure by discussion.

“This step has been taken, and I have the honor to make known

to the House of Deputies that in consequence a state of war exists between France and Prussia, beginning on the 19th of July.

"This declaration applies equally to the allies of Prussia who take up arms against us."

M. de Wimfen, secretary of the Prussian Embassy in Paris, it is said, was requested to present this declaration of war to the Cabinet of Berlin. At the same time there appeared in Paris and in London the address of the King of Prussia, before the honorable members of the Reichstag of the North German Confederation, whom he had hastily called together. The third paragraph of this carefully prepared address reads as follows :

"The candidacy of a German prince to the throne of Spain has furnished the government of the Emperor of the French people a pretext for laying down, in a manner unknown for a long time to diplomatic usages, a cause of war. The confederated governments have had equally nothing to do with the inception or the abandonment of this candidacy, and the North German Confederation had no other interest in it than a desire to see the government of Spain, a country a long time distracted, attach to the candidacy the guaranties of a regular and pacific government. The candidacy also furnished the pretext, after its disappearance, for maintaining a cause of war with a contempt for the rights of nations to the benefits of peace, of which the history of France already furnishes examples."

It is understood, of course, that this is diplomatic language. The King, his cabinet, the confederated governments and Leopold are all innocent as babes! No one is responsible north of the Rhine. The evidence is wanting. Such is the argument of the King. The address has pleased the Germans, but it has intensified the hostility of the French people.

At the same time several bills were introduced into the House of Deputies, and pressed through without

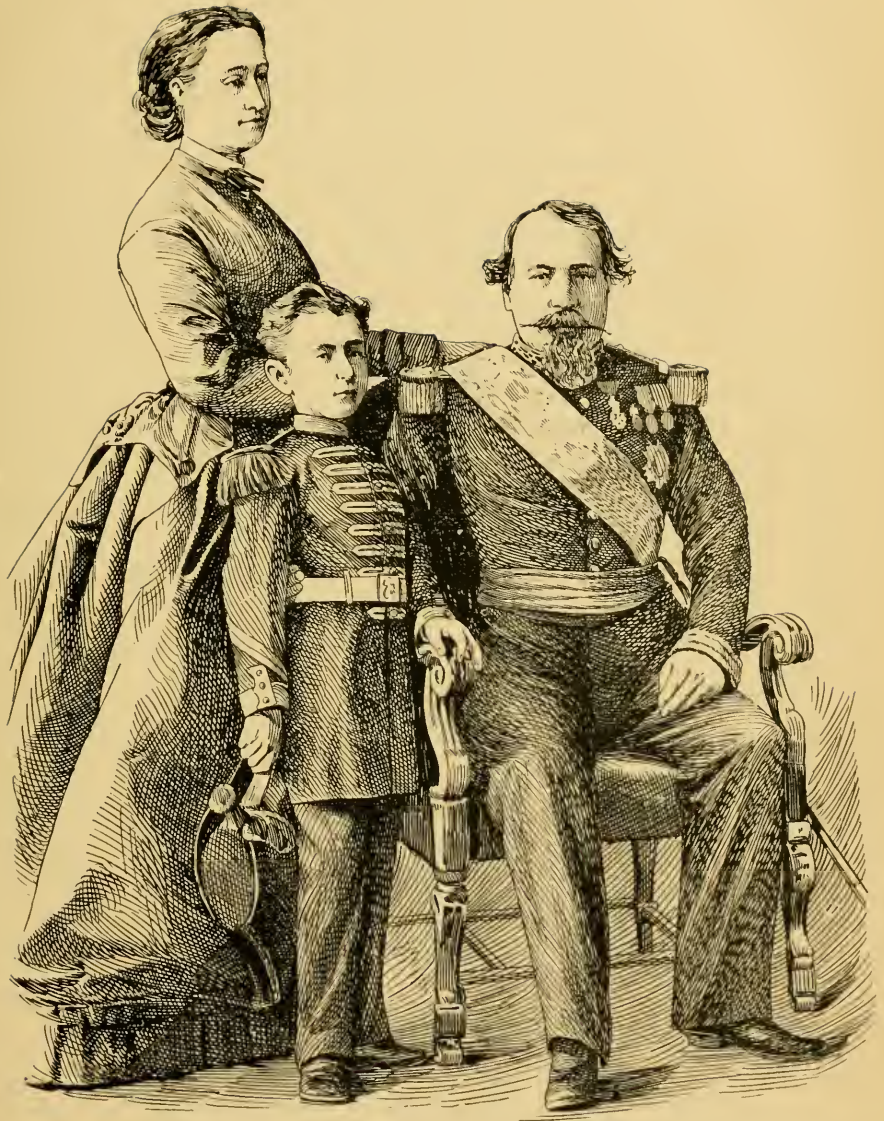
discussion, under the plea of urgency, a few republicans voting in the negative, as they had voted against the war. The contingent of ninety thousand reserves which had been agreed upon, was raised to one hundred and forty thousand, and five hundred million francs were voted to carry on the war.

One of the subjects which was nervously discussed in the French journals at the time was the possibility of complications. Will Prussia be alone? If so, France has nothing to fear. Will Bavaria unite with the North German Confederation? The French people are unwilling to believe it. What will be the attitude of the other empires on the continent? If Austria should join France against Prussia, what will Russia do? Can England maintain the neutrality she has declared? And if not, which side will she take? These topics were turned over and over again and discussed in every possible shape.

In the midst of the excitement on the continent, and the movements of armies, the Papal infallibility dogma was announced at Rome. The council voted, in the affirmative five hundred and thirty-eight, in the negative eighty-eight; in the affirmative conditionally, sixty-five. The new doctrine, though adopted by a large majority, and announced with great solemnity, has fallen upon Europe like a November shower. It has scarcely been noticed. The war is the all-absorbing topic.

It is intimated in the journals that the Emperor Napoleon III., in consequence of its adoption, recalled the French troops from the Pontifical states; but it is more than likely that he has done so because he is convinced that he will have need of them on the frontier.

As I have become greatly interested in the war upon the continent, I have concluded to postpone my visits to the London hospitals, and to hasten on, as soon as possible, to the French capital.



THE EMPEROR, THE EMPRESS AND THE PRINCE IMPERIAL.

CHAPTER III.

BOULOGNE, AUGUST 7, 1870.

Six Men-of-War in the Channel — Sketch of Napoleon III.—
Extracts from Paris Journals—Excitement in Paris.

DURING my brief stay in the metropolis of England, I spent a few hours in the Tower of London, the British Museum, the Houses of Parliament and the Crystal Palace. In the latter, while looking at a collection of arms, which are on exhibition, together with many other articles of trade, useful and ornamental, as well as costly, I unexpectedly fell in with a classmate, Dr. S——, whom I had not seen since graduation day in 1856. The Prussian needle gun and the French Chassepot, apparently attracted us to the same spot, in the immense crowd which filled the Palace, the beautiful gardens and park. As it happened, he had set out with much the same objects in view as myself, wishing to spend a year or more in the great cities and hospitals of Europe. This morning, after obtaining a passport from the Honorable John Lathrop Motley—an instrument which has suddenly become a necessity, we separated, hoping to meet, in a few days, in the French capital, he going as a delegate to the annual meeting of the British Medical Association, and I in haste to the continent. I preferred a sail on the Thames, and accordingly, took the first boat, and arrived here as the sun was going down.

The accommodations for the traveling public, across the Straits of Dover, I must say, are of the meanest kind. A rickety freight and passenger boat, loaded down to the

water's edge with fat cattle, horses and swine in the hold, merchandise and produce in the steerage, and men, women and children of every grade in the saloon, is all that the travel and trade between England and France, at this point, will afford. It was painfully certain too, as the white caps rose on the channel, and the salt spray dashed over our boat, that there was neither life-boat nor life-preserver on board, by which any one of us could have been saved, had an accident occurred.

The passage of six French iron-clads, steaming up the channel in front of us relieved somewhat our sense of danger. These men-of-war, going, no doubt, to bombard some of the towns and forts of Germany, on the north, though black and sullen, presented, in the bright sunshine, a grand appearance, and a group of Frenchman, returning from England, on our boat, could not refrain from making boisterous demonstrations.

Under the Empire of the first Napoleon, Boulogne became noted as a rendezvous for the French army. Here the Emperor constructed an immense harbor or basin, and flat-bottomed boats, in which he proposed, at some favorable moment, to convey his army across the straits, and thus invade England. Had fortune continued to favor him, he, no doubt, would have embarked on this daring enterprise. The basin remains, as a monument of his folly, but the boats have long since disappeared.

His nephew, the present Emperor, is now on the frontier, at the head of a larger army than his distinguished uncle ever commanded; and the latest news confirms the reports of two days ago, that his forces have been defeated. But on this point the French journals are silent.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was born in Paris, April 20, 1808. His father was Louis Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon, and by him was made King of Holland. His mother

was Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of General Beauharnais and Josephine.

After the fall of the Empire of Napoleon I., and the restoration of the Bourbons, the Bonapartes were required to leave France. During the reign of Louis XVIII. and Charles X., the young Louis lived with his mother in Bavaria, in Switzerland, and in Rome. Forced to change his residence by an order of the Pope, on account of a movement which was made in his favor, he returned to Paris, in 1830; but the new king, Louis Philippe, ordered him to leave the city at once. He begged the privilege of being allowed to enter the army as a common soldier, but this boon was denied him, and he was obliged to seek an asylum on the shores of England. He preferred, however, to return with his mother to Switzerland, where he devoted several years to the study of political economy and military science. He took part in the insurrection of Strasbourg, and for this act of insubordination, after an imprisonment of ten days, was sent to South America in a French frigate.

But the restless spirit of Louis Napoleon would not allow him to remain at so great a distance from his native country. He reached New York, intending to make a tour through the United States and Canada, but hearing that his mother, to whom he was much attached, was seriously ill, he immediately set out for Europe. The ex-queen lived but a short time after his arrival in Switzerland.

In 1840, we find him, in London, at the head of a company of daring spirits, among whom were General Voisin and Count Montholon. Securing passage on an English vessel, the *City of Edinburgh*, they crossed the straits, landed at this place, and raised the tri-colored flag on a hill called the *Colonne de Napoleon*. The town was

thrown into an intense excitement; the National Guard was called out, and three hours after, overwhelmed by superior numbers, he and all his followers were in the prison of Boulogne. When brought before his judges, in September of the same year, he delivered a most eloquent address, explanatory of his conduct. His boldness produced such an effect upon the people of Paris that Louis Philippe dared not execute the full rigor of the law. He was, however, sentenced to perpetual incarceration in the castle of Ham, one of the strongest and gloomiest prisons in Europe.

Near the close of the year 1845, his father, the ex-king of Holland, made a touching appeal to Louis Philippe to allow his son, Louis Napoleon, to visit him in his last illness. The king consented to release him on this condition, that he would renounce all claims to the throne of France; but the Prince declined the offer, preferring to remain in prison. The father died in Leghorn, without embracing his son.

The next year, assisted by two faithful servants, he procured a smock-frock and a pair of wooden shoes, and having shaved off his mustaches, he took a plank on his shoulder, and keeping it before his face, in broad daylight, passed through the guards and escaped to London.

When the revolution of 1848 broke out he started immediately for Paris, and was among the first to give his assent to the provisional government; but his friends advised him to return to England, until order was restored. In his absence he was elected to the National Assembly, as representative from three separate districts, all of which he declined in a letter addressed to the President of the Assembly. He was afterwards elected by the Department of the Seine, and this time he considered it his duty to accept. The 10th of December was set apart for the election of a President for the Republic, and Prince Louis

Napoleon received nearly five millions and a half of votes out of seven millions and a half.

On the 2d of December, 1851, after a successful administration of three years as President, he announced his *coup d'état*. During the night three placards, on official white paper, were placed on the walls—an address to the people—an address to the army—and a decree dissolving the National Assembly, declaring a state of siege, establishing universal suffrage, and ordering an election to be held between the 14th and 21st of the month. Two hundred and thirty representatives were arrested—Legitimists, Liberal Monarchists and Republicans; and some of them were exiled. Several hundred citizens were imprisoned and shot. The revolution was effected in three days; the barricades, erected by the people, were removed and order was restored. The President was elected chief of the nation for ten years, but he immediately assumed the title of Emperor. His announcement of universal suffrage bewildered the people. Nearly nine millions of ballots were cast in his favor; no one opposed him.

January 19, 1853, Napoleon III. was married to Eugenie, the Countess of Teba. The ceremony was performed in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, with all the splendor of the First Empire.

Under his administration France has become rich and powerful. He has governed the nation with a strong will. His cabinet consists of ten ministers, the Senate of one hundred and seventy-five members, and the Council of State of sixty. All these are named by himself. The House of Deputies is composed of five hundred and some odd representatives, elected by the people.

The splendor of his court, the interest he has taken in public works, in agriculture, in manufactures, in commerce, in education, in the fine arts, in the increase of his revenues, the re-organization of his army, the improvement of

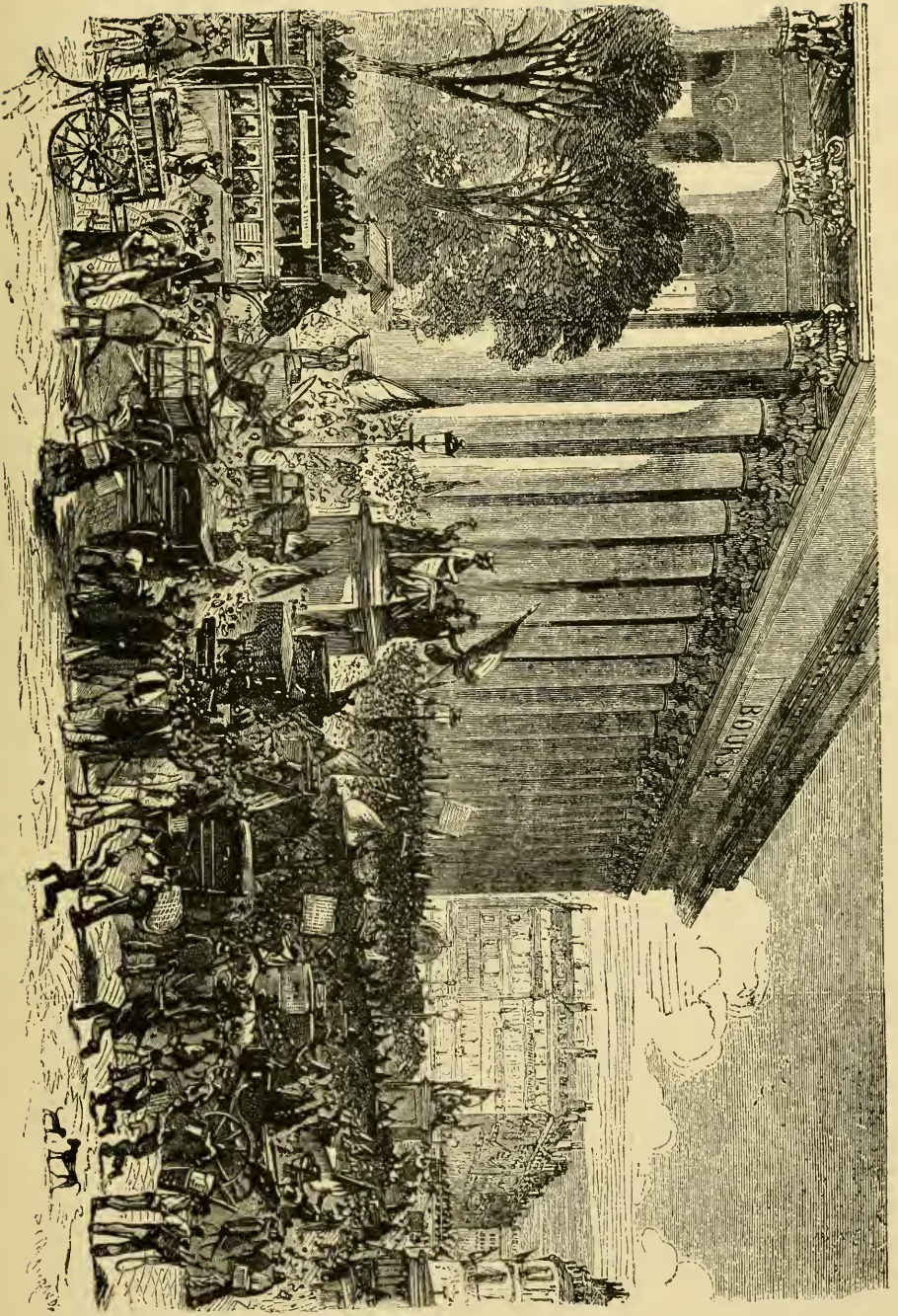
Paris, the liberal expenditure of money, and his fidelity to the Pope at Rome, have all contributed to his popularity and success; but at the same time have increased the natural vanity and arrogance of the people. His ministers at home, and his ambassadors abroad, have not failed to exhibit these national traits; and the press of the country, always too self-confident and vain, has excited a jealousy in Europe which has culminated in war.

At no time in the history of the French people have their dominant characteristics been so foolishly exhibited as in the last few weeks. It is even said of the Emperor that he has lost his head (*perdu la tête*). We would naturally suppose, that the ministers, the senators and the ambassadors of a great nation would preserve their mental equilibrium in trying circumstances; but they have been, apparently, the first to yield to passionate demonstrations. The intense feeling which has permeated all classes of the Parisian population during the last month may be best represented by a few extracts from Paris journals; I translate the following:

“Friday at one o’clock, M. le duc de Gramont, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, made a patriotic speech in the Senate, giving in detail the negotiations which terminated with an insolent response—a response which Prussia has dared to send officially to the cabinets of Europe.

“Under the eloquent speech of the minister, the august assembly was transfigured. The venerable senators were agitated, their hearts rejuvenated. Bravos and plaudits were repeated. I do not know what currents electrified their souls, running from hall to tribune, and from tribune to hall; but the entire Senate, as the minister pronounced his last word, rushed towards him, to make, as it were, an ovation. The gauntlet thrown down by Prussia was taken up!

“In this issue, we consider it a duty to make mention of this extraordinary scene, which was equivalent to a



THE BOURSE.

-declaration of war. It was an exhibition of rare occurrence. One of the oldest secretaries said of it:—I have never seen its equal in the thirty years I have been in the Houses of Parliament. A noble form, that of M. le duc de Gramont. We hear it said, by every one around us: ‘He is an orator.

“Let us recall the memorable day of the Bourse, the 13th of July. From morning to night it was war, and a decline of stocks; it was the end of the world! On the previous day, M. Ollivier had announced peace, and stocks ran up.

“See the crowd of thirty thousand promenaders, curious people, speculators, capitalists, going, coming, excited, panting—more agitated than the surf of the sea.

“What shocking times! Good God! Let us buy! Let us sell! Buy? Sell? Countenances change every hour, every minute, every second. The bulls and the bears, on the same day, are crushed like straws.”

“Scarcely had the *Constitutionnel* published, Friday, July 15th, a double-leaded article, in which the exclamation occurs—‘The soldiers of Jena are ready!’ than the physiognomy of Paris was changed.

“Crowds in the streets inquiring the news, and engaging in comments without end.

“Crowds in the *cafés* discussing the thousand incidents of the day.

“Crowds at the kiosks, snatching up the newspapers, whose numerous editions are not sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the people.

“Crowds in the evening on the boulevards chanting patriotic songs, and making demonstrations of war against Prussia.

“All Paris is out! Paris, the city of great crises and great days; and the war—a dreadful thing—is entered upon as a holiday. Sallies of the people from the faubourgs; idlers making an insulting use of the word *Prus-*

sien; crowds everywhere; violent discussions; and in the midst of these ebullitions, patriotic demonstrations by the people, filing along the boulevards with music and banners, chanting the *Marseillaise* at the top of their voices.

“We had an excellent opportunity to witness some of these exciting scenes.

“Hold; see that column which passes the corner of boulevard Montmartre—a spectacle I shall never forget—a deafening noise which overpowers one! On the pavements and in the middle of the streets, a perpetual movement, people going and coming.

“There, two thousand young men marching, hats off and hands up, chanting the *Marseillaise* in a style its author, Rouget de Lisle, never dreamed of. Carriages, equipages, omnibuses are stopped, and on the top of these vehicles clusters of human beings leaning over the chanting columns. On other boulevards similar exhibitions are witnessed; they sing—I say it myself—with the heart and they feel it.

“In the evening we witness another scene. A sailor—everything is found in Paris—a sailor takes up a flag, and suddenly a thousand comrades are at his heels. Torches are necessary cries a youthful patriot of fifteen. How will you light torches when there are none? Ah! you do not know the boys of Paris, if you stop at so small an affair as this. The boys of Paris have no such word in their vocabulary as impossible. Give to one of them a segar, and he will say, ‘Thank you, I will smoke, and my companion will spit.’ Torches! calls out a sprightly figure; here they are! In a moment they think of the brooms of the good city of Paris, and immediately they are steeped in oil and lighted.

“Multiply these scenes by one hundred and you have an idea of the demonstrations which have been made in all parts of the city during the last week.

“Paris, as well as Berlin, has had its demonstrations of

peace. Several thousand workmen with white flags appeared in the boulevards. At brief intervals they raised the cry, *Vive la Paix! Vive la Paix!* At the same time, other columns, more enthusiastic, intoned the *Chant des Girondins*. But see how these columns behaved. The police of the city, wearing three-cornered hats, were greatly enraged. In the twinkling of an eye, while the columns were passing each other, the white flags were seized and the ranks were broken. The municipal officers united with the patriotic battalions, and the scene was changed into a demonstration of war.

“All who witnessed the departure of our troops for the frontier, will agree that the grand words, *La patrie et la gloire*, have lost nothing by the Empire. We were present, and can truly say, that the departure of each regiment was an affecting scene. The soldiers were literally lost in the multitude of enthusiastic spectators. Patriotic songs, bands playing the national airs, twenty thousand citizens uniting in the chorus, the like of which has not been witnessed since the days of Solferino.

“Saturday last I saw two regiments passing along boulevard Sebastopol—the Ninety-fifth and the Eighty-first. They had come from Fort Montrouge, and were going to the Eastern railroad station. What a spectacle! Thousands at the windows, streets filled with men, bands playing the *Marseillaise*, deafening applause at every crossing, shaking of hands, bouquets, acclamations, cries resounding—Down with Prussia! On to Berlin! Long live France!

“Wednesday, July 20th, at midnight a military band passed along rue de Rivoli, and took the boulevard Sebastopol, playing the *Marseillaise*. An immense crowd followed chanting the chorus. It was the Imperial Guard going to the railroad station. The enthusiasm increases every day.”

CHAPTER IV.

PARIS, AUGUST 9, 1870.

From Boulogne to Paris—First Impressions of the City—Battles on the Frontier—Extraordinary Excitement—The Empress Regent in the Tuileries.

YESTERDAY morning I left Boulogne and reached Paris in the afternoon. The distance by the way of Amiens is one hundred and forty miles. We had a delightful day, and a pleasant ride through a rich and beautiful country interspersed with thriving towns and villages. The chief objects of attraction were vineyards, small fields without fencing, rich meadows, forest lands, beds of peat, immense stone quarries, as well as furnaces, mills, and workshops, all of which indicate the thrift and industry of the people.

Making our first excursion through a foreign country, we criticise or admire what is presented to the eye. This is especially true when the improvements in the arts of civilization are very different from those to which we are accustomed. In France, for example, as well as in Great Britain, we enter the railroad cars at the side and are locked in. In case of a collision or a fire none could escape. The accommodations of an American railroad are wanting. The conductor, at the risk of his life, passes along outside, unlocks the door or raises the window in it, and punches the tickets. In this part of his work, it is said, he becomes an expert, holding on to the train night or day, rain or shine. The brakeman sits in a box at the front end of the car, with his head above the train, and communicates with the engineer.

We were placed in a section of the car, called in France a *compartiment*, with seats for eight persons, in the style of a stage coach. In England the cars are indeed called coaches; in France wagons. Each car contains four or five sections, and is borne along on four wheels. I had tried the second and third class cars in Great Britain and Ireland, and had found in the former well-dressed ladies and gentlemen; in the latter, business people whose object it is to save a penny. I had found also in the latter, well-dressed gentlemen, clergymen, merchants and politicians, who are not, generally speaking, afraid of contamination. But on this occasion I purchased a first-class ticket, which I somewhat regretted when I found that my guide book, published by Harper & Brothers, New York, and by the way a very good one, informed me, in the playful style of the author, that no one except princes and fools entered a first-class coach. There was this advantage, however, as I discovered before we had gone far, that we would not be crowded, and I would not be smoked to death.

Reaching the French capital, I soon found an obliging cabman, who drove me to the hotel I had selected near the center of the city. A franc and a half is all that the law allowed him to receive for his master or the company, but he was not unwilling to accept, on his own account, as many *pour boire* centimes as I had a mind to give. This custom of adding a few pennies is not an ungraceful one, as it invariably elicits, in return, the compliments and kind wishes of a dependent and useful class of citizens.

This morning the proprietor introduced me to a gentleman, who is a professor of languages, a courier, or *valet de place*, as the occasion requires. I immediately engaged his services in these several capacities, and we have just returned from our first tour through the city, going as far as the Triumphal Arch, Auteuil and the Bois de Boulogne on the west, and Place de la Bastille and Place du Trône

on the east. We preferred the top of the omnibus for an excursion of this kind, and had frequent opportunities, above the crowds in the streets, of witnessing scenes which are beyond description. It is impossible to exaggerate the grandeur of Paris in a clear day. The broad boulevards, the beautiful white sandstone buildings five, six or seven stories high, and the magnificent works of art, coming into view at every turn, produce a first impression which can never be erased from the memory.

The professor was born in Prussia, speaks English well, and has resided in Paris twenty-five years. He is genial and intelligent, and, at the same time, a great admirer of the French people and of Paris. Unfortunately for him, he is ill at ease, fearing that he may be ordered to leave the city at any moment.

The news is not favorable for France or the Empire. It is believed by many that the Emperor will not return to Paris unless victorious. The excitement, which has been intense during the last three weeks, is becoming fitful. Anxiety is taking the place of enthusiasm. Regiments are moving forward to join the larger divisions of the army, and new corps are about to be organized. But it seems to be impossible to obtain reliable information from the frontier. Until yesterday no dispatch was given to the people from the Emperor, except the following, and we suspect that a part of it was manufactured in Paris :

METZ, August 2, 4.30 p. m.

The Private Secretary of the Emperor to His Excellency the Minister of the Interior :

This morning, at eleven o'clock, the French troops had a serious engagement with the Prussians. Our army advanced, crossed the frontier, and invaded Prussian territory. Notwithstanding the fact that the enemy occupied a strong position, a few battalions were sufficient to take the heights which control Sarrebruck, and our artillery drove the enemy from the town. Our movements were so well directed that our losses were few. The fighting lasted until

one o'clock. The Emperor was present, and the Prince Imperial, who accompanies him everywhere, has been baptized with fire in the first battle of the campaign. His coolness and presence of mind in circumstances of danger are worthy of the name which he bears. The Emperor returned to Metz at four o'clock.

This dispatch reads like a description of a holiday affair. The Emperor and his son (a lad thirteen years of age) set out in the morning from Metz, fight a pitched battle, defeat the enemy, and return in the evening well pleased with their achievements. The newspapers have criticized it severely; the communists ridicule the prominence given to the Prince Imperial. One asks how it happens that the Prussians are so easily whipped.

In the afternoon of the 5th inst., it was announced that the French troops under command of Marshal MacMahon were defeated at Wissembourg—the same that I had read in the English journals. The information came through army correspondents. One writer commenting on the news, says:

“We decline to give a description of the painful feelings which seized the people in all quarters of the city. They read, read again, comment upon and discuss this telegram of sorrow and blood. Five hundred prisoners taken! One piece of cannon lost! General Douay killed in battle!

“The people assemble in the streets and become more and more excited. Crowds collect everywhere in the evening. The boulevards, Place Vendôme, Place Beauvau, the Grand Opera and the kiosks attract the people of every class, crying out—The news! The news!”

The professor informs me that frequent altercations have occurred between the foreign residents of German birth and the French people. In our excursion he drew my attention to several placards, which indicate the bitter feeling that already exists. On the doors of business houses

are seen in large letters—"Closed on account of insult to France!" "Closed until after the taking of Berlin!" And on the walls—"Death to Prussians!" "Death to traitors!"

"In these ebullitions of the people," says a graphic writer, "what do we hear? One and the same voice.—Down with Prussia! In the faubourgs, on the boulevards, at the offices of the ministers, groups of men are engaged in animated discussions, and as they separate it is always with this patriotic sentiment—'To-morrow Wissembourg will be avenged!'"

To-morrow comes, but the scene changes. The news of the disasters on the frontier produces an unexpected result. A few paragraphs from the same writer will best describe the scene.

"In the suppressed feelings of the heart there is a spirit of revenge, and the imagination takes fire. Every one confidently expects the moment to come when victory will be announced. In the early part of the day a rumor to this effect is circulated; but those who take the pains to inquire find nothing in it. At the ministry? Nothing. At the Havas agency? Nothing. In the journals? Nothing. The people pass the time impatiently until the Bourse opens, and there, in the whirl of excitement, the rumor takes a fresh start. It is passed from one to another and is believed; it circulates rapidly and becomes more and more pronounced.

"Suddenly a shriek escapes from the multitude famishing for news. A young man rushes into the excited crowd. He throws out a paper. It is a dispatch; a victory! In a moment its contents are in every mouth—MacMahon is victorious! Fourteen cannon captured! The Crown Prince a prisoner! Landau is taken!

"See the electricity of the news! In the twinkling of an eye Rue Vivienne, the neighboring streets and the boulevards are decorated! Flags are hung out from all the

windows. Capoul, a well known opera singer, chants the *Marseillaise* on the steps of the Bourse. Madame Maria Sasse, in an open carriage, chants it in the boulevards, and the crowds join in the chorus. Joy universal! Delirium!

“The people, exhausted at last, inquire what all this is about. The dispatch! Whence has it come? Who brought it? Who signed it? Where is it placarded? Search is made everywhere; questions are asked; and the only evidence is a loose sheet of paper thrown out by an unknown youth.

“To the ministry! shouted the crowd. And immediately a column of excited people hasten off to Place Beauvau. M. Chevandier de Valdrôme, at the Department of the Interior, affirms that he has received nothing since Wissembourg. M. Emile Ollivier, the premier of the government, returning from St. Cloud, declares that he has received no dispatch.

“The conclusion is that the report is false, and, soon after these demonstrations of triumph, the spell is broken. A bitterness of feeling, indescribable, succeeds. The deception produces painful sensations in the heart like the ferment of rage.

“A vehicle soon after circulates in the boulevards, with this inscription on a board nailed fast to a pole—‘The author of false news has been arrested!’

“Very poor satisfaction indeed,” continues the same writer. “What does it amount to? The act is done and everyone asks, if Paris, great in former times, is to become the laughing-stock of Europe.

“At the place of the Bourse, the hue and cry against the speculators and gamblers is universal. Close the Bourse! Stock-jobbing is a disgrace to the country! No more of the Bourse during the war! Alas! this would be a mistake, for it is the market that feeds everything else.

The German speculators are obliged to leave the Bourse ; the police save them from the mob.

“ At the gates of the ministry, the same demonstrations, the same violent discussions. A proclamation of the government announces that the ministry will hereafter publish all dispatches received from the army of the Rhine.

“ Immense crowds assemble on the Boulevard des Italiens and on Place Vendôme. The *cafés* are overflowing, the kiosks are surrounded, speeches are made in the club-rooms, orators criticise the government. The crowds are going, coming, excited and anxious to learn the news.

“ And what do we find in the midst of these surging multitudes of Frenchmen? Patriotism the most generous, the most sincere, the most devoted. But the ministers are afraid of the crowds, and they issue an order to disperse them. Do they not pour oil upon the fire? They make mistake after mistake.

“ On Place Vendôme there are troops of the line, municipal guards, and national guards. Happily the national guards are in command. Citizens understand citizens. The crowds disperse gradually, little by little. Each one retires to his home painfully impressed, and says, in his heart, ‘ To-morrow we will certainly have a victory!’ ”

August 7th came and with it much that was not expected. During the night the Emperor sent a dispatch which has been given to the people in part. It reads as follows :

METZ, *August 7th, 12.30 a. m.*

Marshal MacMahon has lost a battle. General Frossard, upon the Sarre, has fallen back. His retreat has been effected in good order ; all can be regained.

NAPOLEON.

Other dispatches were received a few hours later, but they have not been given to the public in full. One

sentence especially attracts the attention of the people :
 " To hold our position here, it is necessary that Paris and France consent to great efforts of patriotism."

The Government immediately issued a proclamation, which closes with the following paragraph :

Our duty is plain. We appeal to the energy and patriotism of all. The Senate and House of Deputies are convoked. Paris must be put in a state of siege. Let there be no hesitation, no divisions. Our resources are immense. Let us fight with resolution and our country will be saved.

By order of the Empress Regent.

EMILE OLLIVIER,

Keeper of the Seal, Minister of Justice.

PARIS, August 7, 1870, at 6 o'clock a. m.

The names of the other ministers of the Imperial Cabinet are added, viz :

Duc de Gramont, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Chevandier de Valdrôme, Minister of the Interior.

Segris, Minister of Finance.

General Dejean, Minister of War (ad interim)—

Marshal LeBoeuf, being with the Emperor.

Louvet, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.

Admiral Rigault de Genouilly, Minister of Marine.

Plichon, Minister of Public Works.

Mège, Minister of Public Instruction.

Maurice Richard, Minister of Letters and the Fine Arts.

De Périer, President of the Council of State.

Until this morning the Empress remained in the Royal Palace at Saint Cloud, where the Emperor, after his proclamation to the people, left her on the 28th of July. The palace overlooks the southwest side of the city, about a mile distant from the walls. It is a magnificent summer residence, the favorite resort of Marie Antoinette, surrounded with beautiful gardens, and a park twelve miles

in circumference. It has been inconvenient for the Ministers, residing in Paris, to confer with the Empress, and hence she has returned to the Tuileries. We give her first proclamation in full :

FRENCHMEN: The beginning of the war has not been favorable to us; we have been repulsed. Be firm in this reverse, and let us make haste to repair our loss. Let there be only one party among us, that of France; one flag, that of national honor.

I come into your midst, faithful to my mission and to my duty. You will see me first in danger, ready to defend the flag of France.

I adjure all good citizens to maintain order. To produce disturbance will be to conspire with our enemies.

Issued at the Palace of the Tuileries, August 7, 1870, at 11 o'clock A. M.

The Empress Regent.

EUGENIE.

This proclamation has produced a favorable impression. There is a certain amount of heroism in it which pleases the French people. It is apparent, too, that there is need for prompt and harmonious action in the several departments of the government.

At the same time the Empress issued two decrees in the usual form, signing them herself; the one convoking the Senate and House of Deputies on the 11th inst.; the other declaring the Department of the Seine in a state of siege.

Two other decrees appeared in the afternoon signed by the Empress. One calls into the service all able-bodied citizens between thirty and forty, who are not actually enrolled in the home national guard; the other changes the day for the meeting of Parliament to the 9th inst.

This unpropitious day—the day after my arrival in Paris—closed with crowded boulevards, much criticism and severe threats. The Emperor, Marshal LeBoeuf, M. Ollivier and the German speculators received their full share of abuse.

August 8th the ministers, after a wakeful and anxious

night, issued two proclamations. One is addressed to the people of Paris; the other to the people of France. At the same time there appeared a report from the Minister of War ad interim, addressed to the Empress giving an account of the available forces of the country, including marines, portions of regiments in France and Algeria, the *gardes mobiles*, *francs-tireurs*, and home national guards, amounting to four hundred thousand, all of which may be brought into active service in a few days. The report concludes with these untruthful statements: "France is able to arm two millions of defenders; their guns are ready, and there will still remain a million in reserve."

We conclude this communication with a brief telegram, which has just been published. It is possibly a mere extract given out to relieve the anxiety of the people:

METZ, August 7, 3.55 *p. m.*

The enemy does not follow Marshal MacMahon with vigor. Since yesterday evening the pursuit has been abandoned. The Marshal is concentrating his forces.

NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER V.

PARIS, AUGUST 12, 1870.

Sentiments of the People Changed—Emperor's Farewell—Senate and House Convene—Ignorance as to the Situation of the Army—Fall of the Ministry—Crowds Assemble in the Boulevards.

AS already intimated the German residents and tourists are leaving the city; the feeling against them is becoming more and more pronounced. Some indeed have been badly treated. At the Bourse, on the boulevards and in the saloons, frequent altercations have occurred, and it is reported that two or three have lost their lives. My genial friend, the professor, has received an order to leave the city at once, and a free pass has been given to him. Coming to me this morning to bid me good-bye, he said with tears in his eyes: "Doctor, I must leave Paris to-day. Beautiful Paris! I will never see Paris again." He had visited the larger cities of Europe when a young man, had spent several years in London, in New York and in Philadelphia, but most of all he loved Paris; and now, after a residence of twenty-five years, he is forced to leave. His knowledge of languages and his familiarity with the city—parks, gardens, monuments, churches, art galleries and institutions of learning, as well as the government—have made him a valuable companion and *valet de place*. On taking leave of him, I could only say, *Adieu, bon ami*. God bless you.

During the last few days a great change has taken place in the sentiments of the people of Paris. Apparently no one had allowed himself to think of the possibility of dis-

aster ; all were jubilant and confident of victory. Now we see at the head of the columns of the leading newspapers "LA PATRIE EN DANGER." Defeat after defeat has occurred—Sarrebruck ! Forbach ! Wissembourg and Reichshoffen ! Generals Colson, Abel Douay and Raoult killed or dying ! The army retreating all along the line, from Thionville on the west to Strasbourg on the east !

Before the declaration of war had been formally agreed upon, the eight corps, which represent the greater part of the French army, were moving northward to take their places on the frontier. They were commanded by the following officers : The First, Fourth and Sixth by Marshals MacMahon, Bazaine and Canrobert, and the Second, Third, Fifth, Seventh and the Imperial Guards by Generals Frossard, Admirault, Faily, Felix Douay and Bourbaki. From the disposition of these forces, scattered along the frontier, at inconvenient distances, as it is said, the conclusion has been reached, that no definite plan was agreed upon by the Emperor and his minister of war, Marshal LeBoeuf ; at any rate, this is the criticism which is now freely indulged in. But the important facts in the case must not be overlooked ; we must do justice to the Emperor and his minister, though neither of them has had any experience in directing a great campaign.

There can be no doubt that their intention was to invade Prussia through the narrow province which touches upon France at Sarrebruck. The territory of Bavaria must not be crossed, as this would provoke an alliance between the North German Confederation and South Germany ; and to throw a large body of French troops into the valley of the Rhine, with Bavaria on the north and Baden on the east, would likely produce the same result. Roman Catholic France did not believe that Roman Catholic Bavaria would unite with Protestant Prussia. In this the Emperor and the French people were mistaken.

In this too we have an instance of race affinity triumphing over religious sentiment.

But to return to the distribution of the French forces on the frontier we find that four corps were placed in advance. Marshal MacMahon and one division of General Felix Douay's corps were on the right in the valley of the Rhine, the former having his headquarters at Strasbourg, General Admirault on the left with his headquarters at Thionville; General Faily in the right center, with his headquarters at Bitche, and General Frossard in the left center, with his headquarters at St. Avold. In the rear were General Douay at Belfort, Marshal Bazaine and General Bourbaki at Metz, and Marshal Canrobert at Chalons. Bourbaki has command of the Imperial Guards.

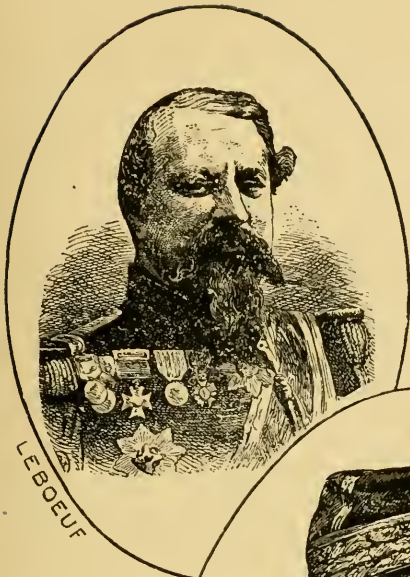
Brief sketches may here be given of the leading officers of the French army.

Marshal Le Boeuf, the Minister of War, was educated at a polytechnic school. He was president of a committee on artillery, but did not limit his studies to this specialty. His affability and politeness which drew around him many friends, commended him to the Emperor, though he has shown no superiority in the field.

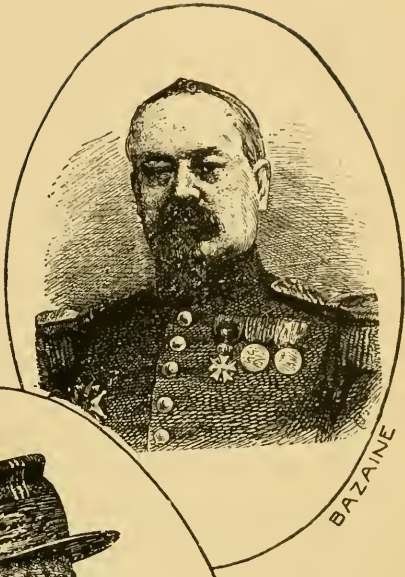
Marshal McMahan, known as the Duke of Magenta, is sixty-two years old. He distinguished himself in Algeria, in the Crimea and in Italy, and is regarded as a great military leader.

Marshal Canrobert is sixty-one years old. He became distinguished in Africa for courage and devotion. In the Crimea and in Italy, he added to his reputation and became a corps commander.

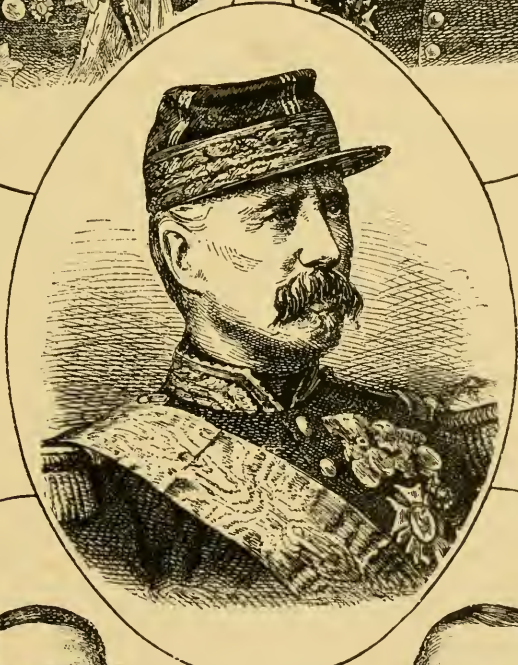
Marshal Bazaine is fifty-nine years old. He was educated in a polytechnic school. From a brigade general in the Crimea, he rose to a division general, and after the battle of San Lorenzo, in Mexico, he was created a marshal.



LEBEUF



BAZAINE



MAC MAHON



ADMIRAL



FROSSARD

General Frossard is sixty-three years of age, is president of the committee on fortifications, governor of the Prince Imperial, and commander-in-chief of his military school. Everywhere, in Rome, in Algeria, in the Orient and in Italy, he has exhibited the highest qualities of the engineer as well as of the soldier.

General Bourbaki is fifty-four years old and is well known in the army as a bold and fearless leader. His rapid advancement has been the result of superior talents, education and courage in battle.

General Failly is sixty-two years of age. In the Crimea, but more especially in Italy, in the affair of Mentana against the Garibaldians, he gained a reputation and was promoted.

Brief sketches of others who have become more or less distinguished as corps, division and brigade commanders might be given, but of these we shall only mention Generals Admirault, Felix Douay, Trochu, Ducrot, Vinoy, Lebrun, Desvaux, Rose, Pourcet, Vergé, Castelman, Uhrich and Picard.

On the 23d of July, the day on which the Senate and House of Deputies adjourned, the Emperor invited the deputies to meet him in one of the halls of the Tuileries. M. Schneider, taking the lead, conducted them to the place of meeting; and after a few remarks of congratulation, his Majesty addressed them as follows :

GENTLEMEN: It affords me great pleasure, on the eve of my departure for the army, to thank you for the patriotic assent you have given to my government. A war is legitimate when it is made with the approbation of the representatives of the people. You have done well to recall the words of Montesquieu: "The real author of war is not he who declares it, but he who makes the declaration necessary." We have done all in our power to prevent strife, and I am able to say that the entire nation, in its irresistible strength, has dictated our resolution.

I confide to your care the Empress who will call you to her as-

sistance, if the circumstances require it. She will discharge the duties her position imposes upon her courageously. I take with me my son. He will learn, in the midst of the army, to serve his country.

I have confidence in our arms, and am resolved to prosecute the work which is entrusted to me; for I know that France is with me and that God will protect her.

On the 27th, the Emperor issued a decree giving full authority to the Empress to act as regent in his absence, and the next day before leaving St. Cloud he issued a proclamation to the people which closes as follows:

FRENCHMEN: I am going to place myself at the head of our brave army which is animated by patriotism and a love of duty. I take with me my son, notwithstanding his youthfulness. He knows what are the duties which his name imposes upon him, and he is ready to share the dangers of those who fight for their country. God bless our efforts. A great people who defend a just cause are invincible.

NAPOLEON.

At the same time he left with the Empress a proclamation to the fleet which she soon afterwards read on board the *Surveillante* at Cherbourg an act of courage and devotion to the government for which she has been much praised.

Early in the morning of the 28th the Emperor started for the frontier. He was accompanied by the Prince Imperial, his cousin, Prince Napoleon, who resides in the Palais Royal, his private secretaries, and attendants, and a portion of the Imperial Guard. He was received with enthusiasm as he passed from town to town on the railroad and when the train reached Metz, he was placed in a four-horse chariot and drawn through the streets as if returning from a great victory. A correspondent gives the following account of his reception.

METZ, July 29th, 1870.

The Emperor arrived here at six and a half o'clock. He was welcomed at the station by the Prefect of the Department of the

Moselle, the municipal authorities, Marshal LeBoeuf, Marshal Bazaine and many others.

After a few moments, the Emperor ascended an open carriage with Marshal LeBoeuf. A hundred mounted guards preceded and followed. In a second carriage came *en suite* the Prince Imperial and Prince Napoleon. The cortege passed through the streets crowded with people. From the start, at Rue Serpenoise, the enthusiasm was indescribable. His Majesty and His Imperial Highness submitted to a real bombardment of bouquets thrown from the windows. In the evening there was a reception at the hotel of the Prefecture which was fitted up for the occasion, and I am informed that a council of war was held.

"To-day His Majesty, His Imperial Highness and Marshal Le-Boeuf have gone to visit the army." * * * *

The Emperor has entered upon the campaign, not as Cæsar on horseback, not as the first Napoleon surrounded by his Marshals, but as an invalid, for such he really is. He has no experience as a military leader, He has never been a marshal, or a general, or even a colonel; and yet he has assumed command of the entire army. What the result will be, no one can tell. Thus far under his leadership, there has been only disaster and humiliation.

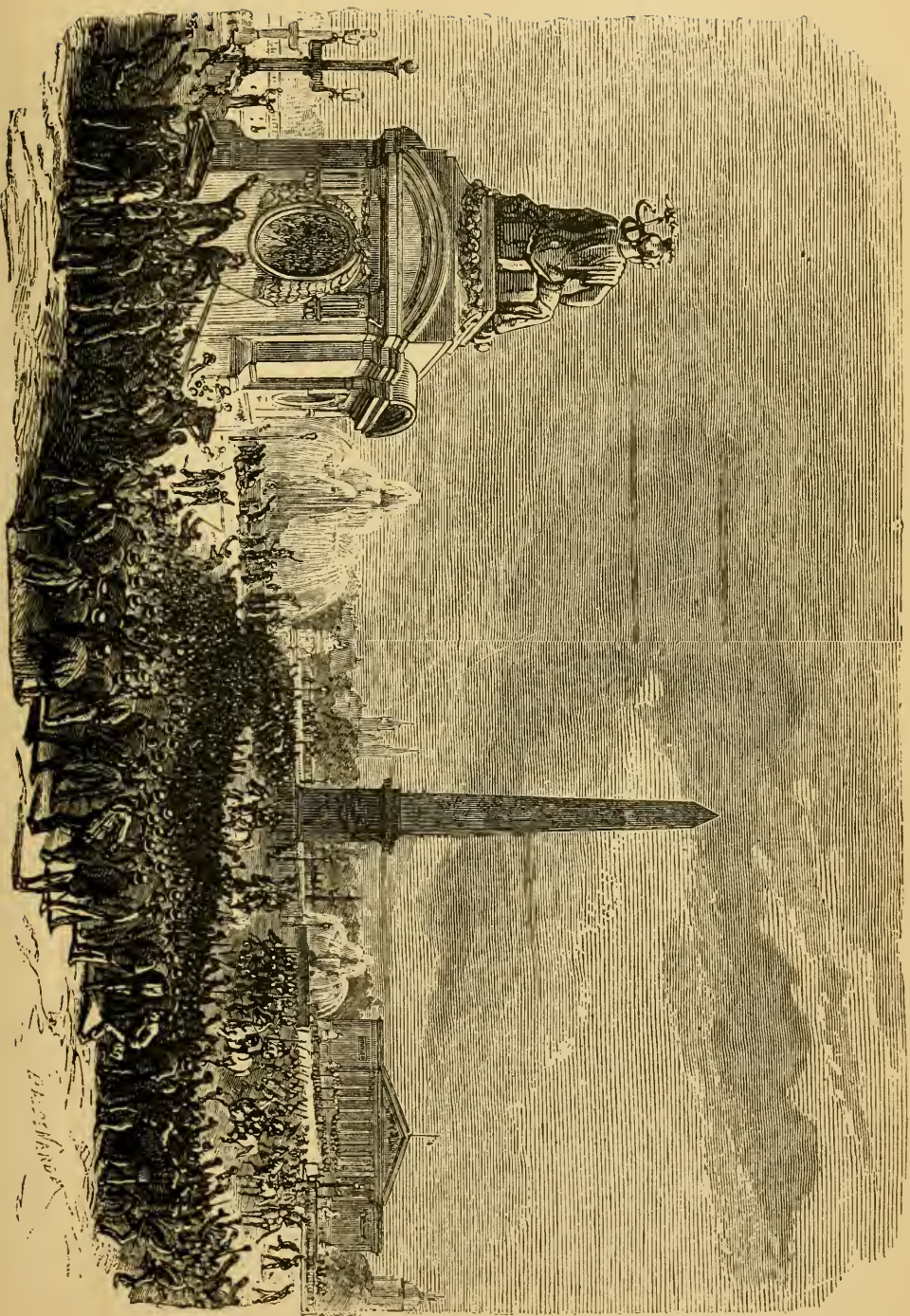
To invade Prussia without touching upon Luxembourg on the one hand or Bavaria on the other, was no doubt the original plan of the Emperor; and this could only be done, as we have intimated, by crossing the line somewhere between Sierck and Forbach. But the union of the German states which was not expected, required him to modify his plans, to distribute his forces, and to assume an attitude of defense. Why he should on the 2nd inst. throw a small portion of his army across the frontier at Sarrebruck, and thus precipitate a conflict when his forces were scattered is a question not easily answered. Ignorance, presumption and treason have all been suggested as an explanation. Some boldly assert that the Emperor has become insane; others that the Minister of War, Marshal LeBoeuf has been well named—that he is stupid as an ox.

The Senate convened in the Palais de Luxembourg on the 9th inst., in accordance with the decree of the Empress. In like manner the House of Deputies, known in France as the Corps Legislatif, convened in the Palais de Bourbon. The Representatives of the people were all in their places, Imperialists, Royalists and Republicans. Each one claimed the right to know what the Empress and the ministers proposed to do, as well as the right to be heard.

Long before the hour of meeting, many thousands assembled on Place de la Concorde, on the bridge leading to the palace, and in the streets around it. The palace is on the left bank of the Seine, which, at this point, flows nearly due west. It was with difficulty that the deputies in their carriages reached the entrance. The republican members, especially M. Jules Ferry, M. Jules Favre, and M. Leon Gambetta, well known to the people, were greeted with rounds of applause. In the afternoon the excitement increased, and the gendarmes were seen everywhere. Unfavorable rumors were circulated. Army officers, on horseback, bearing messages from one part of the city to another, were advised to leave for the frontier. "*A la frontière!*" was the cry, repeated again and again.

The immense crowd waited long and patiently, hoping that the Assembly would adopt some important measure, and that the news would be given out. At length, an order was issued to clear the streets, and suddenly the cavalry of the municipal guards appeared with drawn sabres. The people were driven back; some were trampled upon, others were cut with the sabre. A writer commenting upon this scene in one of the journals, remarks: "The ministry should have been there to hear the malediction against them. Ah! truly, they should abandon an office which they have too long held. See what encouragement they give to patriots and volunteers!"

When the Assembly convened, the President, I



PLACE DE LA CONCORDE.

Schneider, gave the floor to M. Ollivier, Guard of the Seal, who spoke as follows :

“GENTLEMEN : The Emperor promised that the Empress would call you together if the circumstances became difficult. We have not desired to wait until the situation of the country was compromised.” (Excitement.)

A voice on the left—“It is compromised.”

M. Jules Ferry—“Lorraine is invaded.” (Excitement and noise.)

The Marquis of Piré—“The country is never compromised.”

M. Latour du Moulin—“Nothing is compromised but the ministry,”

The President—“Let us beware that we do not compromise our country by not being, first of all, zealous guardians of our dignity.” (Very good! Very good!)

The Guard of the Seal—“We have called you in the first difficulties. Two or three corps have indeed experienced a check, but the the greater part of our army has not been overcome, nor even engaged. (Very good! Very good!) Several corps have been repulsed, we do not doubt it, but only by a force four or five times greater and our troops have displayed a sublime heroism.” (Prolonged applause on all the benches.)

M. Guyot Montpayroux—“The lions led by the asses! as Napoleon said.” (Exclamations.)

M. Arago—“Let the asses get out of the way and the army will conquer.”

M. Jules Favre—“It is a shame, the existence of this ministry!” (Agitation and noise.)

The President—“First of all let us listen ; the Chamber will deliberate afterwards!” (Very good.)

The Guard of the Seal—“A heroism which will be a glory to them, equal at least to the glory of the conquerors!” (Yes! Yes!) “All our soldiers who have

fought, as well as those who are waiting for the hour of battle, are animated by the same ardor, the same courage, the same patriotism, the same confidence in a speedy revenge!" (Applause.)

In this manner and in spite of the interruptions, the minister continued to read the imperial message, after which he requested the privilege of answering a few of the questions proposed, hoping that he might be able to regain the confidence of the Assembly. His natural pride and self-complacency, which are proverbial, carried him along until near the close of his remarks, when he became convinced that a change of ministry would be demanded, and that it was his duty to retire. Scarcely had he left the chamber when M. Latour du Moulin, who is always ready for an emergency of this kind, as it is said, offered the following resolution signed by himself and thirteen of his colleagues:

"The undersigned deputies demand that the presidency of the council of ministers be confided to General Trochu, who is authorized to select a cabinet."

The proposition was received with favor by the left; on the right and in the center a diversity of sentiment was expressed.

In this connection, we may state, that the hall in which the deputies deliberate is semi-circular. The desk of the presiding officer is on an elevated platform, ascended on the right and left by ten or twelve steps. Before him and on a lower platform is the tribune, where the deputies stand when they desire to make lengthy speeches. In this case they do not, of course, face the president, but their colleagues. In front of the tribune, and on a level with the floor, are the seats of the stenographers. The deputies sit on semi-circular benches, which are plain, well-cushioned and comfortable, and rise one above another. Outside and above these are two semi-circular galleries, which are

arranged for the accommodation of the people, who are admitted with tickets. The Imperialists sit on the right of the President, the Royalists in the center, and the Republicans on the left. Other divisions of the deputies are recognized as the right-center and the left-center, which indicate shades of political faith.

On the resolution of M. Latour du Moulin, the distinguished orator, M. Jules Favre, desired to speak, but at the request of the President he agreed to a postponement of the subject, as the Minister of War *ad interim* proposed to present a bill for the organization of the available forces of the nation. The urgency of the bill was acknowledged, and it was placed upon the calendar.

M. Favre then offered two resolutions; one, that the National Guards be organized in all the departments under the law of 1831, and that arms be furnished to all able-bodied citizens. He maintained that the country has indeed been compromised by the absolute incapacity of the leaders of the army—especially the Commander-in-Chief. It is necessary, he said, that all our forces be placed under the command of one man, but that man must not be the Emperor. He should return to Paris.

The other resolution required the appointment of a commission consisting of five deputies of the chamber to take charge of the arming of the people and the expulsion of the enemy. These propositions, and his patriotic remarks on the situation of affairs, were received with prolonged applause by the left.

It could not be denied that the latter proposition was unconstitutional and revolutionary, and the president, M. Schneider, lost no time in declaring that the subject could not be entertained by the Chamber. But in spite of this declaration Count Kératry demanded urgency. This was too much for the passionate M. de Cassagnac, who, himself, in the pay of the Tuileries, could not allow the

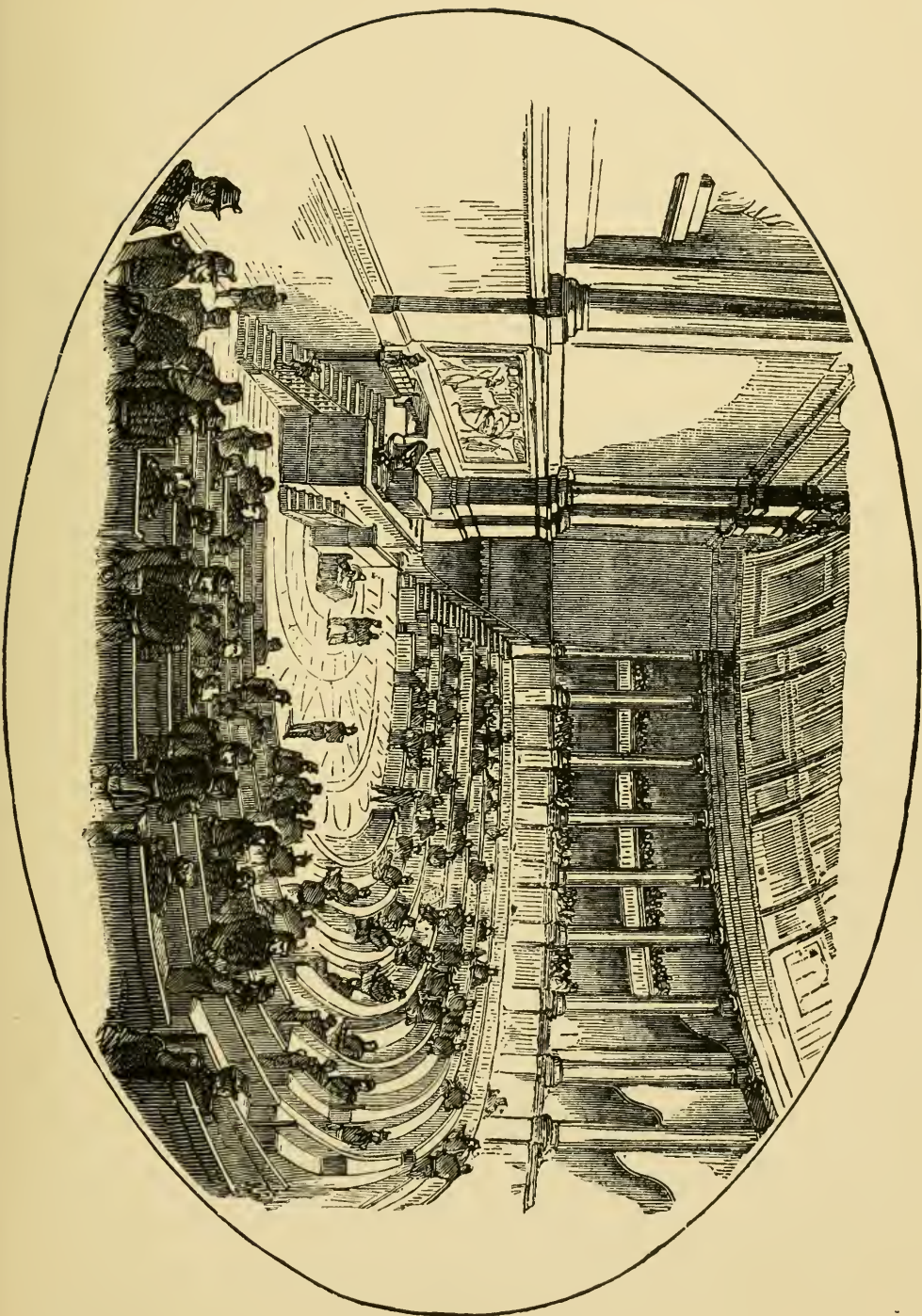
Imperial prerogatives of his master to be discussed. "If I had the honor" (exclaimed he to the members of the left with an air of indignation the most defiant), "if I had the honor of a seat on the benches of the government, I would have you all, this evening, delivered to councils of war."

A tumult indescribable followed. Some of the deputies on the left behaved badly, among them the Hon. Jules Simon, by attaching a degree of importance to the accusation, which it did not deserve. On the other hand M. de Gramont, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, violated the rules of the Chamber by indulging in ironical laughter. Insulting words were exchanged, and the president was obliged to place his hat on his head, which is a sign in France that the assembly or court is dismissed. But, after a few moments of reflection, their good sense aiding them, the left expressed regret for what had occurred on their side, and the right, ceasing to menace them, order was gradually restored. It was not long, however, until the right in their turn took occasion to manifest their disapprobation by disorderly demonstrations.

M. Picard, speaking upon the subject of the resolutions of M. Favre, insisted, in the name of Paris, upon arming the National Guards. The ministry, he declared, deceive us by making empty speeches in our presence. If you, the members of the majority, entertain a different view, say so, and we will take your response to the bar of public opinion.

Baron Jerome David rose to a point of order, and the president requested the orator to explain his words.

M. Picard proceeded to explain, in the name of the safety of the people, who have a right to authorize certain infractions of the law. He concluded by accentuating still more fully his menace, for, indeed, it was a real menace: "If the Chamber—which I do not believe—expresses its



confidence in the present ministry—if it refuses to furnish arms to able-bodied citizens, my opinion is that the people should procure them at all hazard and by every means possible.”

Urgent protests were made, especially by the right, against the use of such language, but the imperturbable M. Picard continued: “I accept, before the bar of public opinion, the responsibility of my words, but not the representations which are too often made to the country.”

M. Jules Favre then ascended the tribune and in a patriotic speech, stripped of all artifice and the argumentation of his colleague, stated boldly and with a full sense of the responsibility he incurred, “That the Emperor should return to Paris, and that a competent person should be placed at the head of the army.”

As was expected Baron David took up the gauntlet, and in his usual spread-eagle style spoke of the gallantry of the French soldiers and of their willingness to die for their country. In the name of the heroic dead, he entreated his colleagues to cease their discussions, and, taking advantage of a few ill-tempered remarks made by the left, he concluded his speech without saying a word on the subject.

Continuing the discussion, which was becoming more and more emphatic, M. de Kératry referred to a fact in history which could not be gainsayed: “That when Napoleon I. succumbed at the head of our battalions, France took charge of the government. Napoleon III. has not been able to lead our armies to victory, hence, he should yield to the representatives of the people.”

This was trenching squarely upon the prerogatives of the Emperor, and the president, to preserve order on the right, which had become frantic, declared that he would no longer permit such speeches to be made.

It was finally agreed to postpone the further considera-

tion of the resolutions offered by M. Favre, and to vote upon the resolution of M. Latour du Moulin, which was dragged into the discussion. After several amendments and much spirited debate lasting until a late hour, M. Clement Duvernois offered the following substitute which was adopted, being the least objectionable: "The Chamber agrees to sustain a cabinet capable of defending the country." Count Palikao was chosen to select a new cabinet, and the Chamber adjourned.

In the Senate M. de Périeu, the President of the Council of State, read a communication of the government, very much like that read by M. Ollivier, and M. Rouher, a devoted friend of the Emperor, paid a high tribute to the soldiers who took part in the recent battles. He entreated the Senators to repose confidence in the army and the nation.

In the evening the people massed themselves on the great boulevards, which form a semi-circle of three miles from the Madeleine to Place de la Bastille. The boulevard des Italiens, Montmartre and the cross boulevard Sebastopol leading to Notre Dame were especially crowded. The chief topic of conversation was not the fall of the ministry, for that was a foregone conclusion, but a much more important question, that of arming the people. The words most frequently heard were, "Let them give us arms! When will we have arms?"

Although regiments are leaving for the frontier every day, there are, it is stated, not less than twenty-five thousand well-equipped soldiers in and around Paris. The Empress must be protected; a full regiment guards the hotel of M. Ollivier, and another the house of M. de Cassagnac, both devoted friends of the Emperor, and at this time very unpopular.

CHAPTER VI.

PARIS, AUGUST 16TH, 1870.

The American Legation and Consulate—The Empress Regent—
Danger Recognized—The Emperor Escapes from Metz—The
Battles, Sarrebruck, Forbach, Wissembourg, Reichshofen—The
Bourbon Princes.

SINCE my arrival in Paris, I have given a portion of each day to sight-seeing in the parks, gardens, art galleries and other places of interest, and have returned from each excursion charmed with the magnificence and beauty of the city. But the greater part of my time has been devoted to the study of the situation in Europe, as I have been able to gather information from books, pamphlets, maps, conversation and the numerous daily journals which are sold at the kiosks and on the streets.

Doctor S——, whom I chanced to meet in the Crystal Palace, England, reached Paris two days ago. He reports a larger attendance than usual at the meeting of the British Medical Association, and many interesting papers read and discussed. We have paid our respects to the American Minister, Hon. E. B. Washburne, and have called at the American consulate where we made the acquaintance of the Vice-consul, Mr. F. Olcott. As intimated in a former chapter our objects in visiting Europe and Paris are very much the same, though they may not be accomplished. Many Americans are leaving Paris, on account of the reverses on the frontier and consequent excitement, but I have concluded to remain for a few days at least, and make the most out of my good or bad fortune. I am even

beginning to have a desire to see the end of the fierce struggle which threatens France.

On the 10th inst. the new ministry was announced in the Chamber of Deputies, General Cousin de Montauban, Comte de Palikao was chosen President of the Council and Minister of War. He is well known as a brave soldier with superior executive abilities. He was governor of the province of Constantine, in Africa, but the position in which he became most distinguished was that of commander-in-chief of the expedition against China in 1860.

Henri Chevreau has become Minister of the Interior. He has long been a favorite of the Empress. He was prefect in the Department of Lyons, and more recently was prefect of the Department of the Seine.

M. Magne is Minister of Finance. He has been specially favored by the Emperor. All his relations, even to his second cousins, hold offices, it is said, under the government.

M. Grandperret has become Minister of Justice. Cold and proud in his bearing, with the physiognomy of a public prosecutor, he has lived near the Imperial court.

His respectful deference towards the accused Pierre Bonaparte who deliberately murdered Victor Noir, secured for him the friendship of the Emperor.

Baron Jerome David is Minister of Public Works. He has the honor of being the godson of Jerome Bonaparte. He has received regularly every month three thousand francs from the Imperial treasury, besides handsome presents from the Empress.

M. Clement Duvernois is Minister of Agriculture. At one time he was associated with M. de Girardin, as editor of the *Presse* and was the hope of the Liberal party. Afterwards he was a leading contributor to the *Liberté*, but his brilliant talents, handsome appearance, love of display and late dinners led him into the society of the

Imperialists. Six months ago he was elected a deputy, and now, in addition, is honored with a seat in the cabinet.

M. Brame has been chosen Minister of Public Instruction. He is noted for his fine personal appearance, social qualities and exalted ambition. He is rich and fond of display, though he is somewhat parsimonious. His leap from the Chamber of Deputies into the Tuileries has not been a surprise.

M. Busson, who has added to his own the family name of his wife, is President of the Council of State and ex-officio a member of the cabinet. He has occupied simply the position of an attorney at the courts, and has recently been elected a member of the House of Deputies. His influence, however, is great, being the son-in-law of His Excellency M. Billault, a former minister in the Imperial cabinet.

As to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, who has become Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Admiral Genouilly, who has become Minister of Marine, it may be said, that they obeyed only the sentiments of patriotism for which they deserve praise.

These are the men who have been chosen in the absence of the Emperor to direct the affairs of the nation. Unfortunately for the Empire, they have not been welcomed heartily by the people. One act of folly leads to another. The Empress-Regent, too anxious to secure those who would look after the interests of the Imperial family, detained her advisers in council all night, and a second session was held a short time before the meeting of the deputies. The new cabinet is composed of men who are known to be personal friends of the Emperor. It is believed that the hesitating policy of the government will be continued.

At no time since the commencement of hostilities have the people of Paris been more deeply impressed with a

sense of danger to the country than at present. The dispatches which have been received from London, Brussels and Luxembourg, as well as those which have been given out by the government are unfavorable; the latter only contain expressions of encouragement and hope for France.

Marshal MacMahon has suffered heavy losses in the valley of the Rhine and has been obliged to retreat by the way of Severne and Lunéville, leaving his dead and wounded at Wissembourg and Reichshoffen. He has passed through the defiles of the Vosges, crossed the Moselle and the Meuse and has reached Bar-le-Duc after a series of forced marches, unequalled in the history of retreating armies. He has had no time to rest, for the victorious army of the Prince Royal of Prussia has been close at his heels.

General Failyly has been too widely separated from MacMahon to be of any service to him at Wissembourg and Reichshoffen. The retreat of MacMahon and the advance of Prince Frederick Charles at Sarreguemines made the retreat of Failyly necessary. He has crossed the Moselle at Pont à Mouson and is uniting his forces with those of MacMahon and Douay. They are moving westward in the direction of Chalons and the army of the Crown Prince is in the rear.

At present all eyes are turned in the direction of Metz, a walled city of sixty thousand inhabitants. It is situated at the confluence of the Moselle and the Seille, about twenty-five miles south of the frontier. It is well fortified and, like Strasbourg, is protected by a strong citadel and forts. It has never been captured.

The exact position of the French forces at Metz is not well understood in Paris at this date, but it is supposed that the Second, Third, Fourth and Seventh corps, and the Imperial Guards are in the immediate neighborhood, commanded by Marshals Bazaine and Canrobert and

Generals Admirault, Frossard and Bourbaki. Nor is the situation of the German forces any better understood. It is conceded, however, that the First and Second German armies are forming a great circle around the city.

What will the Emperor do? is a question that is frequently asked. Will he hold on to Metz, or will he abandon the city? He is no doubt perplexed, because he is unable to see how he can much longer wear the crown of France. He has nursed and retained in office a brood of sycophants, and they have deceived him. He realizes now, when it is too late, that France is not prepared to cope with so powerful an enemy. But he must do something or he will be surrounded. He has, therefore, as it is rumored, called a council of marshals and generals. Marshal Bazaine is chosen commander-in-chief. He is directed to hold on to Metz and to fight the enemy. The Emperor hastens to leave the city.

In Paris there is unusual excitement and anxiety. No one seems to be under restraint. Americans are likewise disposed to express their sentiments very freely. The circumstances are exceptional. Armies have never appeared on the field of strife in so short a time. Of course railroads and telegraph lines have assisted. The equipments are complete. Steel cannon, mitrailleuses, breach-loading *Chassepots* and needleguns are to be tested. The Germans depend upon military science and discipline for success; the French upon what they call the *elan* of their troops. On both sides there is a sense of injury sustained which the American, at least, cannot appreciate. The conscience revolts at the idea of carnage when the reasons assigned for it are not sufficient. I cannot become reconciled to the sentiments expressed on either side. It is imperialism against imperialism, ambition against ambition. At the bottom of it all, there is, undoubtedly, a national antipathy, older than the Cæsars, which the shedding of blood will never allay.

But if Marshal Bazaine is in command what will he do? Will he attempt to hold on to a city whose walls and forts can be of no use to him in the day of battle? Will he take the risk of sacrificing his army when he has an opportunity to save it? Will he not retreat into the country—leave a few thousand soldiers to man the forts and to guard the city? These are questions which are freely discussed in Paris. A non-partisan general, having only victory before him, would certainly know what to do. With one hundred and seventy-five thousand well-armed soldiers in command, he would doubtless prefer an open field, and an opportunity to retreat if need be. But the Marshal has been a favorite of the Emperor; his attachment to Louis Napoleon Bonaparte has been strong; his obedience has been implicit, and hence the first place in the army has been given to him. He has an exalted opinion of French valor, and is likely to obey his master. We must wait for the result.

Though there is really very little known in Paris concerning the engagements on the Sarre and in the valley of the Rhine, a few words may be added. The skirmishing at Sarrebrück, on the 2d inst., which opened the campaign, resulted in a loss in killed and wounded of a dozen, perhaps, on each side. Whether the troops of the first German army retreated with the expectation of drawing the French away from the frontier or were forced back is uncertain; but there is no doubt that General Frossard withdrew his forces during the night, and that the Emperor and his son returned to Metz.

It seems to have been the policy of the German leaders to wait until Prussian territory was invaded, in order that the responsibility of the war might not appear to rest upon them, and now, as the French had invaded Prussia, they advanced in force all along the Sarre. The French had the advantage, in the occupation of a range of hills called

Spicheren heights, but the former the advantage of numbers. The country is wooded as well as rough, and much of the fighting was done in the style of the bushwhacker until Forbach was reached. On the 6th inst., the Second French corps being almost surrounded, General Frossard ordered a retreat from the heights, and the result was a general stampede. Ammunition, provision stores, and pontoons were abandoned. There was heroic fighting on both sides and the losses were serious, but the French were defeated.

In the meantime the Crown Prince of Prussia ordered a *Vorwärts-marsch!* upon Wissembourg, a walled town of six thousand inhabitants. The Prussians have long since regarded it as the door to the rich province of Alsace; and to satisfy the ambition of the King of Prussia, and possibly to add another portion of Europe to his already large possessions, Count Bismarck has doubtless provoked the French to engage in war. Accordingly, on the 4th inst., the hero of Sadowa, at the head of a large army, one hundred and seventy-five thousand men, Prussians, Bavarians, Saxons and representatives of the other German states, crossed the frontier. The French were surprised and outnumbered. The town was taken by storm. General Abel Douay, in attempting to rally his forces, was killed.

The Prince, following up his victory, prepared for a more decisive battle in the neighborhood of Woerth and Reichshofen in the line of the valley. Early in the morning of the 6th inst. the fighting began and continued until late in the afternoon. One reserve was brought forward after another, renewing the attacks with fresh soldiers, until the French were overcome. The Algerian zouaves rushing in again and again with fixed bayonets, as it is said (their ammunition being almost exhausted), were almost annihilated. Thousands lay dead on the several

battle-fields. Generals Colson and Raoult were mortally wounded. Without burying their dead or caring for their wounded, the shattered divisions of MacMahon's army, consisting of his own and a division of General Felix Douay's corps, commenced their retreat. The soldiers interrogated by the people on the way heaped curses upon the Emperor, his Minister of War, and other members of the government for their incapacity and treason.

We close this communication with a brief reference to the attitude of the Bourbon family. The older branch is represented by Comte de Chambord, who will be Henry V., if, with a change of fortune, he should be crowned king of France. His political adherents are known as Legitimists. He is not inclined to intrigue of any kind, or to military display, and therefore is not likely to tender his services to the Emperor.

The younger branch of the family is known as the House of Orleans. Prominent as a representative of it is Duc d'Aumale. He is a gentleman of wealth and is said to be a brave soldier. The following letters appeared in the journals a few days ago :

August 9th, 1870.

To His Excellency the Minister of War :

Monsieur le Ministre : You have issued a call that all Frenchmen enter the army and defend the country. I am a Frenchman, a soldier and in good health. I have the rank of division-general. I ask to be employed in active service.

Accept the assurance of my high consideration.

HENRI D'ORLEANS DUC D'AUMALE.

Monsieur le Ministre : As a Frenchman, as an officer in the Italian and American wars, I have the honor to ask to be employed in the active service of our army. My ardent desire is to defend my native country, be it even as a simple volunteer.

Accept, my dear sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

ROBERT D'ORLEANS,

Count of Chartres and younger brother of the Count of Paris.



BOULIER

1857

DUC D'AUMALE.

In the same journals there appeared, also, a letter written by Francis of Orleans, Prince of Joinville, addressed to M. Bocher, in which he states that he had offered his services to the government, but had not yet received a response. He intimates, too, that France, in the present crisis, needs a leader, and that if the Count of Paris could be useful to the country, he would be willing to accept the responsibility. M. Bocher has long had the friendship and confidence of the Bourbon family.

In the session of the House of Deputies, on the 11th inst., M. Estancelin offered the following resolution :

“ That the law of banishment, of May 26th, 1848, against the Princes of the House of Orleans, be repealed.”

The resolution was not agreed to, as was expected. The Emperor and other members of the Bonaparte family had suffered banishment too long under the Bourbons, to invite them now to return to France.

The Prince of Joinville visited the United States during our late civil war, bringing with him the Count of Paris and the Count of Chartres who were accepted as volunteers on the staff of General McClellan. They are said to be brave soldiers as well as educated gentlemen. A sensation was created in Paris a few days ago by a report that Robert was in the city in disguise—that he was seen, in the dress of a corporal, on the boulevards and at some of the principal hotels.

CHAPTER VII.

PARIS, AUGUST 21ST, 1870.

The Situation Better Understood—The Proclamation of General Trochu—Sketches of German Leaders—Extracts from French Journals.

THE situation of affairs on the frontier is becoming more apparent. Disaster after disaster has followed in rapid succession. Forbach, Wissembourg, Reichshofen! And now we have Borny, Vionville and Gravelotte! The old province of Alsatia is once more in possession of the Germans! Strasbourg is besieged! Metz is surrounded! Marshal Bazaine, after heroic fighting and immense loss, has retreated under the forts. His intention, no doubt, is to keep up communication with the Emperor and MacMahon and to defend the city. He will most likely do what he conceives to be the wishes of the Emperor.

There has been so much said, in a boastful way, by the editors and correspondents of French journals, and so little has been given out by the government, that it is impossible to give, with any degree of certainty, the particulars of the recent engagements. It is sufficient, for the present, to state that great battles have been fought and that the French have been defeated in every effort they have made. The incapacity of the Emperor is generally admitted, and hence every kind of speculation and criticism has been indulged in. His movements are watched with the greatest solicitude and fear.

The new ministry, under the Empress-Regent, commenced their administration by suppressing several promi-

nent newspapers, among which are the *Réveil* and the *Rappel*. This act of the government, followed by the recent disasters in the neighborhood of Metz, was unfortunate. Instead of uniting the factions, it has separated them. It has exasperated some and displeased many.

The two proclamations—one to the people of Paris and the other to the people of France—will not remedy the evil. In the former there is a quotation from a letter found in the possession of a Prussian spy—"Courage! Paris will rebel. The French army will be taken between two fires." In the latter there is a strong appeal made to the people of the north, the center and the south, upon whom the burdens of war are not likely to fall. It is also noticed that the ministers, in the latter proclamation, made no reference to the Emperor, to the Empress-Regent or to the Prince Imperial. They have nothing to say concerning them that would be useful to the country.

On the morning of the 18th inst., another proclamation appeared on the walls and in all the journals. It was read with great avidity and, apparently, with satisfaction. It bears the signature of a new man, unexpectedly sent to Paris, as Governor of the city. It reads as follows :

To the People of Paris :

In the existing perilous situation of our country, I have been appointed Governor of Paris and commander-in-chief of the forces whose duty it is to defend the capital. Paris has taken up the rôle which belongs to her, and has a desire to be the center of great efforts and great sacrifices.

I come to perform my part of the work, and I do so with all my heart ; it will be the honor of my life and the crowning glory of a career which has hitherto been unknown to most of you.

I have the utmost faith in the success of our glorious undertaking ; but on one condition only, which is imperative and absolute and without which our united efforts must be in vain.

I wish to speak of good order, and I mean by this, not only quietness in the streets, but at your homes ; deference to the orders of responsible authority, resignation in trials inseparable from the

situation, and finally the serenity and calmness of a great military nation which undertakes, with firm resolution, in these circumstances, the conduct of its destinies.

And, in order to assure the necessary public tranquility, I shall not stand upon the prerogatives of my office under martial law. I make an appeal to your patriotism and to your confidence, by showing myself a confidence without bounds in the people of Paris.

I call upon all men of all parties, belonging myself, as is well known, in the army, to none but to the party of the country. I make an appeal to their devotion. I ask them to restrain, by moral authority, the over-zealous, who are not able to restrain themselves, and to use forcible means in the case of outlaws, who see only in public calamities an occasion to satisfy their detestable propensities.

And for the accomplishment of my work—after which I affirm that I will return into the obscurity from which I come—I adopt one of the old mottoes of the province of Brittany in which I was born :

“Avec l'aide de Dieu pour la patrie.”

GENERAL TROCHU.

PARIS, *August 18th, 1870.*

A leading journal, *Le Temps*, contains a letter addressed to the editor-in-chief, in which the Governor attempts to explain several points which are not well understood. The editors call it his *Seconde aux Parisiens*. In the proclamation, as well as in his letter of explanation, he has ignored the Emperor who appointed him, and in the latter he has gone so far as to express sentiments that favor a Republican form of government. We quote a few sentences which show that he is somewhat of a philosopher: “The error of all governments that I have known, has been to consider force as the last resort (l'ultima du pouvoir).” And after a brief eulogy upon the moral force which exists in every civilized nation, he makes use of these words: “The idea of maintaining order by the use of the bayonet and sabre in Paris, already weighed down with sorrows and agitation, fills me with horror.” In this manner he has appealed to the people of Paris fully realizing the gravity of the situation, and the difficulty of governing a city so much given to revolutions.

How it has happened to General Trochu to be appointed Governor of Paris is not easily accounted for. He is not known to have been on intimate terms with the Emperor. Two years ago he published a book called *The French Army in 1868*, which, in the first year, passed through twelve editions. In it he criticised very severely some of the details of the administration of the army, but his suggestions appeared, to those higher in authority, as impracticable, and they have not been adopted. He is regarded in military circles as a theorist, without ambition to shed blood. Belonging, as he says, to no party, he is supposed to be the last man in the army of any prominence, who would lead in a revolution, and it was probably for this reason chiefly that the Emperor chose to make him Governor of the city. He was in command of the Twelfth corps at Chalons when he received his appointment.

General Trochu was born in 1815, and was educated in the military school at St. Cyr. He was made captain in 1843, and served on the staff of Marshal St. Arnaud in Algeria and in the Crimea. In the Italian campaign he became a brigadier and afterwards a division general. His book brought him into notice, because he advocated changes not unlike those which were adopted years ago by the Government of Prussia, and which imply a limited education on the part of all who bear arms. The defeat of the Austrians in the campaign of 1866 led him to a careful study of the defects in the French system. As is well known, the Emperor of Austria has since been engaged in a thorough reorganization of his army, and this, no doubt, is what France should have commenced soon after the battle of Sadowa, when the superiority of Prussian discipline became apparent to all.

In this connection we may give a brief account of some of the distinguished German leaders, and let us begin with those whose genius and talents place them in the first

rank, without whom royalty would not be able to make so much display.

General von Roon, Minister of War in the North German Confederation, was born in 1803; he was educated in the Prussian school of cadets, and was soon attached to the Bureau of Topography. In 1839 he made a tour of observation through Belgium, and took part in the siege of Antwerp. He had special charge of the education of the Crown Prince, and accompanied him to the University of Bonn. In 1861 he entered the cabinet of the King as Minister of Marine, but was soon after requested to take charge of the Department of War. In this position he advocated and defended, with great ability, the famous bill for the reorganization of the Prussian army, and was successful. He is the author of several works on Ethnological, Political and Military Geography, which have given him great notoriety.

General von Moltke, to whom Prussia owes a great part of her success in Bohemia, and thus far in France, was not born a Prussian. Like the great Blucher, the General is a force annexed to Prussia. He was born in Mecklenburg in 1800, and is consequently seventy years old. First of all, he entered the army of Denmark, but soon after transferred his allegiance to Prussia. He was sent on a voyage to the East and became an instructor of the Sultan in the theories of military strategy. In 1856 he became the *aide-de-camp* of Prince Frederick William and two years later the chief-of-staff in the Prussian army. In 1864 he took the lead in the unhappy struggle between Prussia and her allies against Denmark. And in the campaign against Austria, in 1866, he had the satisfaction of seeing his well-laid plans result in a brilliant victory. In Prussia the Baron enjoys the reputation of an honorable gentleman, as well as a skilful and brave leader. He has published several volumes which are highly esteemed: The Turco-Russian



FREDERICK WILLIAM



FREDERICK CHARLES



MOLTKE



STEINMETZ



ALBERT

Expedition, Letters on the Situation of Turkey, and the Campaign of Italy in 1859. What is remarkable in the great General is his taciturnity. With a knowledge of seven languages, it is said, he seldom speaks.

General von Steinmetz, who commands the First German army, is the oldest man in the field. He was born in 1796. In 1813 he entered upon his military career, and in the recent campaign in Bohemia he is said to have continued in the saddle three consecutive days, and to have given evidence of great courage, energy and physical endurance. He is not only a brave soldier, but a statesman, and in times of peace occupies a seat in the Parliament of the North German Confederation.

To these we may add the names of Generals von Falkenstein, Harwarth and Baron von Manteuffel, who have reached an advanced age, and a few others who are corps and division commanders, as, Hartman, von der Tann, Walther, Werder, Kirchbach, Alvensleben, Goeben, Zastrow, Fransecki, Manstein, Voigts-Rhetz, Loewenfeld, Canstein and Blumenthal.

On the staff of the Commander-in-chief, General von Moltke, as well as on the staff of each of the three great army leaders—Steinmetz, Prince Frederick Charles and the Crown Prince of Prussia—are many talented and brave men who reached their positions, not wholly, as in the French army, by favoritism, but by protracted courses of study and competitive examinations.

But we must not omit, in these brief paragraphs, the names at least of those who represent royalty in the numerous German states. At the head of this roll stands the ambitious Teutonic leader, William, King of Prussia. Though far advanced in years his courage and physical strength have not failed. He shares, at the side of his chief-of-state, Count von Bismarck, and the silent Baron von Moltke, the fatigues and exposure of the camp; and

apparently enjoys the work which, he believes, he is predestined to accomplish. His love of the army and of military exploits is well known. Under the skilful diplomacy of his astute and able Chancellor, he has succeeded in uniting the German states in a gigantic movement which threatens, at least, the present government of France, and may produce changes in Italy and in Spain.

Next to the King, we may mention his equally ambitious son, the Crown Prince of Prussia, Frederick William, who leads the Third German army. His gallant conduct in the campaign of 1866 against Austria, and his achievements thus far in France, have already made him a field marshal. His enthusiastic and generous nature, his handsome personal appearance, and the high social position accorded to his family, have given him the first place among princes. At present he is the idol of the German army; and as the successor of his distinguished father, he promises to become a liberal chief executive and king.

His cousin, Prince Frederick Charles, who has command of the Second German army, has no ambition beyond that of a prominent member of the Hohenzollern family. He is a few years older than the Crown Prince, and is said to have higher claims to intellectual vigor and scholarly attainments than any whose name he bears. In the campaign in Bohemia, and thus far in France, he has proved himself an enthusiastic and brave leader. He is very popular, and is everywhere praised for his liberal sentiments, handsome appearance and gallantry in the field.

To these we must add Albert, the Crown Prince of Saxony, Charles, King of Wurtemberg, Prince Albrecht of Prussia, the Grand Duke of Baden, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the Duke of Saxe-Altenburg and the Grand Duke of Mecklenberg-Schwerin. Lewis the young King of Bavaria has placed his entire army at the disposal of the King of Prussia, having himself no inclination for

military exploits. He has, it is said, an effeminate nature, and has turned his attention to the study of music and the fine arts.

This array of German royalty might be much extended if time and space permitted. The sons of kings, princes, dukes and barons have been generally well trained in the schools, and they now rejoice in the opportunity, for the first time it may be, of displaying their skill and courage. They have an unprecedented following such as the world has never seen. It is estimated that seven hundred thousand well-trained soldiers have already crossed the Rhine, and the Landwehr may soon be ordered into the ranks. Not only are the captains, lieutenants and corporals well disciplined, but the rank and file of the army; they can all read and write. Cæsar or Napoleon never led such an army. Regimental drill, annual reviews, sham battles and education have fitted every man for his place, whether in the ranks or in command. To the descendants of Tuisco, Woden and Thor must be given the honor of bringing the art of war to perfection.

A few extracts from a Paris journal of recent date, will give the reader a better idea of Paris life during the last week than any effort of my own. There will be seen in them, mingled with a sincere love of France, a vein of sarcasm, distrust and opposition to the Empire, as well as an implacable hatred of the Germans.

“As regards the Government, we may always make criticisms. Count Palikao has done much, and everyone praises him for his activity and valor; but it is proper to say and to repeat what Jeanne d’Arc said to the counselors of Charles VII. : ‘Not so much has been done as remains to be done.’”

“There is always the same fever, the same ebullitions, the same impatience to reach the fifth act of the drama and always in the excitement, violent oscillations which

carry the imagination from one extreme to the other. We have dispatches and placards, radiant, heroic and full of glory. Is it at Borny? Victory! Doncourt? Victory! Gravelotte? Victory! Jaumont? Victory! And the people, overjoyed with the news, clap their hands.

“In another group, we see the sceptic, eager, also, for news, reading in these superb bulletins a different story. He points out, here and there, blemishes and inconsistencies which cast a gloom over the faces of by-standers expecting good news.

“Why should the enemy, four times beaten, hold on to his lines? Why should the invaders, so often repulsed, remain in our departments? Why is Paris more menaced now than during the first ten days? Why should King William persist in claiming victories? The telegrams of *Prend-Tout*, the King, causes me to shake my head, when interrogated.

“Are we, therefore, to understand that the bulletin of a battle is written with magnifying glasses? Hold! we have said a great deal during the last month of our achievements in 1792, and we have a right to speak to our sons of this brilliant page of French history; but, like the Iliad of Homer, it contains much that is romance and fiction.

“Let us then try to understand the dispatches that reach us; let us judge of the facts by their results. We have given the results of the last few days in capitals, and they are indeed formidable. We say, let the great battle come, so impatiently expected, the two Marshals, Bazaine and MacMahon, against Prince Frederick Charles and Steinmetz. The Prince Royal of Prussia—*Unser Fritz*—can easily be forced to retreat, which will be more difficult for him and less glorious than the retreat of MacMahon.

“In these contributions, we have attempted, several times, to photograph Paris, and now we make another

effort. First, as to its appearance, as to the movements in the streets, in the gardens, in the public *Places*, on the promenades, in the Bois de Boulogne, we may say that there is a perceptible diminution in the population. How could it be otherwise? The army has taken many away to the frontier; foreigners have ceased to regard Paris as a Jardin Mabille de l'Europe; and finally the rich families, the millionaires, have left the city. The Parisian family is, therefore, considerably diminished.

“In exchange, what agitations in the Paris which remains! A perpetual movement! And what passionate speeches! What storms of excitement, this way and that way! What crowds in the boulevards and streets! It is impossible to remain at home. Private interests are postponed. Business is neglected; everyone snatches up a newspaper—runs his eyes over the columns for the last news, and, finding nothing to satisfy him, immediately sets out for the boulevards, which have become our forum, to search for news in the crowds—news of a victory which is ardently wished for, and confidently expected!

“Prussia, the Prussians, and the invasion—there is the whole of it! If the idea fixed in the mind is a folly, then Paris has the folly of patriotism. You dare not speak of anything else. If you do, no one will reply. Do you wish a proof of this? Go into the crowds on the streets and you will not hear anyone speak of the Emperor, or of the Empress, or of the Prince Imperial, or of the dynasty. No one thinks of imperialism. Let any one speak, on the other side of politics—of a Republic, and the response will be—‘Down with Prussia!’ The only thought is the invasion, which, as a nightmare, worries the brain until Paris has become insane!

“Crowds at the mayors' offices where enlistments of volunteers for the army are made, and enrollments for the national guards!

“Crowds at the bank demanding a circulation of specie which speculators are gathering up!

“Crowds at the prefecture of police! Here is the bureau of passports, where it is necessary to go if you wish to help any of the Prussians out of Paris.

“Two respectable merchants, reported in the House of Deputies, have been the objects of pursuit. Another in Rue Saint-Denis, saw his store-house plundered, because some mischievous fellow wrote on the door: ‘Prussians are entertained here.’ And a loyal citizen, M. de Monneys, suspected of sympathy with the Germans, was pursued and barely escaped with his life.

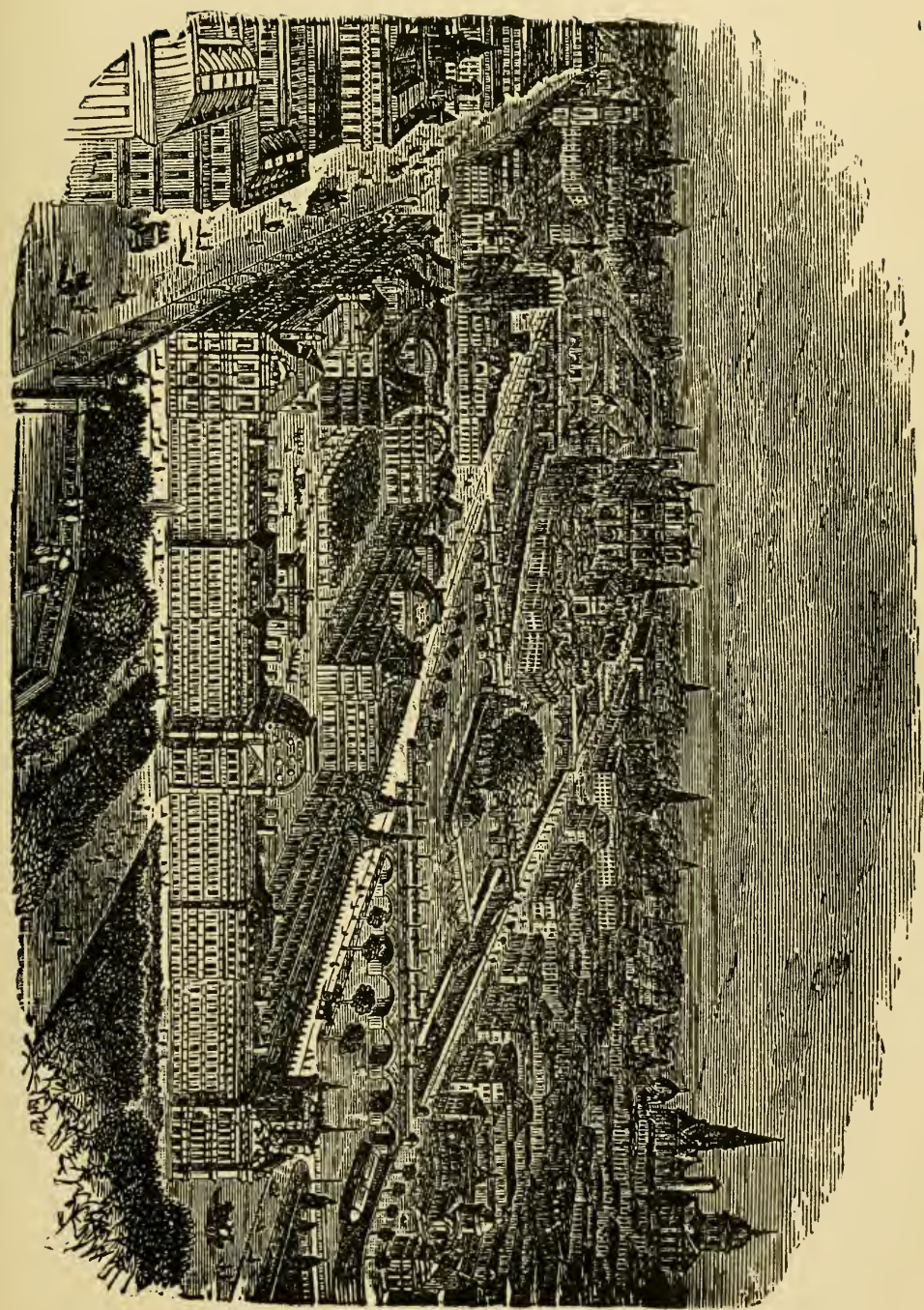
“Moderation, citizens! Let us learn to control ourselves. Let us look the danger in the face, as brave soldiers.

“But you ask what is Paris doing? I respond, that Paris is preparing her toilette for battle. Fortifications on the post-roads and railroads leading to the city, are built; draw-bridges are constructed at the gates; the ditches are filled with water; cannon are placed on the walls; citizens are enrolled; arms are distributed, and the graneries are filled.

“Are we, therefore, menaced? What is the difference? In a crisis like this nothing should be postponed until tomorrow! The call for the Landwehr shows that Paris is the object of the invasion!

“Can Paris be taken? No! no! no! a thousand times no! But Paris must defend herself, and this she certainly will do!”

CENTER OF PARIS.



CHAPTER VIII.

PARIS, AUGUST 25TH, 1870.

A Brief Description of Paris and Its Environments.

AT this time when all Europe is in a state of excitement, on account of the war, the American reader may be more interested in a brief description of Paris than at other times. The magnificence and beauty of this noted city has already been referred to, and in this description, we need scarcely make an apology for the use of extravagant terms. Foreign residents and tourists, from whatever country they hail, agree in this, that Paris is the most beautiful city in the world.

But whence has come this magnificence and beauty? Is it possible that the people who inhabited this portion of Europe centuries ago had a higher sense of the beautiful than other tribes or nations? Is the love of the æsthetic transmitted from generation to generation in the blood of the race? Have the present occupants of France, and of Paris, inherited from their ancestors a love of the ornate and beautiful? All this may indeed be true, otherwise it will be difficult to explain what now exists, and is recognized by cultivated people of every nation.

During the first few days, the tourist, if he has not studied the map of Paris, is likely to become bewildered. The heavens are forgotten in the midst of so much splendor. The rapid play of the faculties of admiration

disturbs the reason. The north becomes the south, and the sun appears to rise in the west. The basis of this delusion may be found in the fact that the great boulevards and avenues run in every conceivable direction ; and strange as it may appear, this irregularity forms the basis of the grandeur of the city. A greater diversity of scenery is thus provided for, and the genius of the architect has a wider range. One may expect, at every turn, a new scene and not be disappointed. Besides there is, in this irregularity in the plan of the city, the greatest economy of time and labor. It is seldom necessary, in passing from one quarter to another, to deviate much from a straight line. The parks, gardens and numerous blocks of buildings are not laid out in squares or rectangles, as in the plain Quaker City of Philadelphia, but in triangles, irregular quadrilaterals and pentagons. In this way the greatest amount of differentiation gives rise to the highest forms of beauty.

Paris is situated on the banks of the Seine in the midst of a country unequalled for the fertility of its soil, the healthfulness of its climate and the denseness of its population. It has long been regarded as the center of fashionable life, and by the French themselves, as the center of the civilized world. Its vanity and pride have well-nigh reached that of ancient Babylon. Ascending to the top of Montmartre, or to the top of the Pantheon, and looking around in every direction, we have Paris and three hundred suburban towns and villages within a circle, the radius of which is twelve miles. A good telescope, in a clear day, lends enchantment to the view. The city itself, from east to west, is about nine miles long and, from north to south, seven miles broad. It is somewhat oval, or egg-shaped. It is surrounded by walls, forty-seven feet high, bastioned and terraced. These are pierced by fifty-four gateways leading out in all directions into the

rich country around. The iron gates are closed at night. Outside the walls a ditch is constructed which may be filled with water from the Seine. Inside there is a railroad upon which, in company with a few American friends, I have had a pleasant ride, and a delightful view of the periphery of the city. The cars are constructed like the omnibuses, with an upper story for the accommodation of those who wish to enjoy a diversity of scenery and fresh air. On top of the zig-zag walls hundreds of cannon are seen pointing out in every direction; and during the last week thousands of workmen have been engaged constructing earth-works near the principal entrances, as if in anticipation of a siege or an attack by the enemy. The bastions outside, built of heavy blocks of hewn sandstone, and the well-sodded embankments inside, give to this fortification an appearance of beauty, as well as of strength. It is said that the walls, counting the zig-zag corners, have an extent of twenty-seven miles.

But there is another feature of Paris besides the irregularity in its plan which adds very much to its beauty. It is built almost entirely of white sandstone, very abundant in the neighborhood. When taken from the quarry it is soft, but, by exposure to the atmosphere, it hardens and becomes very durable. This beautiful stone, so easily split and dressed, gives to the city a cheerful and airy appearance. Palaces, churches, monuments, statuary, walls, forts, dwelling-houses, stables and work-shops are all made of the same material. The dwelling-houses, often six stories high, are not only beautiful, but substantial. The walls are stone, the floors are iron and brick and the roofs are zinc, copper, lead or tiles. As a result, Paris is fire-proof. It can only be burned by deliberate efforts of the incendiary. Since I have been in the city I have not seen or heard of a single fire. The use of camphene and coal-oil, as products for illumination, is forbidden.

The river Seine is one of its chief attractions. It enters the city on the southeast and passes out on the southwest. Inside the walls it describes wellnigh a semi-circle. Near the center of Paris, it forms two small islands, on which the old Cité of the Parisii was built. Walls surrounded them, fragments of which still remain, and the water outside answered the purposes of a ditch, which, in those days, was not easily forded. At present, twenty-seven beautiful bridges span the river inside the walls, most of which are built of stone, and represent every style of arch—circle, cycloid, and ellipse. Several are built of iron, and one is a suspension bridge. They are broad and substantial and seem to vie with each other in architectural beauty. They are ornamented with handsome pieces of statuary and are open. In a clear day, or at night when the lamps are ablaze or the moon is shining, if we stand at the base of the statue of Henry IV., the scene is indescribably grand. The bridges of Paris have a history that would fill a volume. Some of them have been built in honor of the emperors and kings of France, and have been named after them, as Napoleon III., Louis Philippe, Louis XV. and Louis XVIII.; others in commemoration of victories, as Jena, Austerlitz and Solferino. Pont Neuf was built in the middle of the sixteenth century, across the right arm of the Seine, at the west end of the *Ile aux vaches*. Its length is over one thousand feet, and its breadth seventy-eight feet. It was formerly, like the London bridge, the habitual resort of burglars, thieves and jugglers. This island, the larger of the two, is reached by nine other bridges, and contains the grand old Gothic cathedral, Notre Dame; the great hospital, Hôtel Dieu, founded in the year 660, which I now visit very frequently; the Caserne or city barracks; the Palais de Justice; the Morgue and the beautiful equestrian statue of Henry IV. The quays, or artificial embankments, add very much to

the beauty of these islands and the river. They are built of well-dressed stone and reach above high-water mark. Steps are constructed at many points, so that the people may descend to the edge of the water. Small steamers ply upon the river for the purposes of trade and pleasure. The quays are used as boulevards and streets, and at night are grandly illuminated.

The boulevards and avenues radiate from numerous points in the city called *Places*. One of these and perhaps the most noted is Place de la Concorde, which contains several acres of ground. Standing in the center of it and facing the east, you have before you the park, the garden and the palace of the Tuileries; on your right, the Seine and one of the beautiful bridges which span it; and on the opposite bank the House of Deputies, known as the Palais de Bourbon; on your left the Ministry of Marine; and behind you the grandest boulevard in the world—Champs-Élysées. Here it was, one hundred years ago, 1770, that during the nuptials of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, in the midst of a panic caused by a discharge of fire-works, the carriages were driven among the people and over twelve hundred were trampled to death. Here also took place the collision between the people and the soldiers, which was the signal for the destruction of the Bastille. On this spot stood, in 1793, the dreadful guillotine, on which were executed Louis XVI., his unfortunate consort, Marie Antoinette, the Duke of Orleans, Robespierre, General Beauharnais, the Empress Josephine's first husband and grandfather of the present Emperor. In less than two years over twenty-eight hundred people were here guillotined.

In the center of this *Place* stands the Obelisk of Luxor, presented to the French government by Mohammed Ali, Khedive of Egypt. It weighs five hundred thousand pounds, is seventy-two feet three inches high, seven feet

six inches square at the base and five feet seven inches at the top. It took three years to transport it from Thebes and it was erected on its present site at a cost of four hundred thousand dollars. A plan of its transportation and erection may be seen in the Musée de la Marine in the Louvre. It formerly stood in front of the Temple of Thebes, and was erected by the great Sesostris fifteen hundred years before Christ. It was cut out of the solid rock—red granite—and its surface is as smooth as a mirror. It is covered on all sides with hieroglyphics, which are not, as yet, well understood.

On the right and left of this beautiful monolith are two fountains, one dedicated to maritime and the other to fluvial navigation. The basins are fifty feet in diameter, and are ornamented with dolphins, winged-children and spouting-swans.

On the borders of this square are eight colossal figures, representing the principal cities of France, and four magnificent stone horses and their grooms—two at the entrance into Champs-Élysées and two at the entrance into the park and garden of the Tuileries.

At this season of the year, when nature and art vie with each other, the grandeur of this historic *Place* is unequalled.

Westward one mile and a half, on rising ground, is Place de l'Étoile, at which point there radiate twelve boulevards or avenues, like spokes in a wheel. One of these is Champs-Élysées and another the Avenue du Bois de Boulogne. On this spot stands the Arc de Triomphe, erected in honor of the first Napoleon and his marshals at a cost of two million one hundred thousand dollars. It is the largest triumphal arch in Europe, and the most beautiful in the world. It is one hundred and fifty-two feet high, one hundred and thirty-seven feet broad and sixty-eight feet deep. Its principal arch is ninety feet high. Numer-

ous groups of figures in *alto relievo* adorn its sides and ends. From the top of this beautiful structure we have a delightful view of the western portion of the city, the Bois de Boulogne, Fort Valerien and many suburban towns and villages,

Turning now to the eastern half of the city, we find, on a line with these, two other important points from which radiate numerous boulevards and avenues—Place de la Bastille and Place du Trône. The former is the site of the old Bastille prison, for many years the dread of all France. In it languished and died many princes, nobles and patriots. On the 14th of July, 1789, during a bloody insurrection this hateful place was captured, the prisoners were liberated and the Bastille demolished. Instead of it there now stands the beautiful bronze Colonne de Juillet. It is one hundred and fifty-four feet high and rests on a solid basement, ornamented with bas-reliefs in bronze. Over the Corinthian capital is a gallery sixteen feet square, which is reached by a spiral stairway inside, and from which we have a delightful view of this part of the city. Above all is an immense globe upon which stands a colossal figure of the Genius of Liberty.

Place du Trône, near the eastern border of the city, is also a large and beautiful place, consisting of several acres of ground. It is ornamented with columns, statuary, fountains and flower gardens.

Many other important points, north and south of the river, might be mentioned, some of which have a historic interest and value, as Place de l'Hotel de Ville, Place du Carrousel and Place Vendôme.

There are over three thousand public thoroughfares in Paris. The boulevards and avenues especially attract the attention of tourists. They are broad, macadamized streets with one, two and three rows of trees on each side. Those which are most frequented form a semi-circle between

Place de la Bastille and the Madeleine, a distance of three miles. The Champs-Élysées and the cross boulevards Sebastopol and St. Michael are often crowded to overflowing.

The parks and gardens form another interesting feature of Paris. On these the highest style of art is displayed. The park and gardens of the Tuileries are in the form of a rectangle two thousand two hundred and fifty feet long and about one thousand feet broad. Immediately in front of the palace is the private garden—a beautiful place—adorned with statuary in bronze and Parian marble. The park is skirted on the north and south with chestnut, elm and palm trees, and in the center is an immense basin from which the water is thrown to an unusual height. Between the gardens and the park is a terrace from the top of which, looking westward over Place de la Concorde and Champs-Élysées, we have a magnificent view. The same view is obtained from the verandas of the Tuileries; and in the afternoon, when the fountains are playing, the prospect is really enchanting. Imperialism never looked out upon a grander scene. The Luxembourg garden, at the side of which is the royal palace, presents altogether a different appearance, but for simple, exquisite beauty, we may truly say it has no equal. Parc de Monceau is a charming retreat, in the summer months—a *rus in urbe*, Parc de Montsouris, at the edge of the city, is noted for its immense subterranean reservoirs.

The Botanical Garden (Jardin des Plantes), on the south side of the Seine, is a magnificent establishment. Here every species of plants, large and small, that can be cultivated in the open air, in hot-houses and in green-houses, may be seen and studied. Here, also, may be seen and studied every species of animals that can be kept alive in this latitude, including birds, fishes, reptiles and insects. The Library of Natural History, Laboratories and Amphitheatres, in which lectures are delivered, are open and free

to all. Seventeen professors are employed and paid by the government. The museum of natural history, it is said, stands at the head of all institutions of the kind, and the museum of comparative anatomy is considered the richest in the world. In this department are the collections of the great Cuvier. The whole is under the supervision of the Minister of the Interior.

Those who are interested in education in the United States wish to know something of the system of instruction in Paris. At the head of it is the University of France, which, properly speaking, is only a board of education, consisting of nine members presided over by the Minister of Public Instruction, as grand master, with twenty-two inspectors-general of studies.

The great School of Paris consists of Five Academies, or departments of study—science, letters, law, theology and medicine—and as many faculties. Seventy-one regular professors and a large number of supplementary are employed in them. After these come the Royal College with twenty-seven professors, the College of Natural History with seventeen professors and adjuncts, then the colleges of Louis le Grand, Napoleon Bonaparte, St. Louis and Charlemagne, the Polytechnic School, the Central School of Arts and Manufactures, the Normal School, the School of Roads and Bridges, the School of Mines, the School of Charts, Oriental Languages, Pharmacy, Designs and Fine Arts. Instruction is free in all. Some of the buildings are old, but very substantial, as the Sorbonne; others are new, handsome, well ventilated, lighted and furnished.

The state religion is Roman Catholic, but great liberty is at present allowed. The Minister of Public Instruction has also supervision of public worship. The Notre Dame is the great cathedral—the metropolitan church. It is a magnificent Gothic structure, the foundation of

which was laid in the year 1160, on the site of the old church dedicated to the memory of St. Stephen in 365.

The church of St. Roch, on Rue St. Honoré, near the Tuileries, was founded in 1653. Its architecture is Corinthian and Doric, and it is regarded as one of the richest churches in Paris. From it the unfortunate Marie Antoinette was led to execution.

The Madeleine is a magnificent building founded in 1764. It stands on a platform three hundred and twenty-eight feet long by one hundred and thirty-eight feet broad, and is approached by a flight of steps extending the whole length of the façade. It is surrounded by two hundred and fifty-two Corinthian columns forty-nine feet high and six feet in diameter at the base. The doors are bronze and are the largest in the world, except those of St. Peter's at Rome. The whole is built of stone, iron and copper, and is lighted from three cupolas. The representation of the Judgment in *alto relievo* on the façade is an elaborate piece of art.

The Pantheon is built in the form of the Greek cross with a lofty dome. It rests upon a foundation nearly three hundred feet square. It is modeled after the Pantheon at Rome, and is said to have cost six million dollars. The portico of this magnificent temple is supported by Corinthian columns sixty feet in height and six feet in diameter. The interior is indescribably grand. The dome, which is surmounted by a cupola, rises two hundred and seventy feet above the pavement. If the tourist has ambition and strength of muscle to mount the several flights of stairs, he will be amply rewarded by a charming view of the city obtained from this elevated point; and looking down through the opening in the dome, he may be equally charmed and bewildered at the sight of men and women moving on the floor like figures on a chess-board.

We might refer to other noted buildings used for public

worship, but time and space will not permit. The French are indeed a religious people in their way, notwithstanding the fact of their reputed skepticism and infidelity. The Hebrew, the Greek and the Protestant worship are equally protected by the Imperial government.

There are many valuable libraries in Paris, but we can only mention one—the *Bibliothèque Impériale*. It is near the center of the city, and it is open and free to persons of every nationality. It contains the largest collection of books in the world, besides pamphlets, manuscripts, maps and engravings. The reading rooms are large and well lighted.

Those who have not been in the French capital may form some idea of the extent of the Tuileries and the Louvre, if we state that they cover about forty acres of ground. Originally these palaces were separated from each other a full quarter of a mile. The Tuileries face the west, and extend from the Seine to the Rue de Rivoli. The first story is Ionic, the second Corinthian, and the third Composite. The Louvre faces the east. Its colonnade is supported by Corinthian columns and has been much admired and praised. Napoleon I. conceived the idea of uniting these palaces, but it remained for his nephew, the present Emperor, to begin and complete this noble work. When the Imperial family is absent the *salons* of the Tuileries are open to visitors. Their grandeur is said to be unsurpassed. The old Louvre and part of the new are used as art galleries, and the remaining parts are occupied by the Minister of Finance and the Imperial Guards.

In this connection we may refer to the immense collections of art, ancient and modern, in the Louvre. These are distributed in museums—sixteen in all—and each one embraces many apartments or galleries.

The Museum of Painting is probably the most attractive.

The Italian, the Spanish, the German, the Flemish and Dutch, and the French schools are all fully represented. Michael Angelo, Raphaël, Rubens, Valasquez, Titien and Van Dyke are especially admired and studied. A large hall is given to Rubens. Michael Angelo's masterpiece, the Slaying of the Dragon, is here, and Murillo's Conception, which cost one hundred and twenty-three thousand dollars.

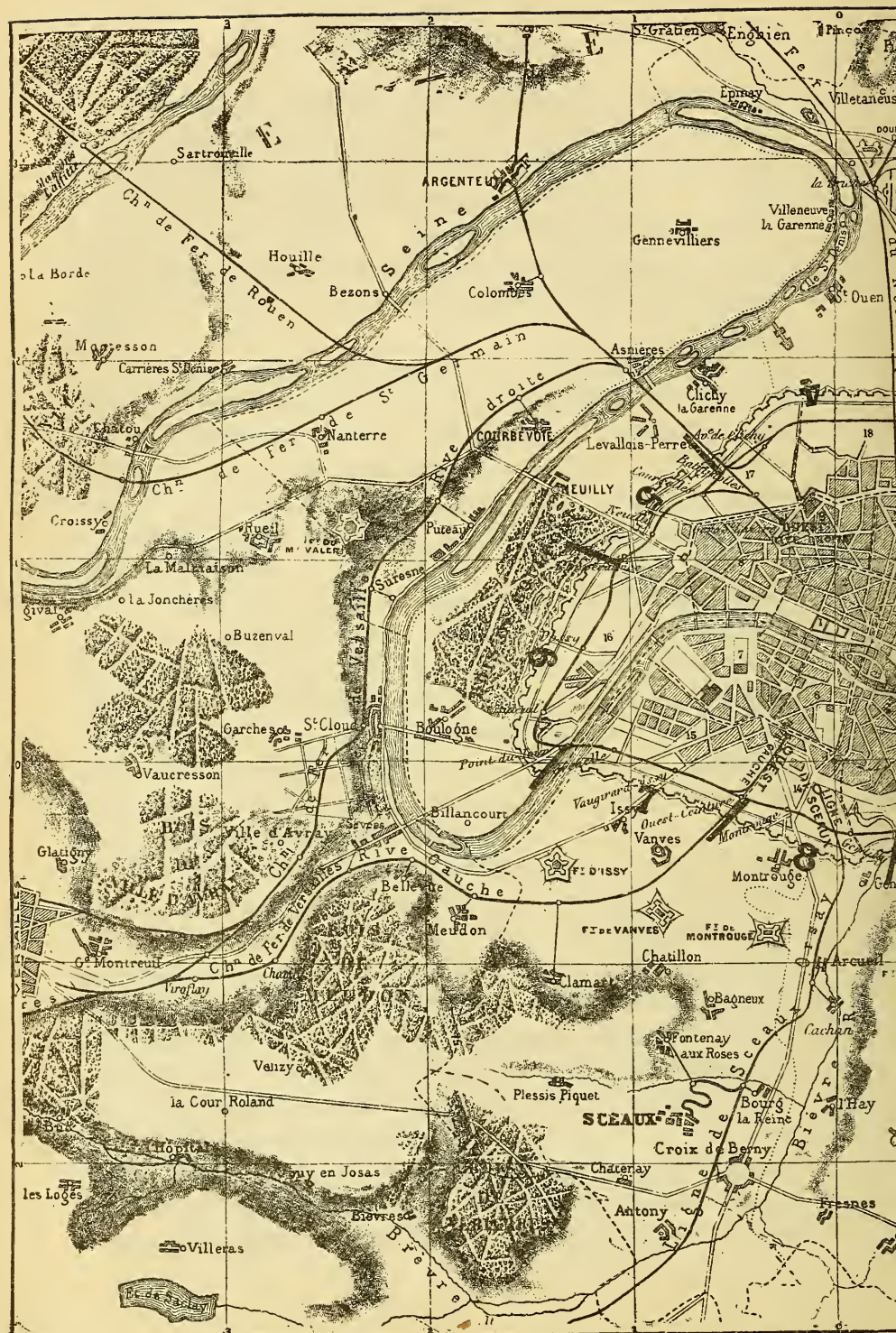
There are three Museums of Sculpture—Antique, Mediæval and Modern. In these museums there is an empire of wealth in bronze and marble. Caryatides, centaurs, gladiators, gods and nymphs, Jupiters and Dianas, emperors, queens and consuls, orators and poets, and the renowned Venus de Milo, a magnificent specimen of Grecian sculpture,

To these may be added the Assyrian Museum which contains collections from Nineveh and Pergamus; the Egyptian Museum, with its sphinxes and sacred bulls and Zodiac of Denderah; the Algerian and the Naval Museums; the Museum of the Sovereigns of Europe and, lastly, the Museum of Napoleon III. a collection purchased from the Roman Government for four million three hundred and sixty thousand francs.

There are many other collections of art in Paris, open to the public and free, which we cannot delay to mention.

The Luxembourg Palace is on the south side of the river. It was built by Marie de Medici. In 1621 she bequeathed it to her son, the Duke of Orleans. The front, facing the garden, presents three main buildings connected by art galleries. The Imperial Senate holds its meetings here; but the greater part of the palace is used for the exhibition of the works of living artists.

The Bourbon Palace, on the same side of the river, and opposite Place de la Concorde, was built in 1722, by Louise Duchess Dowager of Bourbon. It afterwards became the



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property of the Prince of Condé who enlarged it at an expense of four million dollars. It is now occupied by the Chamber of Deputies (*Corps Legislatif*). Its majestic portico and façade, supported by twelve Corinthian columns, are much admired.

The Royal Palace (*Palais Royal*) faces the Louvre. It was built by Cardinal Richelieu who presented it to Louis XIII. It remained in possession of the Bourbons until after the death of the Duke of Orleans, in 1793, when it was confiscated. Under the first Napoleon, Prince Lucien resided here. In 1848 it was completely devastated by the mob. It was re-built and much improved and is now occupied by Prince Napoleon and the Princess Clotilde. Its restoration is in real Pompeian style. Visitors are not admitted. But the garden, seven hundred feet long and three hundred wide, is given to the public and is the place most of all frequented, in Paris. It is surrounded by a magnificent arcade, three stories high, which is let out to jewelers, watch dealers and restaurant keepers. It is ornamented with fountains, vases and statuary and has become a source of revenue to the Prince.

There are many other palaces in Paris to which we might refer if time permitted, as the Palace of the Legion of Honor, the Palace of Industry, and the Palace in which Madame Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XV., resided.

The term hotel is applied in Paris, to buildings which are used for a variety of purposes, as the *Hôtel Dieu*, or great hospital, the *Hôtel des Monnaies*, or mint, and the *Hôtel de Ville*, or city hall. The last is regarded as the most beautiful public building on the continent of Europe, It is rectangular in shape and contains, on the second floor, a circuit of halls half a mile in extent. At the reception of Queen Victoria seven thousand guests were here entertained. Besides there are over six hundred rooms which are used by the officers and clerks of the government.

It is built on Place de Grève near the center of the city and has witnessed many a brilliant as well as bloody scene. But the term hotel is also used in Paris in the sense in which it is used in the United States—as the Hôtel du Louvre, Hôtel Maurice and the Grand Hôtel.

The Bourse is a superb structure, built in the same style as the Madeleine. Its length is two hundred and twelve feet and its breadth one hundred and twenty-six feet. Its principal entrance is by a flight of steps which extends the whole length of the western front. It is surrounded by sixty-six Corinthian columns which support an entablature and attic. The central hall, which is lighted from the roof, is capable of holding two thousand persons. During business hours the excitement, noise, tumult and confusion are beyond description. At present the people surround the Bourse from morning to night and the *gendarmes* are constantly on the alert.

There are many places of amusement in Paris—opera houses, theatres, circuses and hippodromes, and yet there will soon be completed a greater than any of these. It is a magnificent opera house, facing the Boulevard des Capuchins, in a fashionable part of the city.

Paris is well supplied with hospitals. The accommodations for the sick, the wounded the aged, the blind, the deaf the insane are in harmony with the grandeur of the city, and the liberality of the government. The poor are not neglected. They are provided with work when in health, and when sick or disabled they are cared for.

The bright and cheerful appearance of Paris, to which we have already referred, the absence of filth and garbage in the streets, the neatness shown in the dress of the people, their love of fashion and their politeness, are all suggestive of excellent sanitary conditions, as well as an advanced stage of civilization. Personal cleanliness seems to be a cardinal virtue in the French people. I have

been in every part of the city, and have not seen a filthy or ragged child any where. If imperialism produces such results in Paris, it would be well to have some of it in England and in the United States. When in London I was shocked at the sight of boys and girls, at noonday in the streets, half naked, filthy and idle with no one apparently to care for them.

In a city with two million one hundred thousand inhabitants, government is not an easy matter, and yet it is said that Paris is the best governed municipality in the world. The Minister of the Interior has of course supreme authority. Next to him is the Prefect of the Seine, then the Mayor of Paris who presides at the meetings of the twenty mayors of the wards every afternoon. The city is again divided into eighty quarters, and each of these has a *commissaire* of police. He is in constant communication with the people of his quarter, and has the supervision of several bureaus. He has charge of the streets, the water, the gas, accidental deaths, licenses, lost articles, and a police force sufficient to preserve order. A lamp of colored glass hangs at the entrance to his office. At present the city is under martial law—General Trochu taking the place of the Prefect.

We conclude this chapter with a brief reference to the fortifications outside the walls and to the suburban towns and villages. There are fifteen forts in the circuit at distances varying from two to four miles from the walls, and from each other. They are regarded as the finest specimens of military engineering in Europe. Some of them cover several acres of ground. They are bomb-proof and are now undergoing inspection.

St. Denis on the north is indeed a walled city, with forty-five thousand inhabitants. It is noted for its old Gothic cathedral in which are buried the kings of a thousand years. Vincennes on the east is noted for its old chateau,

its fort and its beautiful park. St. Cloud on the west surpasses all for its magnificent palace and its beautiful gardens. It is the favorite summer residence of the Imperial family.

Of the three hundred towns and villages which lie within a half dozen miles of the walls, we can only say that the people who reside in them belong for the most part to the industrial classes. They are manufacturers of all kinds of goods and wares which find a market in the great city, and cultivators of the soil—small farmers, gardeners and florists.

Last of all we may mention the Bois de Boulogne outside the walls at the west end of the city. It is four miles long and two broad, and is considered the most beautiful park in the world ; on the same side of the city is St. Cloud, Fort Valérien, and Malmaison ,the residence of Josephine after her divorce.

CHAPTER IX.

PARIS, AUGUST 28TH, 1870.

Paris Famishing for News—General Trochu Fortifying the City—
German Spies—Dissolute Women—Battles of Borny, Mars le
Tour and Gravelotte—The Emperor at Chalons.

FROM the day that Prince Leopold was announced as a candidate for the Spanish throne, now eight weeks, the excitement in Paris has continued, and of late has become intense. With the exception of brief intervals which tired nature claims for rest and sleep, there has been no abatement. As the news or rumors have varied from day to day, the excitement has varied, and has often risen to the height of passionate demonstration. Before the fighting began it was characterized by patriotic enthusiasm, altogether commendable, except in the excess of pride and folly mingled with it. Since the invasion and numerous disasters on the frontier it has assumed the form of rage and disappointment which the people cannot conceal. Figurative language has been used by French writers to describe these extraordinary scenes to which we have already referred. At one time Paris is like a swarm of bees; at another like a storm on the ocean, over which there is no control. Were it not that the enemy is in the country I believe Paris would be in ruins to-day. Two sentiments are dominant in the minds of the people—opposition to the Empire which in a great measure is concealed or suppressed—and opposition to the enemy which at this moment reigns supreme. The union of the German states against France has united all Frenchmen of every fac-

tion, and for the present holds their well-known passion for revolution in check. What France needs now, and most of all, is a leader with less vanity than the Emperor and more courage. Thus far he has not shown any of the talent of his distinguished uncle. Great military leaders are not made in the schools—like poets and orators they are born.

The paucity of official news, especially during the last two weeks, has intensified these sentiments of the people, and the sensational rumors which are started every day or two give rise to a temporary insanity or frenzy which explodes in demonstrations. It is stated, and apparently upon good authority, that two and sometimes three days have passed without dispatches from the Emperor, MacMahon or Bazaine. The *Journal Officiel* contains only scraps of telegrams, and these generally from subordinates in the service. We cannot believe that the Empress is not receiving frequent dispatches from the Emperor, but as these contain nothing favorable they are suppressed. The movements of the French armies are always represented in Paris journals as parts of a grand scheme of strategy, by which the invader will be finally defeated and forced to retire from the country. But it is extremely difficult to understand how these movements can result in victory except for the Germans, if Bazaine is surrounded in Metz, and the Emperor and MacMahon are moving northward, as is reported. Information on these points which cannot be doubted has reached Paris from London and Brussels, but we cannot suppose that the Emperor and MacMahon will allow themselves to be surrounded on the frontier, as General Uhrich is at Strasbourg and Marshal Bazaine is at Metz.

American and English residents and tourists, as well as those of other nationalities, have generally left the city, but at present I see no reason why I should leave. I

have become greatly interested in the war and in the invasion which threatens Paris. It seems impossible for me to maintain an attitude of indifference in these extraordinary circumstances. Whilst the principal objects of my visit to the French capital may not be attained, I am nevertheless much engaged. I am making regular morning visits to one or other of the numerous hospitals where there is much to be seen. I am at full liberty to go where I please in the city, but I always carry my passport with me. Recently I have extended my excursions in the afternoons as far as the walls and the forts outside; and, on each occasion, I have been surprised at the amount of work that has been done in the way of fortifying the city.

General Trochu certainly understands the character of the Parisian population. He has not only organized two new corps, and sent General Vinoy to the frontier in command of one of them, but he has given work to thousands of men who are out of employment in consequence of the war and the excitement. Barricades are being erected at all the principal entrances into the city. Place du Trône, near the eastern wall, has undergone a great change in the last few days. A triangular fortification, made of square blocks of pavement stone, has taken the place of the beautiful flower gardens, and near the western wall a similar work has been erected across the avenue of the Grand Army leading out to the Bois de Boulogne. Hundreds of cannon and siege guns have been placed on the walls, and magazines have been constructed in the terrace at numerous points for the safety of the ammunition. At the principal gateways fortifications and earth works are in course of erection, and outside of these an abatis, made of pointed pieces of timber, is placed in the ground, so as to make the approach of infantry or cavalry impossible. Draw-bridges are constructed at every gate, and arrangements are made to fill the ditches with water. On the

south or left bank of the Seine are Forts Ivry, Bicêtre, Montrouge, Vanves, Issy and Mont-Valérien; on the north are Forts Briche, the Double Crown, Est, Aubervilliers, Romanville, Rosny, Nogent, Vincennes and Charenton; and on the postroads and railroads leading out between the forts, are numerous redoubts and barricades which complete the circle. The forts themselves are regarded as impregnable, and are well supplied with cannon and siege guns of the largest calibre, but not, as it is feared, of the most improved patterns.

Soon after the fighting began, the government issued an order that all persons of German nationality, not naturalized, should leave France. It was estimated that at least thirty thousand were in Paris, and the Prefect of the Seine repeated the order, giving three days for all such to leave the city. Recently the Governor renewed it, and still there are some who linger behind, having no home to which they can go, no friends and no money. Their lot is a hard one, and yet the order must be obeyed. To assist them, the municipal authorities offer free passes on the railroads leading to Germany. During the last few days the gendarmes, going from street to street, gather up the much-hated Teutons and hasten them off to the railroad stations—an act of mercy indeed—for no German has been safe in Paris since the fighting began. Some have lost their lives, being unwilling to obey the order. Several have been arrested as spies—tried, convicted and shot. One by the name of Hardt is said to have met his doom with the greatest fortitude and courage. In the presence of the platoon of soldiers who shot him, blindfolded and on his knees, he declared that he was ready to die for his country. His last words were—*Pour la Patrie!* The illustrated journals give sketches of these tragic scenes.

An American tourist, with whom I became acquainted,

was suspected as a spy. Having the appearance of a German, speaking the language, and imprudently associating with some of them, he was arrested, taken to the headquarters of the police on Place Vendôme, and examined from head to foot. He had no passport with him at the time, and, being unable to speak the French language, he had difficulty in proving citizenship in the United States. During the examination he could only say—*Ich bin ein Amerikaner*, or the equivalent of it—“I am an American.” No proof to the contrary being at hand, he was dismissed with advice communicated to him by an interpreter to leave the city.

But the order applies to all persons of foreign birth who have no occupation or visible means of support, including those especially who belong to the turbulent, vicious and prostitute classes, no matter where they have been born. Here and there we see, in the middle of the streets, groups of rough-looking men, who have been gathered up from the faubourgs, as well as groups of dissolute women, in the care of the gendarmes, marching in the direction of the gates. To break ranks is at the risk of life, for the officers are well armed with swords and revolvers. The order is peremptory, that all persons who are likely to become a burden to the city, in case of a siege, shall be placed outside the walls.

Recently government agents have been sent out to purchase the produce of the adjoining departments, especially the grain, and to ship it immediately into Paris. Wood, coal, peat and everything that may be useful in such an emergency, are gathered up and brought into the city.

Transferring ourselves to the frontier we find that Marshal Bazaine is really surrounded in Metz. With all the efforts and sacrifices of his brave army—consisting of one hundred and seventy-five thousand men—he has been unable to keep up communication with the Emperor and with

the government in Paris. Alsace and Lorraine are not only in possession of the German army, but the King of Prussia, as if determined to hold on to these rich provinces, has appointed prefects over them. All the fortified places, including Phalsbourg and Toul, are invested. The Emperor and Marshal MacMahon are apparently in search of a battle-field, not knowing which way to turn.

In a former chapter we gave the position of the contending forces as they arranged themselves on the boundary line between France and Germany. A few days later, August 14th, we find the Germans facing the Moselle, which flows northward through Pont à Mouson, Metz and Thionville. They have advanced in three columns, and now occupy a full half circle, from Toul on the south to Sierk on the north. MacMahon, Felix Douay and Faily have crossed the Moselle and are retreating westward. The Emperor and his staff are in Metz; Bazaine, Canrobert, LeBoeuf, Frossard, Admirault and Bourbaki are immediately around the city. General Steinmetz occupies a semi-circle east of Metz. Prince Frederick Charles crossed the river at Pont à Mouson and completed the circle on the south and west. The King and his staff have been moving on a line midway between them, so that the Royal headquarters have been safe from the incursions of the French cavalry. The Crown Prince of Prussia was ordered to cross the river at Toul and follow MacMahon.

To hold the Germans in check at this time, the French were ordered to move southward up the Moselle, and the result was the battle of Borny. Fighting did not begin until two o'clock in the afternoon, but it continued until the darkness of night closed the scene. The French made many efforts to hold their own, but were forced back from one position to another until they reached the outer fortifications. On both sides heavy losses were sustained. Artillery, infantry and cavalry were used. In the mean-



BATTLE FIELD OF METZ

time the Second German army succeeded in crossing the river at Pont à Mouson. Other engagements of less importance took place during the day which need not be referred to.

In these inauspicious circumstances the Emperor hastened to leave Metz. After appointing Marshal Bazaine commander-in-chief, he set out for Verdun, under the protection of a portion of the Imperial Guard. He took with him the Prince Impèrial and Prince Jerome, who is better suited for speech-making in the Senate than for playing the part of a useful *attaché* of the army. At Longville they put up for the night, and barely escaped being captured. On this day (August 15th), the birthday of the First Napoleon, the Emperor, instead of celebrating it in Paris as had been his custom, was fleeing for his life from Metz. At the same time the King of Prussia, accompanied by members of his staff, appeared on the battle-field where still lay the dead and the wounded, and congratulated his brave soldiers for their brilliant achievement. Strange as it may appear, this battle was announced in Paris as a victory for France, and it is only within the last week that the people have been willing to believe anything else.

The greater part of the army of Prince Frederick Charles, which, up to this time, had not been engaged in battle, crossed the Moselle, pressed on westward and then northward, and in the morning of the 16th inst. was ready for the battle of Mars-le-Tour, better known in Paris as the battle of Vionville. It was not believed that such difficult movements could be made in so short a time. The fighting began at nine o'clock, and continued until late in the evening with serious losses on both sides. The French were taken by surprise.

At the same time a large portion of the First army, commanded by General Steinmetz, crossed the Moselle at

Thionville north of Metz, and pressed on westward beyond Abbeville and Conflans, and, uniting with the forces of Prince Frederick Charles, completed the circle.

Marshal Bazaine, in the meantime, sent Frossard's corps in the direction of these towns, but, to his surprise, found the Germans in possession of them, and that a strong force would be necessary to break the lines. The battle of Mars-le-Tour took place and the discipline and activity of the Germans became still more apparent. Five corps had already crossed the Moselle and taken their positions. On the 17th, the dead were buried, and preparations were made on both sides for a life-and-death struggle. This took place the next day at Gravelotte and vicinity. Since the battle of Waterloo, it is said, no such scene has been witnessed in Europe. Bazaine had in his command four corps, the Imperial Guards and the troops of the garrison. General von Moltke and the King, who was present, had at least seven corps, the French were commanded by Frossard, Admirault, Decaen, Canrobert and Bourbaki; the Germans by Manteuffel, Zastrow, Goeben, Fransecki, Alvensleben, Manstein and Voigts-Rhetz. Bazaine had one hundred and seventy five thousand men; Moltke had not less than two hundred and fifty thousand. The fighting began in the early part of the day, and it is said to have continued twelve hours. At several points the greatest heroism was displayed; in the evening thousands lay dead on the field of carnage. Between Mars-le-Tour and Metz, a distance of eight miles, the greatest losses were sustained, but fighting occurred at other points, as at Doncourt, Jaumont and Marcel. In the afternoon the King took command of his armies, and evidently witnessed the progress of the battle with satisfaction. As on the 14th and 16th, the darkness of night closed the frightful scene. Generals Sheridan and Forsythe, of the United States army, it is said, were eye-witnesses. Though thousands

the next day were laid in the trenches, and many more thousands were taken to the hospitals, the Germans had enough to form a circle of forty miles and to hold the city. From the 18th to the present no official information has been received in Paris from Bazaine, but the people are confident that he will be able to cut his way through the lines.

Without the delay of a moment a fourth German army was organized, and Albert, the Crown Prince of Saxony, was placed in command. He was ordered to set out immediately for Verdun, and to move upon the left of the Emperor's retreating forces. Meanwhile the Crown Prince of Prussia was ordered to move upon the right.

The Emperor and MacMahon met at Chalons in advance of their troops and the former was greatly perplexed. He hastened on to Reims where he had a private interview with members of the Government and confidential friends. The Empress-Regent, as is reported, had warned him of the danger of falling back upon Paris. She was fearful of an insurrection, and he is disposed to yield to her judgment against the advice of MacMahon.

Accordingly the Prince Imperial was sent to Belgium; Prince Jerome, having no love for military exploits, started for Italy, where his wife, the Princess Clotilde, had already gone. In personal appearance Jerome is said to resemble the First Napoleon, but he has none of the ambition or talent that distinguished him. In the meantime MacMahon was busily engaged reorganizing his army; the reserves which were gathered into the Twelfth and Thirteenth corps have been added to his command.

August 25th the Emperor ordered a flank movement—always a hazardous adventure in a retreating army. MacMahon reluctantly obeyed, for he knew that it was dictated by the petticoat government in Paris. His army is moving northward in the direction of the Belgian line.

The Crown Prince of Prussia has crossed the Moselle and the Meuse, and his advanced forces have reached Chalons. His headquarters are at Bar-le-Duc. Prince Albert has reached Verdun, has crossed the Meuse, and is moving in the direction of Grand Pré and the forests of Ardennes. MacMahon's army, moving northward to assist Bazaine, has left Paris at the mercy of the Crown Prince and the people are panic-stricken, having no army to defend the city. If it has been the intention of the Emperor to lay a trap for his pursuers, they have certainly not fallen into it. The Crown Prince, instead of moving upon Paris, is in rapid pursuit of the French. The able strategist, Baron von Moltke, could not be induced to commit so great a blunder.

These movements have relieved the anxiety of the masses of the Parisian population, who see danger only when it is near at hand; but those who have paid some attention to military affairs and are free from political bias see nothing in the policy of the Emperor but stupidity and folly. He is moving in the direction of the Belgian line, with the victorious army of the Crown Prince of Prussia close at his heels and the Crown Prince of Saxony on his right. We wait very impatiently for further developments.

CHAPTER X.

PARIS, SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1870.

Liberality and Patriotism of the People—Empress-Regent Severely Tried—Purchase of Produce—German Residents Forced out of Paris—Bombardment of Strasbourg—Ignorance in Regard to the Movements of the Armies.

IN this chapter we propose to gather up a few items which have been necessarily omitted, and to conclude with the little that is known of the armies. Fortunately for France in this emergency the people have plenty of money. On the 12th of August a national loan of seven hundred and fifty millions of francs was voted by the House of Deputies, and in less than three days after the bonds were ready they were all sold. Paris alone, in thirty-six hours, took five hundred million of francs worth of them.

At the same time a Soldiers' Aid Society was organized, and several hundred thousand francs have been subscribed to a fund which is to be spent in the care of the wounded and sick. Wealthy individuals in Paris and in the departments, irrespective of political sentiments, have contributed liberally, and ambulance companies have been sent to the frontier. In this good work the Sisters of Charity and women of eminence in the city are taking an active part.

Another evidence of disinterested patriotism has been evinced, but this time by a different class of citizens. The fire companies in the smaller cities of France are generally composed of soldiers who have passed the limits of service, and are no longer required to enter the ranks. On the 10th of August M. de St. Paul offered a resolution in the

Senate, which, however, was not agreed to—that all able-bodied firemen above the age of forty-five be allowed to enter the army for the defense of the capital, and that arms, quarters and rations be furnished them at the expense of the city. The resolution was misunderstood, nevertheless it kindled in the breast of these veteran soldiers the enthusiasm of former years, and the prefects of the departments, without waiting for orders from the proper authorities, furnished them transportation on the railroads. On the 17th an order was issued by the Minister of the Interior to the prefects to countermand their orders, but for some of them it was too late. Fifteen to twenty thousand were already in Paris, parading the boulevards calling for arms and shouting: *Vive la France! On to Berlin!* At one time they would chant *les Girondins*, so imposing in its serene simplicity.

Mourir pour la patrie! etc.

And at another, the *Marseillaise*, which can only be sung with effect by the French people.

Amour sacré de la patrie,
Viens, soutiens nos bras vengeurs!

The whole affair had a ridiculous termination, for the brave firemen had to be packed in the cars and sent back to their homes. The occasion, if it had no other effect, furnished them an opportunity to visit the city and to ventilate their patriotism on the boulevards at the public expense.

In this connection we may state that in all the theatres and opera houses in Paris, since the declaration of war, the entertainments have been opened and closed with patriotic songs. The players come to the front, and the audience rises and joins in the chorus, the women waving their handkerchiefs and the men their hats. These scenes are, of course, indescribable, depending upon the emotional

character of the French people. In no other country could such demonstrations be witnessed.

Of the Empress-Regent very little has been said in the journals during the last two weeks. The Minister of War, Count Palikao, bears the greater part of the responsibility and criticism. It is understood that cabinet meetings are held every day and that the Empress is present. She is intensely interested in the success of the army, as is quite natural, and in the continuance of the Empire. On several occasions she is said to have exercised the prerogatives of her position with unexpected severity, notably in the case of General Baraguay, who, until recently, had charge of the Palais de Bourbon, in which the deputies assemble. The smoking of a segar with M. Leon Gambetta in one of the lobbies is alleged to have been the cause of his removal. A condescension of this kind to one who is rapidly becoming the idol of Republicanism in France could not be endured. He was immediately ordered to resume his command at Tours, and General Sumain has taken his place. The latter has been selected precisely for the reason, as it is said, that he is known to be a nullity in the army.

We can easily understand that there is at present a heavy strain upon the nervous system of Her Majesty, the Empress. She is an intelligent woman, and is probably better acquainted with the real situation of affairs in France than anyone in Paris. She has had opportunities to study the motives of the political factions that are ready for revolution at any time. Nor can she be ignorant of the fact that some of the officers of the army are not entirely devoted to the Emperor, and that, in certain contingencies which may arise at any moment, her own life may be in danger. At least this is the opinion of some who are well-informed. Moreover she has inherited a sensitive nature from a Spanish ancestry, and on this account, as well as

that of education, she finds it difficult to pardon those who do not on all occasions manifest an absolute devotion to the government. She knows well that the Imperial crown which she desires her son to wear is in jeopardy, and she is willing to bear the cross of the regency for his sake.

The Houses of Parliament have continued to hold meetings every day. The Senate has indeed but little to do at any time. It is the creature of the Emperor instituted for the purpose of safeguarding the constitution and his prerogatives. The chief interest is centered in the lower house in which the ministers and representatives of the people assemble. Every day inquiries have been made by the deputies for the latest news, and they have as often been disappointed. Members of the center, as well as the left, have made frequent efforts to draw from the ministers clear and unequivocal statements as to what has occurred on the frontier, but without success. It is possible, and even probable, that the Emperor has given orders to withhold from the deputies and the people the disasters that have happened to his army. We insert one of the communications which appeared in the *Journal Officiel* on the morning of the 22nd ult., which gave rise, on the same day, to unpleasant discussions in the House of Deputies :

August 22d, 1870.

The government, having received no dispatches from the army of the Rhine since two days, in consequence of the interruption of telegraphic communications, has reason to believe that the plan projected by Marshal Bazaine has not yet been carried out. The heroic conduct of our soldiers in the presence of an enemy very superior in numbers, assures us of success in other engagements. The pickets of the enemy have reached Saint Dizier.

COMTE DE PALIKAO,
Minister of War.

A statement of this kind, made at a time when it was reported in foreign journals, and known to some of the deputies through private sources, that Marshal Bazaine

was surrounded in Metz, and that the Emperor was fleeing from the enemy, exasperated those who were opposed to the policy of the government. They called the ministers to account for what seemed to be a deliberate attempt to deceive the public, and declared that they could no longer place confidence in them. Their Excellencies, Palikao, Brame and Duvernois were obliged to rise in their places and defend the action of the government, which they could only do by assuring the deputies that they had received no other information from the army than that which they have given from time to time in the official journal.

The refusal of the government to arm the people has elicited much discussion and criticism in the House of Deputies as well as in the press. All able-bodied men belonging to certain classes have indeed been called into the service, but this does not satisfy the masses of the people, who are apparently willing to enter the ranks with any kind of weapons, if chassepots cannot be obtained. Resolutions have been offered and bills have been presented providing for the arming of the people *en masse*, but the Minister of War has always opposed the movement, and when a vote had been reached on the subject the Imperialists have supported the minister. It is supposed that the arming of the people would be a dangerous experiment.

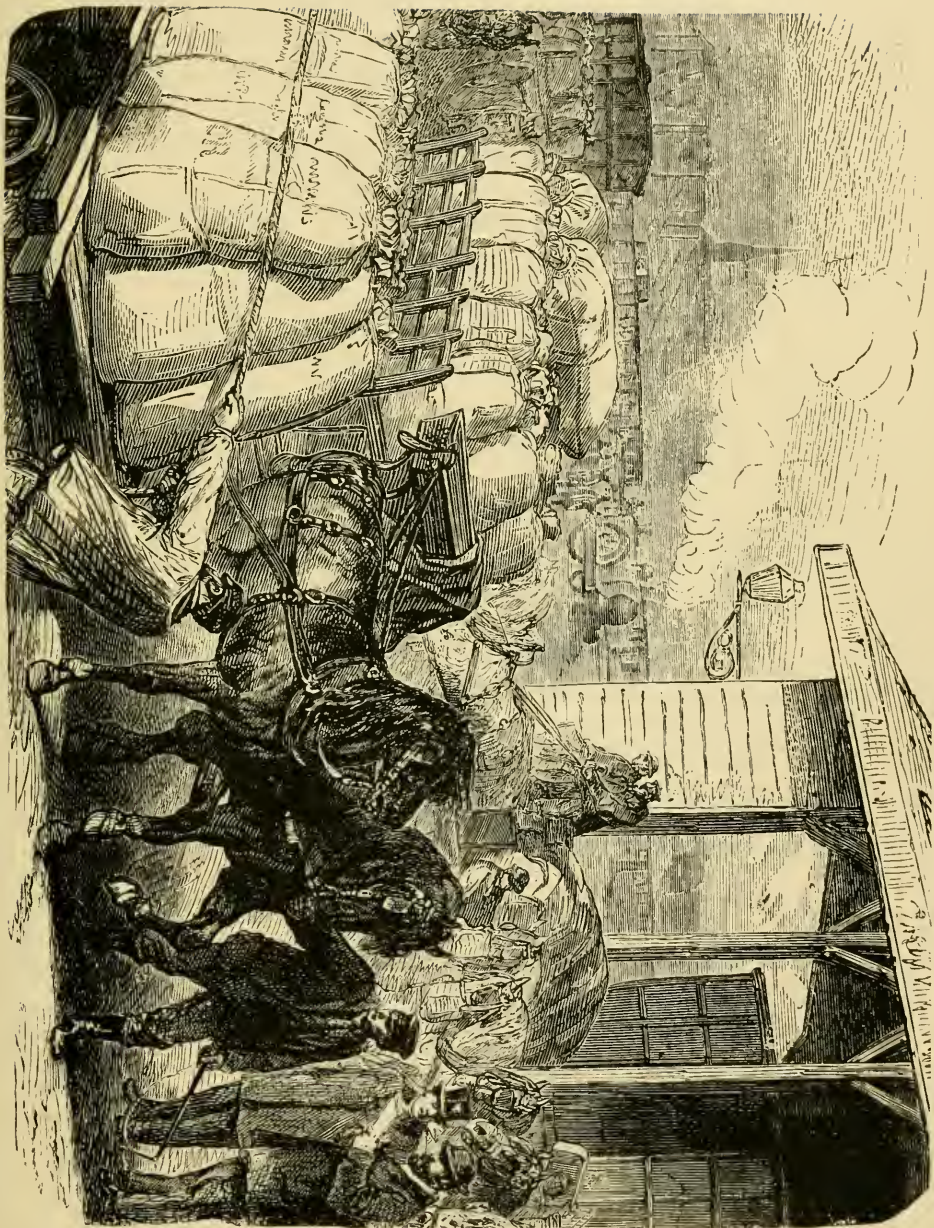
The right to manufacture arms and ammunition for the use of the army has thus far been reserved by the government, but in these extraordinary circumstances, when the country is invaded and the organized forces are not able to repel the enemy, it is claimed that the privilege should be extended to private parties. Accordingly M. Jules Ferry introduced a bill to repeal the sections of the law relating thereto, but the Minister of War opposed the measure with as much vigor as in the case of arming the people and has thus far been successful.

The defenses of the city is another subject which has especially interested the people of Paris during the last two weeks. The cabinet appointed a committee of three to assist the Governor in the superintendence of the fortifications and barricades, but the left and left-center have not been satisfied with this arrangement. They have assumed that as the executive department of the government has not been able to repel the invasion, the legislative should interfere, and consequently they have urged that nine deputies be added to the committee, and that the House be permitted to nominate them. The resolution was opposed by the ministers and finally defeated, but the ministers, as a compromise, added two Senators and three deputies, thus taking all the responsibility which they declared they were willing to do. On the following day, the 26th, the Hon. M. Thiers, by unanimous consent of both ministers and deputies, was added. This was done by acclamation—an evidence of respect and confidence rarely accorded to a citizen of France. The work of fortifying the city progresses rapidly.

The alimentionation of the city, as it is called, is also entered into with great unanimity. The Minister of Agriculture, M. Duvernois, is very active in gathering in from the adjoining departments all the produce and fuel that can be found, as well as fat cattle, cows, calves, sheep and hogs. In an excursion yesterday I observed that many uncultivated pieces of land in the direction of Fort Valerien and Saint Cloud are covered with live stock, and that thousands are grazing in the Bois de Boulogne.

In these times of extraordinary excitement one would suppose that scenes of violence and bloodshed would be of frequent occurrence in Paris, but such is not the case. The city is well governed. Thanks to the Empire for giving many good laws and institutions to Paris, as well as to France. Incendiarism, burglary and larceny are

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nearly impossible. The buildings are fire-proof, and the streets are broad and well lighted. The gendarmes are professional men, and are thoroughly acquainted with the duties assigned them. Detectives are numerous and criminals seldom elude their vigilance.

Since the invasion there have been two disturbing elements in the city—the German residents and the *canaille* of the faubourgs, who are generally communists of the lowest type. These have kept the police and the detectives constantly on the alert. Some of the Germans still remain, and are a source of irritation to the people, not because they have made hostile demonstrations of any kind, but because they were born in Germany and are unwilling to leave the city. Altercations have been frequent, and many arrests have been made, but very few have lost their lives—probably not more than half a dozen. It is well-known that two or three have been condemned as spies and shot in accordance with military law.

A Prussian brewer, named Reuter, has recently created a considerable sensation. His establishment is outside the walls between forts Vanves and Issy, and his numerous employés—clerks, brewers, teamsters and domestics—have all been Prussian. He is rich and has had an extensive trade with the saloon keepers in the city. Very naturally he has hesitated to leave his premises, having a large investment in lands, buildings and beer. He has asked permission to remain, but this has been refused. His place has been regarded as a rendezvous for the Germans, and he is himself under suspicion. The police saved him on several occasions, but they can no longer take the responsibility. They have closed his establishment and ordered him and his employés to leave the country.

A few Germans are allowed to remain. Female domestics are not generally molested, but those engaged in business and capable of acting as spies are required to leave

the city. I have become acquainted with a hotel proprietor who has obtained a permit to remain. His wife was French, and his two sons are in the National Guard. He makes a pretense of fealty to France, but his real sentiments are German.

The only serious attempt at violence since I have been in Paris occurred on Sunday afternoon, August 14th, in the Nineteenth arrondissement or ward. It is known as the affair of Villette. A secret association of communists, some of whom were foreigners, in all about seventy-five or eighty, made an attack upon a company of firemen in their barracks, without any known object except that of disturbing the peace and of raising a riot. Order, however, was soon restored by the prompt interposition of the police. Five or six persons were killed, and a considerable number wounded. The editors of journals have unanimously denounced it as a disgraceful affair. The leaders were arrested and some of them have already been executed. Search was made and arms and ammunition have been discovered. No time has been lost in bringing the guilty parties to justice, and M. Gambetta, referring to the affair in the House of Deputies, in a few eloquent remarks, commended the government for its energy and promptness in this respect.

Rumors of the bombardment of Strasbourg reached Paris a few days ago, but as nothing official appeared in the journals on the subject, the people were not inclined to believe that there was much damage done. Yesterday, however, M. Keller, one of the deputies from Alsace, asked and obtained permission to make a statement which has produced a considerable sensation. The Minister of War at first objected to his remarks, claiming that they should not be made in open session, but, after some discussion and frequent calls for a full statement of what had occurred, he was allowed to proceed. He reported a large portion

of the city destroyed, and many non-combatants—men, women and children—killed in their homes and in the streets. During the reading of parts of a letter that he had received, such expressions of indignation as these were heard: *C'est une atrocité! C'est de la barbarie!* General Werder has apparently preferred the night for the bombardment, knowing, as it is said, that he cannot take the city by shelling the ramparts, and therefore he hopes to frighten the people. General Uhrich, who occupies the citadel, refuses to surrender.

The great library, known to be one of the most valuable in Europe, is burned. Of the one hundred and thirty thousand volumes and numerous manuscripts, which have been handed down from century to century, not a single leaf has been saved. The largest Protestant church, Temple Neuf, is destroyed. Some of the university buildings, the museum and many beautiful private residences are in ruins. The renowned Cathedral has escaped, as it were, by miracle, though it has been struck at several points.

Strasbourg is situated on the west bank of the Rhine, and on the right side of the Ill, a small stream that flows into the Rhine a few miles below the city. It has long been regarded by the Germans as the key to France, and is considered one of the best protected cities in Europe, on account of swamp lands in the neighborhood, a strong citadel, forts and walls, and yet it has been reached by the long-range rifled cannon of the Prussians. It was founded by the Romans and was called Argentoratum. At present it contains eighty thousand inhabitants. The German language, as well as the French, is spoken by the people, but instruction in the university is given in French.

Since the siege of this noted city began the statue of Strasbourg in Paris, on the northeast corner of Place de la Concorde, has been covered with beautiful wreaths of

flowers which are renewed every day. From early morning until late in the afternoon hundreds of people stand around the statue paying their devotions, as it were, to the goddess of liberty. Patriotic songs are sung, the favorite of these being the *Marseillaise*. At intervals speeches are called for, and the orators, standing at the base of the statue, or mounting to the top of the pedestal, entertain the crowds. In this manner the day is spent, new speakers and new audiences coming and going every hour.

We translate a portion of an editorial which appeared in the *Moniteur Universel* of yesterday, a journal that is considered one of the best informed in Paris. It will show, among other things, how unwilling the French are to believe that Bazaine is surrounded in Metz :

“ During the last twelve days there has been a complete silence as regards the movements of the French armies. Patriotism, as well as military law, forbids a revelation of the plans of the leaders, and we are in as much ignorance as regards the movements of the enemy. On their side, as well as on ours, there are good reasons for our knowing so little. The Prussian staff sends but little information to the editors of German newspapers, and they are specially charged not to speak of military operations while they are in course of execution. We must, therefore, not expect any exact information upon the position of the two armies. As to the rumors so numerous and varied which circulate and are published in the journals, they are without authority and are often imaginary. Nevertheless in all these reports, whether invented, transformed or exaggerated, which reach us, there is a certain amount of truth, and from the whole we obtain a view of the situation, which, if it does not satisfy us, is better than complete ignorance.

“ Three principal facts were apparent at our last review of the subject : Marshal Bazaine was yet between the

Moselle and the Meuse, and held there the greater part of the enemy; Marshal MacMahon, abandoning the plains of Chalons and leaving the road open to Paris, moved on to Reims, and from Reims turned towards the Meuse obliquely northward; lastly, by the road he left open, the King of Prussia and the Prince Royal could have moved upon Paris, and in six days' march reached our forts. This, in brief, was the situation of the armies when we wrote our article three days ago on the probabilities of a siege.

“Since this time has the situation changed? It has only slightly changed—in this sense, that the march of the Prussians upon Paris, does not appear to be so imminent. We say *appear*, for, in the absence of positive information, we do not wish to affirm anything. But it seems that the Prussian staff judged it rash to undertake the siege of Paris before first obtaining a victory over marshals MacMahon and Bazaine, which would place them, for the moment, outside the case. We hope, however, the Prussians will not obtain this victory. They know, whatever be their confidence, which is somewhat lessened by the fighting at Metz, that they will only obtain it, if fortune favors them, at the expense of the most sanguinary efforts and by an immense display of forces. The Prince Royal, instead of continuing his march upon Paris, is moving northward in order to add his contingent to the masses of troops with which the Prussians propose to advance upon the two Marshals.

“The fighting will therefore be distant from Paris, at a point somewhere on our northwestern frontier, between Thionville and Rethel, towards Montmedy, or Sedan, or Mezieres, or a little more to the south in the region of Argonne, made famous by the campagne of 1792. The decisive battle will soon be fought there, probably the greatest of this century, though it has witnessed Borodino and Leipsic. We wait for it with great anxiety, with great

heaviness of heart, thinking of so many victims which are to be added to those which the war has already made; but we wait also with the hope that our leaders will desire to surpass anything that has yet been done, for they know what interests, immense and sacred, are placed in their hands. As to our soldiers, they have only to remain the soldiers of Woerth and of Metz to be invincible, now that our enemies have no longer the overpowering advantage of numbers."

The invasion and the near approach of the Germans have apparently alarmed the Empress-Regent and the members of her cabinet, Count Palikao has just issued a call for a hundred thousand mobiles—young men to defend the capital. The Minister of the Interior now favors the arming of the old soldiers of whom there is possibly another hundred thousand, but for neither are there arms or clothing. The latter has ordered the purchase of large quantities of foreign produce, as American flour, salt meats and salt fish.

During the last week many people who have resided in the invaded districts are moving southward. Thousands of wagons and carriages enter Paris every day filled with household goods, women and children. They are afraid of the Germans.

CHAPTER XI.

PARIS, SEPTEMBER 5TH, 1870.

The Revolution on Sunday Morning—Statement by the Minister of War—Proclamation by the Ministers—Last Meeting of the House of Deputies—The Escape of the Empress from the Tuileries—Proclamation of the Republic.

NEVER will I forget Sunday morning, September 4th, 1870. Going from my quiet rooms on rue St. Honoré, number 332, I found the streets everywhere around Place de la Concorde crowded with unarmed men, women and children. It was impossible for me to determine precisely what had happened, for the official dispatches, if any were sent to the Empress-Regent, or to the members of the cabinet, were withheld from the editors of the newspapers, and the rumors were contradictory and unreliable. But turning to a gentleman who seemed to be well informed, I said to him in the best French I could command, "What is the matter, sir?" and he replied, "It is a great calamity, sir! The Empire has fallen! The Emperor is a prisoner!" Thanking him for the kindness he displayed, I pressed on through the crowded streets until I reached the Tuileries, over which the Imperial flag still waved. The gates were closed, and double guards were on duty inside and outside the heavy iron fence. Men six feet high with great Russian hats and fixed bayonets looked formidable on other days, but on this occasion, surrounded by the multitude, they must have felt their insignificance and weakness. They could do nothing more than preserve a dignified silence. The people seemed to be in a

half-playful, half-serious mood, not knowing what might happen during the day, for it was evident that we were in the midst of a revolution.

How to disarm the guards without offending them was a question in the minds of many. No one desired to produce a disturbance or to shed blood, but, as the sun of that beautiful morning approached the meridian, the strong men of the work-shops knew what was to be done. Taking advantage of the situation these muscular fellows easily deprived the guards of their arms. Two or three pressing upon one, and at the same time time seizing his chassepot, would push it upwards and out of his hands, and then pass it over the heads of the people. The amusement, in this manner created, became general, and the guards finding themselves disarmed could do no better than join in the rude jokes of the multitude. In a short time the guards outside the palace grounds disappeared, and as time passed on the people began to show signs of discontent and restlessness.

Standing in this immense throng—an unknown foreigner—strange thoughts passed through my mind. I had now been fifty-five days in Europe, twenty-eight in Paris. These, I said to myself, are no doubt the last days of the Empire of Napoleon III.! Days of folly, disappointment and humiliation for the French! For the Germans, days of victory and exultation! But what of the future? Who can tell? Before the sun goes down we may have an insurrection, and a reign of terror. As in former years blood may flow like water in the streets of Paris.

On the 1st of September, a slight elevation of stocks at the Bourse gave rise to a more cheerful view of the situation, and the advance of the Germans upon Paris, did not appear to be so near at hand; but on the next day, the Minister of War, Count Palikao, made a statement in

the House of Deputies that awakened serious apprehensions. He was possibly not well informed as to the real situation of affairs, and was careful to avoid raising a panic. He spoke as follows :

GENTLEMEN : I promised to tell you the whole truth. I come to make a statement, and never has a duty been more painful. The news, which is not official, nevertheless reliable, establishes two facts.

The first and the more serious, in my opinion, is this : Marshal Bazaine has had an engagement with the enemy in a vigorous sortie, after which he was obliged to fall back upon Metz. A junction of the two armies is thus prevented. This first item of news is unfavorable ; it is not stated, however, that the Marshal will not make another effort.

The second is this : A battle was fought between Mezières and Sedan, with successes and reverses. After driving the enemy into the Meuse, the French army was compelled, by superior numbers, to fall back upon Sedan. It follows from these facts that there will not be a junction of the two armies for some time. We have received no other information, and we may repeat it, that these items are not official.

There is no need for dissimulation ; the situation is serious. We have decided to make a call upon all who are able to bear arms ; we are organizing the mobiles and the old soldiers. More than two hundred thousand are called to Paris, and, with the forces that are already here, the capital is safe.

After reading this statement in the journals of Saturday, the people showed signs of unusual depression and anxiety. Crowds assembled in the principal places of resort, and discussed every possible phase of the situation. The morning journals had dilated upon the possibilities of error in the statements of the minister, and generally had reached hopeful conclusions ; but, in the evening, when it was too late for second or third editions, information reached Paris, through other than government channels, which revealed the true situation of affairs. The ministers, finding it impossible to conceal any longer from the people the

principal event so unexpected, agreed to issue the following proclamation which was placed on the walls during the night, and in the morning read with astonishment and painful emotions :

Proclamation of the Council of Ministers to the French People.

FRENCHMEN : A great calamity has fallen upon our country. After three days of heroic fighting by the army of Marshal MacMahon against three hundred thousand Germans, forty thousand have been made prisoners. General Wimpffen, who had taken command of the army in place of Marshal MacMahon, seriously wounded, signed the capitulation. This cruel reverse has not shaken our courage. Paris is to-day in a state of defense. The military forces of the country are being organized. In a few days a new army will be organized on the banks of the Loire. Your patriotism, your union, your energy will save France. The Emperor was made a prisoner in the fight. The government, in accord with public sentiment, is adopting every means suggested by the gravity of the situation.

The reader will notice that this proclamation was not issued in the name of the Imperial Government, a tacit acknowledgment of its non-existence, but in the name of the ministers. The Empress-Regent thought it prudent in the circumstances (the Emperor being a prisoner) to allow the ministers to act and take the responsibility. The Germans could not have had more than two hundred and fifty thousand men in their two armies ; and it will probably be nearly correct if we state that the French had about half this number. It is likely that eighty thousand Frenchmen were made prisoners instead of forty thousand. General Vinoy's corps was not engaged in battle and has escaped. We must wait for more information concerning the great battle.

In the session of Saturday the House of Deputies agreed to assemble at midnight, but a quorum was not present at that hour, and they were obliged to wait until one o'clock. Several of the ministers were absent, fearful, no doubt, of a disturbance and of their lives. It was, however, a quiet

meeting, very few spectators being present. The Minister of War made known the tenor of the proclamation they were about to issue, and asked that the discussion of the subject be postponed until Monday. The Imperialists willingly gave their assent, but the Hon. Jules Favre, a leading Republican, insisted that the representatives of the people should act promptly. After expressing his willingness to adjourn, but only for a few hours for rest and sleep, he presented a bill endorsed by twenty-seven of his colleagues, a summary of which may be given :

First. That Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and his dynasty have fallen.

Second. That the House of Deputies shall appoint a commission invested with all the powers of the government.

Third. That General Trochu be retained as Governor of Paris.

No one entered a protest against these radical propositions, and without discussion or further delay, the House adjourned after a session of half an hour, to meet at noon, not knowing what effect the proclamation of the ministers might have upon the people.

Sunday morning at eleven o'clock the Senators began to assemble in the Luxembourg palace, their usual place of meeting. They had all along been regarded as the best friends of the Empire and of the Emperor, from whom they received their appointment, but on this occasion they could do nothing more than make speeches and deplore the situation of their country. At the same time the deputies began to assemble in the Bourbon palace. It was with difficulty they reached the entrance, for all Paris seemed to be crowded into and around Place de la Concorde. The gendarmes guarded the palace and the bridge leading to it from the north side of the city, but it soon became apparent that they fraternized with the people, and were not unwilling that the Empire should fall.

The Republican deputies, especially MM. Jules Favre, Leon Gambetta, Jules Ferry and Eugène Pelletan, well known to the people, were greeted with rounds of applause as their carriages approached the palace, the demonstrations in each case concluding with these or similar words: *La Déchéance! La République!*

At this time it became generally known that a night session had been held, and that M. Favre had offered a series of propositions, which would be considered as soon as the deputies convened. The Republican members regarded the fall of the Empire as a fact already accomplished and so expressed themselves. They said it is only necessary to wait; but after the fall, what then? This question no one could answer. Some of the editors of the morning journals commended the prompt action of the distinguished Republican leader, but it remained for the people to suggest the kind of government. Here and there could be heard such expressions as these: "Enough of the Empire! Down with the traitor and coward of Sedan! Let us have a Republic!"

It was a delightful September day. From morning to night there was not a single cloud in the bright sky. Business places were, of course, closed, and the people were free to enjoy themselves. The depression and gloom that were visible in the faces of the multitude in the early hours of the day gave place to a degree of hilarity and cheerfulness peculiar to the French. The disarming of the guards and the arrival of the deputies contributed to this result, but, most of all, the prospect of a change of government inspired the people.

About this time I fell in with a number of Americans, among whom was my friend Dr. S———. We spent the day together in the great crowd until hunger and fatigue forced us to retire for rest and a late dinner. Following the currents, in what seemed to be an ocean of humanity,

we crossed the bridge leading to the Bourbon palace, and after returning passed through the park and gardens of the Tuileries, under the principal arch of the palace, and out through Place du Carrousel. We had many opportunities of seeing what occurred during the day.

At twelve o'clock the deputies were in their places. It was their last meeting under the Imperial flag, and the galleries were crowded. The President, M. Schneider, whose name indicates a Teutonic ancestry, ascended the elevated platform. It has always been a difficult matter to preside over the French Assembly—the largest deliberative body in the world—and never has the position required greater skill and self-possession than in the recent sessions under the Empress-Regent. He is a young man of rare ability as a parliamentarian. In politics he is an Imperialist, and hence his promotion to the first place in the Assembly.

As soon as the House was called to order, the opposition raised a question as to the protection of the palace by the National Guards, and intimated that the Minister of War had failed to do his duty in this regard. Some of the deputies had difficulty in reaching the entrance on account of the multitudes in the streets. They noticed, too, that the police and gendarmes were alone on duty, and that there was a disposition, on the part of the people, to make demonstrations in favor of a republic, which they did not think prudent, in the circumstances, to encourage. These remarks brought the Minister to his feet in defense of the government and of himself. In a five-minutes' speech, such as he is accustomed to make—egotistical and delusive—he succeeded in allaying the fears of the deputies, and, without yielding the floor, which the government has always a right to claim, he presented a bill providing for a commission of five deputies to take charge of the government. It was his last effort to save the Empire.

Urgency was demanded by several of the stanch friends of the government, as well as a reference of the subject to the bureaux or committees. But, before the motion was put, M. Favre asked and obtained permission to speak. He called the attention of the Chamber to the bill he had introduced during the night session on the same subject, and claimed precedence for it, but finally agreed that it should be referred to the same committees.

At this point the President stated that he believed the Hon. M. Thiers had a proposition to make on the same subject, which might be entertained. At the mention of his name frequent calls were made for the venerable representative, who had never acted with the Imperialists, nor yet with the Republicans. He stated that of the two bills which were before the assembly, he preferred the one presented by his distinguished colleague, M. Favre, but that he was willing to sacrifice his personal preferences for the good of the country. The bill which he had the honor to submit was endorsed by forty-six of his colleagues. It made no reference to the Empire, but provided for a commission to govern the country until a national assembly might be elected. Priority was asked for this bill as it had been for the others, but it was not agreed to. After considerable skirmishing the three bills were referred to a commission of nine. At one o'clock and forty minutes the President ordered a recess until the commission was ready to report.

In the meantime the multitude outside was becoming more and more demonstrative. On Place de la Concorde, in Rue de Rivoli, on the quays, the bridge and in the streets leading to the palace, stentorian voices were heard far and near—*La déchéance! Plus d'Empire!*—and here and there, *Vive la République!* Suddenly a column of National Guards appeared and advanced in the direction of the bridge, which, at this time, was protected by a body

of police. Mounted guards stood on the right and left. The police showed signs of resistance, and as the column advanced the people were well nigh panic-stricken, believing that there would be a collision. A halt, however, was ordered, and in a short time signals were given from the peristyle or portico of the palace. It was not known by what authority the guards made their appearance so late in the day, nor was their mission understood. Though they were cheered as they pressed on through the crowd, fears were entertained that this might be the beginning of an insurrection. It is probable that the intention was to clear the galleries and to give the deputies an opportunity to deliberate. The iron gates were opened and a portion of the guards were placed inside the palace grounds. Soon after another column appeared, but they were not permitted to cross the bridge.

The peristyle of the palace which overlooks the river, the bridge and Place de la Concorde was crowded at this time with journalists, stenographers and a few deputies who embraced the opportunity of viewing the extraordinary scene. By their intervention, and it may be with the consent of the Minister of War, the guards were admitted. It was a mistake not to have the palace well guarded in the early part of the day, for in the attempt to open the gates, several hundreds of the crowd followed in the rear, and soon forced their way into the corridors and double galleries already filled by those who had obtained tickets. Then followed the last scene in the House of Deputies under the Imperial Government.

After the commission of nine had retired groups of deputies assembled in the committee rooms to discuss the possibilities as well as the responsibilities of the occasion. The pronounced Imperialists were especially busy in suggesting ways and means to avert what they regarded as the greatest calamity that could happen to France—the

fall of the Empire. The Republicans, for the most part, remained in the chamber, walked in the corridors, or viewed the multitude from the portico. They retained their self-possession, and appeared not to hear what was said or done; for they felt that a responsibility was coming upon them which they had not expected. The commission delayed long, and the strain upon the patience of the people outside and inside became unendurable. It was apparent that the last hour for deliberation was at hand. Loud calls were heard in the streets—*La déchéance! La République!* And these were repeated in the galleries. No one of the Imperialists or Royalists dared to utter a word, and for the Republicans to address the galleries might prejudice the work of the commission. The disturbance however became intolerable, and several of the older members of the left attempted to speak, but the result was in each case a tumult or *brouhaha*, as the French term it. The silver-tongued Gambetta was the only one who could gain their attention. His clear voice electrified them, but only for a moment; interruptions were frequent. The young orator was known to be a Republican from principle, but he was careful not to betray himself. In a very ingenious manner he showed the necessity of being patient, and the importance of allowing the representatives of the people time to deliberate.

At half past two o'clock the President and M. Magnin, one of the secretaries, entered the chamber; the former ascended the platform and the latter took his usual seat at the writing table. The Minister of War sat on the government bench. Only a few deputies of the right and right-centre who are Imperialists were present. The sergeant-at-arms called for silence, and the tipstaves, striking their maces on the floor, repeated the order, but it was in vain. The venerable M. Crémieux of the left ascended the tribune and faced the galleries. Again the order for

silence was called, and M. Crémieux attempted to speak but his voice could not be heard. The President sat with his arms folded, waiting for silence; M. Gambetta ascended the tribune, and the oldest and the youngest of the Republican deputies stood side by side facing the galleries. At this, numerous voices were heard—*La Déchéance! La République!* Again the sergent-at-arms called for silence, and the order was repeated—Silence! Silence! M. Gambetta attempted to speak; “Fellow citizens: In the course of my remarks less than an hour ago, you agreed with me, that the first condition of emancipation is order and regularity. Do you wish to hold to this contract? (yes! yes!) Do you wish that we proceed in an orderly manner?” (yes! yes!) M. Gambetta continued to plead for silence, but was soon interrupted with speeches like these—“None of your rhetoric! No treason! Proclaim the republic!” Raising his voice above the noise and confusion he stated that the commission was ready to report, but a reply came from the galleries—“The President is at his post; it is strange the deputies are not in their seats.” The President, being recognized, took courage and addressed the galleries, using the term gentlemen. He made a noble effort, but a response came—*Il est trop tard!* It is too late, One of the deputies said—“Mr. President—If you cannot obtain silence suspend the session.” At this moment the Minister of War rose and left the hall. The President announced the session suspended, and left the chair. The session closed at three o’clock in a perfect uproar—a *brouhaha*.

At this time the chamber was invaded by the people. The ministers, the deputies of the right, the right-center and the left-center, immediately withdrew, leaving the Republicans and journalists in possession of the hall; M. Gambetta and others attempted to speak, but it was soon found that nothing could be done, on account of the interruptions in the galleries and the excitement and dem-

onstrations outside. The Republican deputies also withdrew and the National Guards took possession of the chamber and palace. The occupants of the galleries soon dispersed.

The pledged supporters of the Empire, MM. de Casagnac, Jerome David and others fled at the first signs of danger.

In the meantime those of moderate sentiments, Imperialists and Royalists, assembled in the committee rooms, and afterwards in the dining hall of the palace for conference. The Republicans, no doubt would have united with them, had they believed it possible to agree. They were fully convinced that the time had come for action; and that nothing would please the masses of the people of Paris so much as the proclamation of a Republic. But to do so, on the portico of the Bourbon palace, as was done in 1848, did not seem to them to be prudent. Fully realizing the responsibility of the situation—France without a government and without an army—the country invaded by a powerful and relentless enemy—and Paris in a condition of extraordinary excitement and an insurrection possible at any moment—they resolved to comply with the wishes of the people; and it is probably true, as is reported, that they made an announcement before leaving the chamber, for a meeting at the Hôtel de Ville. At any rate, the people outside took up the cry—*A l'Hôtel de Ville! A l'Hôtel de Ville!*

While these scenes were occurring at the Bourbon palace, others equally interesting were witnessed at the Tuileries. The Empress, heroic in her nature, remained at her post until the last hour. The ministers, as it appears, made no special arrangements for her protection or indeed for the perpetuation of the Empire. It was well that they did not. In this particular at least they acted as wise men. Apparently they agreed that each one should take

care of himself when the crisis came, and that the Empress should do likewise. Until three o'clock no one of the multitude outside, suspected that any thing unusual had occurred; but at this hour the Imperial flag was pulled down, and the national flag, the red, white and blue, was run up in its place—an indication that the Empress-Regent had abandoned the palace and the government.

Her plan of escape was simple. She desired to be taken to the residence of Dr. Evans, an American dentist who had gained her confidence as well as that of the Emperor, and in order to succeed in this she accepted the assistance of two foreign ambassadors, Prince de Metternich of Austria, and Chevalier Nigra of Italy, who gallantly took the place of servants and were not suspected. She preferred to use one of the carriages that are accustomed to stand on the quay near the palace. Clad in a suit of mourning which had been frequently used, she called together the officers of the palace, the ladies in waiting, and even the domestics, as it is said; and after thanking them for their faithfulness and devotion, and requesting them not to make any display at the windows, she bade them all an affectionate farewell. At ten minutes before three o'clock she left the Tuileries in which she had resided in Imperial splendor so many years, passed along the halls until she reached the Louvre and then descended. She entered a cab, as a domestic, unattended except by her faithful guide, the ambassador of Austria, and was soon lost in the multitude. A few minutes later her faithful friend, Madame Lebreton, accompanied by the Ambassador of Italy, followed in another cab.

At the residence of Dr. Evans, boulevard Haussmann, they were kindly received, but without any display, and here they remained during the night. In the morning the Empress still declined to take the risks of the railroad, and, it is said, urged the doctor, in whom she had implicit con-

fidence, to undertake her safe conduct out of France. This, it is also reported, he cheerfully agreed to do, and immediately they set out in a *landau*, a kind of coach with folding top, large enough for four persons and a driver. They chose the south bank of the Seine, and after a varied experience of three days on land and water, of which there are several versions, the fugitive Empress and Madame Lebreton reached England.

During the exit of the Empress the Imperial guards inside the inclosure remained on duty, and were apparently as ignorant of what had happened as those of us who were outside. But at three o'clock when the flags were exchanged an unusual degree of excitement was visible in every direction, and it was not long until a demonstration was made on Place de la Concorde, and the gates opposite the Egyptian obelisk were forced in. The people followed through the park and the gardens, under the arch of the Tuileries, into the court at the rear of the palace, and then into Place du Carrousel. Strong men guarded the doors under the arch, and informed us, as we passed slowly along, that the Empress had left the palace. As the crowds pushed on and filled up Place du Carrousel, the gates to the right and left, leading to the quay and to Rue de Rivoli, were thrown open. The guards in the park and gardens made no resistance, and the *voltigeurs* in the court sheathed their swords and fell back. Except in the act of forcing the gates on Place de la Concorde, there was no violence, no vandalism, no ill-tempered speeches. It was indeed a solemn occasion, and the people felt it. We may add that there was something awful in the hour that was passing. The judgments of Heaven fell not more heavily upon the proud Empire of Babylon. The Emperor of France a prisoner! The Empress fleeing for life! A victorious enemy marching upon Paris! The wise men of the nation bewildered! The multitude



HON. JULES FAVRE.

falling into line and marching through the gardens of the Tuileries in solemn procession! It was the funeral of the Empire of Napoleon III.!

We pass now to another scene, more cheerful, more like a new-birth of the nation, and with it we close this communication. Soon after the cry was raised at the Bourbon palace—*A l'Hôtel de Ville! A l'Hôtel de Ville!* the Republican deputies were on their way in open carriages to the City Hall, led by MM. Jules Favre, Jules Ferry, Eugene Pelletan, and the eloquent Gambetta. The distance is a full mile, but the crowds in the streets gave way for the carriages to pass and then followed in the rear. It was an ovation by the people, unexpected and without preparation. M. Gambetta, no longer under the restraint of parliamentary rules, stood up in the open carriage and responded to the demonstrations of the people. The republic was indeed proclaimed before we reached the Hôtel de Ville. The National Guards, the gendarmes and the police in charge of the place made no resistance. The incapacity and cowardice of the leaders at Sedan, humiliated them and filled their hearts with curses for the Empire.

At four and a half o'clock, M. Jules Favre, supported by his colleagues, appeared on the veranda and after the demonstrations had subsided, read the following:

PROCLAMATION.

“Citizens of Paris: The Republic is proclaimed. The members of the government are chosen by acclamation. They consist of

Emanuel Arago.
Crémieux.
Jules Favre.
Jules Ferry.
Gambetta.

Garnier Pagès.
Glais Bizoin.
Ernest Picard.
Eugene Pelletan.
Jules Simon.

The enthusiasm at this hour was reaching its height, and M. Favre, had scarcely finished reading the proclamation

when the multitudes that stood within hearing or seeing distance, became frantic with joy. Those who witnessed the scene will never forget it. Cheers for the Republic, repeated again and again; *Vive la république! Vive la république!* A general shaking of hands and congratulations! Class distinctions forgotten! The gendarmes and police fraternizing with the people and the people congratulating the National Guards! Music by the bands, speeches, and finally the multitude joining in the chorus of the *Marsellaise!* The people were overjoyed at the thought of the revolution terminating so happily! Not a drop of blood was shed!

A conference was immediately held with General Trochu who had prudently remained in his office, on Rue de Rivoli, during the day. He accepted at once the presidency of the new government—a government of circumstances, as it is said—revolutionary in its character, but at the same time announced as provisional. The news spread rapidly through the city and at six o'clock the Republic was everywhere recognized. In the evening demonstrations were made on the boulevards; and although it was yet Sunday, the strong men of the workshops in procession called for arms—*Des armes! Des armes! Vive la république! Vive la France!* But the masses of the people, worn out by the exertions of the day went quietly to rest believing that France, liberated from the bondage of the Empire, is about to enter upon a nobler career.

CHAPTER XII.

PARIS, SEPTEMBER 12TH, 1870.

Organization of the New Government—Proclamations—Orders—
Fortification of the City—Organization of Armies—The Recognition of the Republic—Preparations for a Protracted Siege.

BEFORE taking leave of the 4th of September—a day that will mark an epoch in the history of France—we may refer to a few points which could not be conveniently presented in our last chapter. M. Rouher, President of the Senate, believing that the fall of the Empire could not be prevented, dismissed the meeting soon after the Senators had assembled. He was well aware that he could have been charged with at least a part of the folly of the Government, as he had been for many years one of the Emperor's confidential advisers; and hence he was not unwilling to discourage speechmaking, and to give the Senators an opportunity to arrange their private affairs and to leave the city.

In the House of Deputies the Imperialists and Royalists, as we stated in our last, retired to the committee rooms for conference and deliberation. Afterwards they united under the Presidency of M. Grévy in the dining hall of the palace. The commission reported in favor of the proposition presented by M. Thiers; and after considerable discussion, and several amendments which were agreed to, it was adopted. A committee was appointed to confer with their colleagues who had gone to the Hôtel de Ville; and it was further agreed, to invite them to a reunion at eight o'clock in the evening. When this hour came the situation of affairs was very much changed. The Republic

was proclaimed, and all parties were congratulating each other that the day had passed without the shedding of blood. The meeting which was held in the Bourbon palace, was not large, consisting chiefly of members of the left-center who favored rather a constitutional monarchy, and M. Grévy, for some reason or other, was absent. Had a reunion taken place, efforts would have been made to suppress the word *république* and this would have given rise to a reaction. The members of the extreme left, though they reluctantly proclaimed the Republic, believed that they understood the situation. Some of the left-center imagined that they were yet the House of Deputies.

Two or three of the Secretaries were present, with the minutes of the preceding meeting, and this gave them a slight claim to regularity. The venerable M. Thiers, one of the representatives of Paris, was invited to preside. MM. Favre and Simon, who had responded to the invitation, were announced. The former stated that he was authorized to speak for the provisional government which they believed their duty to proclaim. He congratulated his colleagues that they had adopted the resolutions of their distinguished chairman whose political sentiments differed very little from his own. In a very skilful manner he set forth, what had been done and referred to the danger of attempting to modify their action, or to conceal from the people, by the use of evasive terms, the form of government they had demanded. He cordially invited all to unite with them, under the presidency of General Trochu, the Governor of Paris.

At this point the names of those who had united with them in the proclamation of the Republic were called for, and M. Simon responded.

One of the secretaries, M. Peyrusse, interrupting, said, "Paris once more makes a government for France." But MM. Favre and Simon protested against this statement.

They said that M. Gambetta and M. Picard were not representatives of Paris, and that their distinguished chairman who represented Paris, was not one of the number, though he had been invited to join them.

The committee withdrew, and M. Thiers addressed his colleagues, stating that it would be anti-patriotic in the extraordinary situation of affairs—the enemy marching upon Paris—to oppose the new government; that these men, delegates as themselves, elected by the people, should have the support of all good citizens. “May God help them!”

A question was raised as to the legality of the new government, and some unkind remarks were indulged in, but M. Thiers, becoming impatient, dismissed the meeting with this *aigre-douce* reply: “There are some things which are of more importance than seals placed upon parchment. Have I not been in Mazas? You would not expect me to complain about it.” Mazas is a noted prison in Paris, which has taken the place of the Bastille. The Republican deputies at a late hour retired to rest. All Paris slept soundly.

What a contrast between this memorable day and the 2d of December, 1851! At that time Louis Napoleon Bonaparte resided in the Palais d’Elysée. Immediately after the fall of Louis Philippe the second Republic was proclaimed, May 2d, 1848, from the portico of the Bourbon palace, and the National Assembly elected M. Bonaparte President. During his administration of nearly three years, he experienced some difficulty in governing the country on account, as he said, of the restrictions that the constitution placed upon him. A strife arose in the Assembly and was kept up between the President’s party and the opposition, and his ambition prompted him to take advantage of the situation. In these circumstances he conceived the idea of a successful usurpation—a *Coup d’Etat*.

Treason, assassination and banishment were nothing, as he thought, in comparison with the evils that existed. The only question in the mind of the President was—Can it be done? And he answered it in the affirmative. There were not a few corrupt men in the army; money and promises of promotion satisfied them. The *commissaires* of police in the city were purchased in like manner. Soon after midnight the army took possession of the printing establishments, and in the morning proclamations and orders were read by the people. At five o'clock the President of the Assembly, the quaestors and two hundred representatives were arrested in their beds and taken to prison. Those who escaped and did not acquiesce in the movement, attempted to hold meetings and to issue proclamations, but they were dispersed. One hundred and twenty were exiled or expatriated. At noon the Supreme Court convened, but the judges were likewise arrested and taken to prison. The Council of State attempted to hold meetings, but they were also dispersed. Five hundred citizens—it is not known precisely how many—disappeared. They were arrested, imprisoned, shot and buried at night, no questions being asked or answered. They were Republicans and had voted for Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. In the evening the President had control of the city, the army and the government. Then followed three days of barricades in the streets, and orders to shoot all persons who were known to have stood behind them. The orders were cruelly executed. Magnificent promises were made; universal suffrage was proposed. The President was convention and candidate; he was elected chief of the nation for ten years, but soon after assumed the title of Emperor. This, in brief, was the beginning of the Empire of Napoleon III. We have seen the end of it. Conceived in wickedness and in disgrace, it lived eighteen years nine months and two days.

Monday morning the members of the new government assembled in the Hôtel de Ville. Two others were added, namely: General Trochu and M. Rochefort.

General Le Flô, M. Magnin, Admiral Fourichon and M. Dorian were appointed ministers.

General Trochu was chosen President, and was also made Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy. M. Jules Favre was chosen Vice-President, and the following ministers were appointed:

Jules Favre, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
 Léon Gambetta, Minister of the Interior.
 General Le Flô, Minister of War.
 Admiral Fourichon, Minister of Marine.
 Crémieux, Minister of Justice.
 Jules Simon, Minister of Public Instruction.
 Ernest Picard, Minister of Finance.
 Magnin, Minister of Commerce and Agriculture.
 Dorian, Minister of Public Works.

Proclamations were issued and telegrams were sent into all parts of France, announcing the cowardly capitulation by the Emperor at Sedan, the flight of the Empress-Regent, the revolution in Paris, the proclamation of the Republic, and the organization of a provisional government,

Although the Republic was proclaimed Sunday afternoon with great unanimity and enthusiasm, the members of the government have thus far refrained from making a direct use of the word *république* in proclamations and orders. Is it because they fear a reaction? It may be so, but their ability to govern the country will not be lessened by their prudence. Some of them, at least, have large experience in politics; they were deputies under Louis Philippe, under the second Republic, and recently under the second Empire. MM. Crémieux, Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Eugene Pelletan and Léon Gambetta have a national reputation; they are not only talented men, but

shrewd politicians. We must give them credit for a thorough knowledge of French character, and of the situation of the country. They have not worshiped at the shrine of Bourbonism or of Imperialism, and therefore are not blinded by political prejudices. They understand very well that it is the disgrace of the Empire which makes a Republic possible. How long will the people remember the disgrace? If the Republic is not successful in repelling the invasion, will the people support it? Such questions must at least be considered, if they cannot be answered. It is plain that a policy of conciliation must be adopted. The government must be run on a line somewhere between the extremes. On the one hand are Imperialists and Royalists, on the other Republicans and Communists. It will not do to offend any party; all must be united in order to save France. The words *République Française* have therefore not been adopted, but the words *Gouvernement de la Défense Nationale*—a government for the defense of the nation. As a result the stilted admirers of the late Emperor have nothing to say and the Bourbons are rather pleased, but the red Republicans, and especially the Communists, are beginning to effervesce.

Before the new government was organized it was necessary to issue proclamations in order to satisfy the people. One was addressed to the National Guards of the Seine, in consequence of their gallant conduct on the 4th inst. We translate the following statements: "Thanks to you, this victory has not cost a drop of blood. Personal power no longer exists in France; the whole nation assumes its rights and takes up arms. Maintain the laws with firmness, and in rivalry with our noble army lead the nation on to victory." There is no reference made in it to a Republic. It is signed as follows:

The Government for the defense of the nation, Emanuel Arago, Cremieux, Jules Favre, Jules Ferry, Gambetta,

Garnier-Pagès, Glais-Bizoin, Pelletan, Picard, Rochefort, Jules Simon, General Trochu.

At the same time a proclamation was addressed to the army, and signed in a similar manner. In it there is only an incidental reference to the Republic. It contains the following: "We are not a partisan government; we are a government for the defence of the nation, We have but one object, one desire—the salvation of the country."

A third proclamation was addressed to the people of Paris, and also signed in a similar manner, except that General Trochu's name is omitted. Its chief object was to give notice that the Governor of Paris, who belongs to no political party, accepted the Presidency of the new government.

With the organization of the provisional government—Republican in spirit and form—a new era has doubtless been inaugurated. The ministers, without opposition, took charge of their respective offices with instructions to make as few changes in their *personnel* as possible. Prefects have been appointed for all the departments. All able-bodied men have been called into the service; new armies are to be organized; arms and ammunition are to be manufactured. Paris is to be fortified in every possible manner; provisions of every kind are to be brought into the city in anticipation of a protracted siege; great sacrifices are to be made.

The President, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of the Interior, have the greater part of the responsibility to bear; but all are busy at work night and day. Fortunately for France she has at this time a few noble generous-hearted men—men of talent, who are in the prime of life. It may be that God, who rules the nations, will find a captain to lead her armies—a skilful pilot to guide the ship of state through the storm that is gathering. In Colonial times he found a Washington, and in this very France, the cradle of liberty,

a Lafayette, who, with the tri-colored flag, hastened to the relief of the American Colonists. So may it be again; in the darkest hour deliverance may come. Born of a Celtic ancestry who fled from persecution, I can only say with the venerable M. Theirs—"God help them!"

Accordingly the President issued the following proclamation :

Citizens: The enemy advances upon Paris. The city is well fortified; but it is time to organize a defense for the neighboring departments. Orders have been sent to the Prefects of the Seine, the Seine-et-Oise and the Seine-et-Marne, to rally all who are able to bear arms. They will be supported by detachments of infantry in Paris and by cavalry in the vicinity. The officers of these detachments will report immediately to the President of the government, the Governor of Paris, and receive orders. Let every citizen respond to the call of his country. The government relies upon the courage and patronage of the people.

The President of the Government of National Defence, Governor of Paris.

GENERAL TROCHU.

September, 6th, 1870

On the same day, the Minister of Foreign Affairs addressed a lengthy circular letter to the diplomatic agents of France in foreign countries, and requested them to place a copy of it, together with other papers, in the hands of the minister of the court to which each one is accredited.

In a very able and skilful manner he explained the situation of affairs in France and in Paris on the fourth instant—that the Empire fell without even the adoption of a resolution; and that the deputies of the left, in proclaiming the Republic (he does not use the word in the letter) yielded to the demands of the people and to the law of necessity. It has been published in all the journals of Paris, and has given general satisfaction. It is brimful of patriotism and pathos, and cannot fail to produce a good

impression upon foreign nations as well as the French people.

At the same time the Minister of the Interior addressed a spirited proclamation to the Prefects of the departments in which he has made free use of the word *république*. He had learned that the larger cities of the departments were in advance of Paris—that they had proclaimed the Republic as soon as the news of the capitulation had reached them, and had pulled down the symbols of the Empire. We extract the following: “Our new republic is not a government which encourages useless debates and political discussions. It is, as we have said, a government for the defense of the nation—a republic of war-to-the-knife against the invader,”

M. Etienne Arago, a stanch friend of the republic of 1848, was appointed Prefect of the Seine, and in an address to the mayors of Paris, twenty in all, he concludes with this exclamation—*Vive la république!*

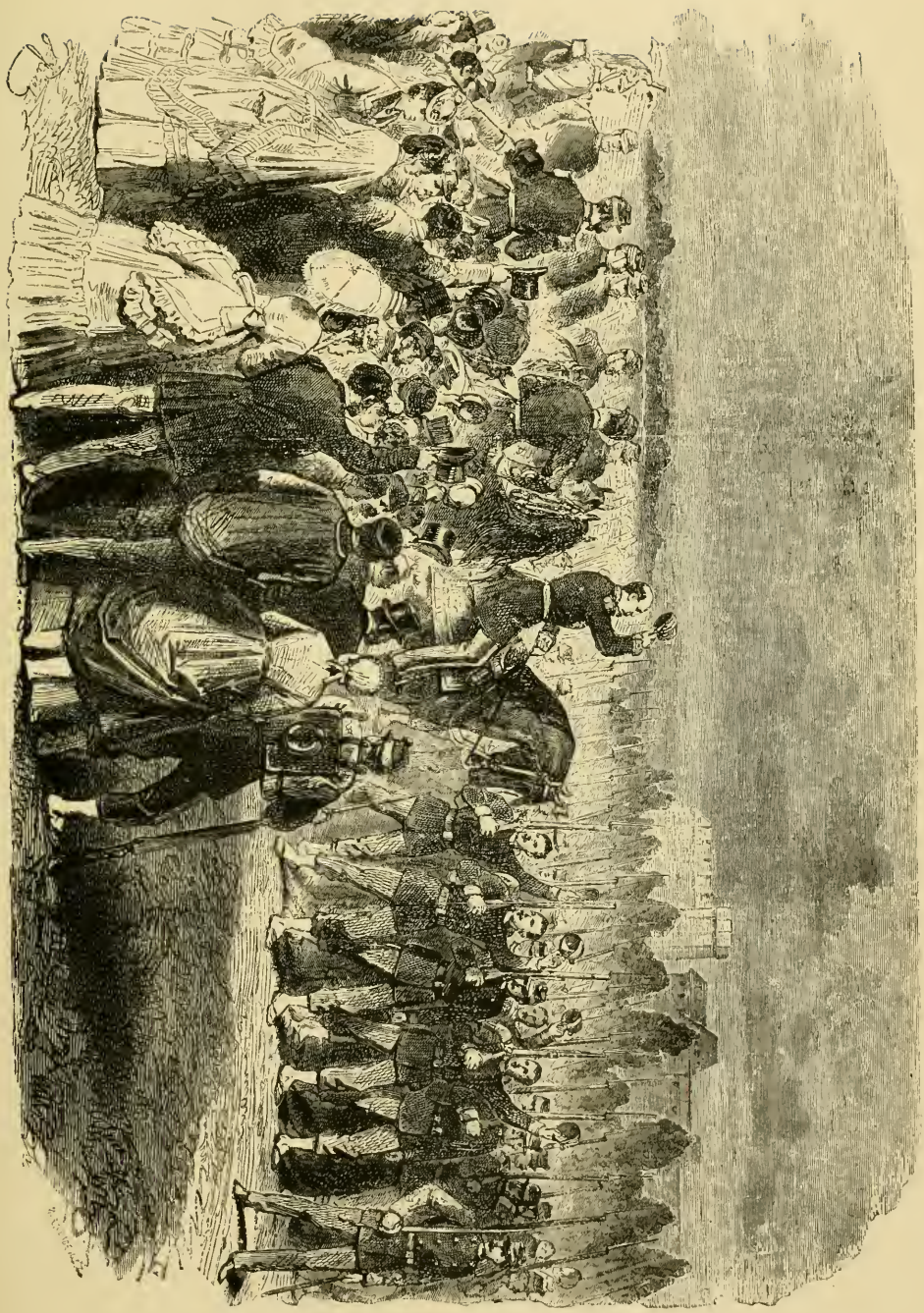
This was done to counteract the influence of a violent article that appeared in the *Marseillaise*, a newspaper which M. Henri Rochefort is said to have controlled. It was signed by General Cluseret, a well-known communist. The next day (September 8th) M. Rochefort, who was accepted as a member of the government in order that he might restrain this turbulent element, had inserted in all the journals a statement over his own signature that he would have nothing more to do with the *Marseillaise*. The supervision of the barricades has been given to him. M. Rochefort, though regarded as a communist, has respectable relations, and is unwilling to encourage dissensions. He is exhorting all Frenchmen to unite in a patriotic effort to repel the invasion.

As in other communications we have only been able to give brief sketches so we must continue to do. Out of

the many things which might be interesting to detail we can only select a few points. Monday morning the newspapers called the people to arms and every issue since has repeated the call—"To arms! To arms!" One thought controls the minds and hearts of all—the defense of the capital. The Proclamation of the Republic has given to the people a new view of the situation—a higher ambition, a brighter prospect. They have become more thoughtful, more determined. They know that a powerful and relentless enemy is marching upon Paris and that there is no time to lose. They know too that the greatest sacrifices must be made if they would save France from still greater disasters and humiliation. I have been in all parts of the city not only under the Empire but since the Republic has been proclaimed, and several times outside the walls and the forts, and I have returned in the evenings not only physically exhausted but amazed at what has been undertaken and already accomplished.

General Trochu, who is President of the Provisional Government as well as Governor of Paris, continues his efforts to fortify the city. He has called to his assistance the best military and engineering talent at his command, and has recently made a tour of the forts, but it is not known what he thinks of the situation of affairs. Had the late Emperor and those higher in command heeded his suggestions a few years ago, on the subject of military organization and discipline France would no doubt be spared the humiliation of the present invasion. The popular belief is that Paris cannot be taken; but there is on the other hand a feeling, occasionally expressed *sub voce* and read in the newspapers between the lines, that the Germans can take the city at any time. At any rate the most extensive preparations are made outside the walls to repel an assault. A part at least of the Bois de Boulogne is ordered to be cut down. The north end of

Illustration of the ...



it, stretching across one of the principal avenues to the city is already covered with trees lying in every direction, making it impossible for cavalry and infantry to approach the walls. In like manner all around the circle, the trees of beautiful parks and groves are felled in order to obstruct the advance of the enemy as well as to remove every means of concealment. What will become of the three hundred towns and villages which lie within a few miles of the city no one can foresee. Many of them are already deserted and some have been totally destroyed lest the Germans should use them as fortifications. Magnificent private residences have been torn down without any regard to the wishes of the owner. Millions of property have already disappeared and millions more will soon be demolished. The people seem willing to make the sacrifice, but they will not soon forget those who brought upon them their losses.

But General Trochu has on hand a much more difficult undertaking—the organization and equipment of armies. He has ordered all officers and men of the navy who can be spared to hasten to Paris. Several thousand have already arrived; their experience with artillery fits them for service in the forts. He has also issued a call for the young men of the departments who have reached the age for military service—supposed to be one hundred thousand—and some of these have reached Paris. They are fresh from the fields and workshops, and of course have no experience with arms.

Paris has suddenly become a great military camp. All business is suspended except that which pertains to the defense of the city. From early morning until late at night the sound of the bugle, the roll of the drum and the tramp of the soldiers are heard in the streets. In every ward recruiting stations are opened, and all able-bodied men are urged to enter some branch of the service—the

regular army, the *gardes mobiles* or the Home Guards. Companies, battalions, regiments and brigades are organized. It is estimated that in a fortnight one hundred thousand able-bodied men will be equipped and drilled and ready to march upon the enemy, or at least to repel an assault. Siege guns and cannon and mitrailleuses and chassepots and ammunition and clothing are to be manufactured. The old muskets are to be converted into breech-loaders; they are to be called *fusils à tabatière*, or snuff-box guns. Fortunately large quantities of old muskets have been found at Vincennes, in the military school, in the Hôtel des Invalides, and other places. Already hundreds of lieutenants, sergeants and corporals are exercising the people in the use of arms—marching and countermarching—some in uniform, but very many in citizens' dress. Drummers are trained to beat the drum and buglers to play the bugle.

The Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, M. Magnin, who succeeded M. Duvernois, has continued the work of gathering in all kinds of provisions. Large quantities of coal, wood and peat, grain hay and straw, beans, peas, and potatoes—in short everything that can be used in a protracted siege is purchased and shipped into Paris.

And once more an order is issued in relation to foreign residents and tourists, including also the riff-raff of the faubourgs who can only be a burden to the city. This time it is signed by the new Prefect of Police, M. de Keratry, and the order is peremptory. The police, under the direction of the *commissaires*, still continue to gather up the poor, the idle and the vicious and to place them outside the gates. The Germans who linger behind and have not secured special permits to remain are allowed another twenty-four hours to leave the city. To foreigners in general the order is not less explicit; they are all advised to leave without further delay. Accordingly there

is a rush for the railroads—Americans, Englishmen, Belgians, Russians, Austrians, Swiss, Italians, Spanish, Turks, Hindoos and Chinese. The representatives of foreign governments, ministers and consuls pack their trunks and hasten to leave the city. Mr. Washburne and Mr. Olcott of the United States, Dr. Kern of Switzerland, and a few others remain to share the fortunes of the French people. As for myself I have not as yet fully made up my mind what I shall do. There are still a few days in which I may escape southward in the direction of Spain.

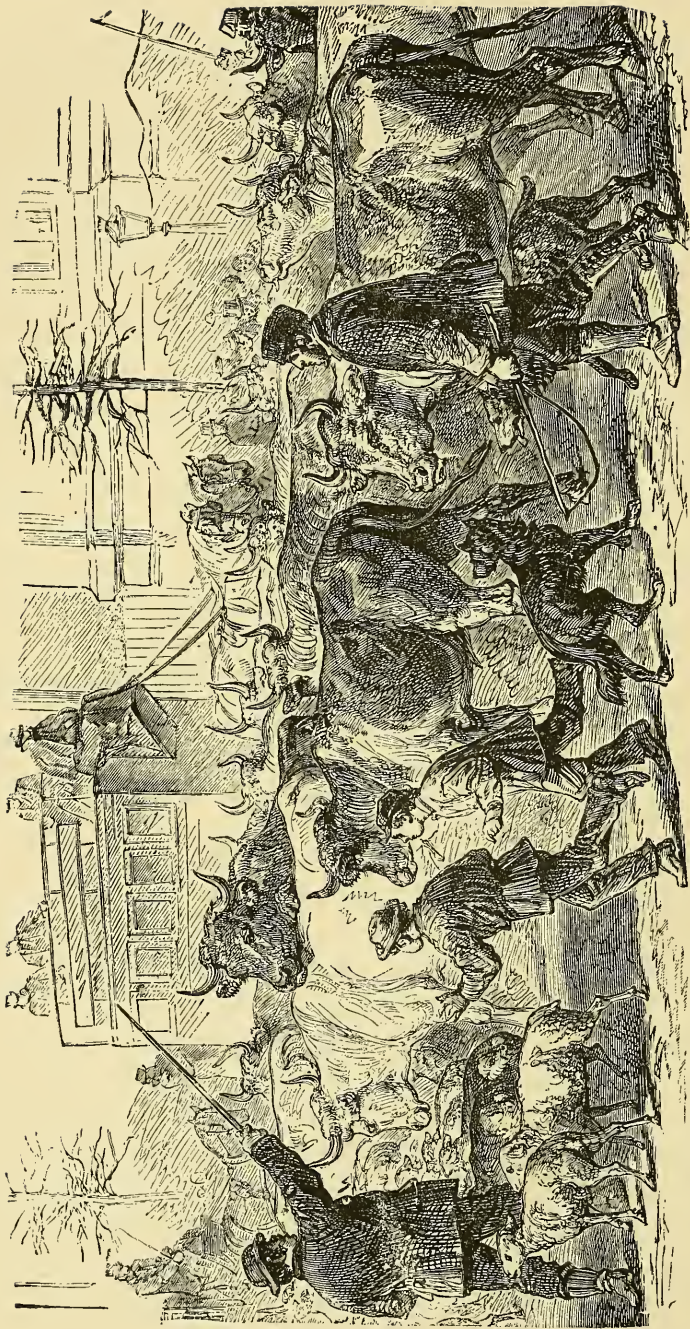
The word *Impérial* became suddenly offensive to the people, and the Government immediately issued an order to erase it from the fronts of the theatres, opera houses, museums, libraries and other public buildings; the word *National* has been substituted. The names of several streets have been changed; one is named General Uhrich and another the Fourth of September, in commemoration of the Republic. The beautiful equestrian statue of Napoleon III. in *alto relievo*, on the south side of the Tuileries above the entrance into Place du Carrousel has been covered over with plaster of Paris. The big N. which has been prominent in every part of the city no longer appears. In short every symbol of the Empire has been destroyed plastered over, or shipped out of the country.

To save the valuable collections of art in the numerous museums for which Paris is distinguished, orders have been issued that the statuary, the paintings, the tapestry, the ten thousand objects of value, beauty and curiosity, ancient and modern, be boxed up, shipped off, buried in the earth or hid in the catacombs under the city. Even the statuary in the parks, gardens, and other public places, the beautiful pieces of bronze and marble are removed; and those of colossal size are surrounded with heavy frames covered with plank. The magnificent pieces of

sculpture in *alto-relievo* on the sides of the Triumphal arch are protected in like manner. All this is done by order of the government, and, when necessary, under the cover of night.

In the midst of these herculean efforts, cheerful news reached the capital. The Republic has been proclaimed in all the cities of France not occupied by the Germans; meetings are held in the departments and efforts are made to organize armies and most of all, the government of the United States has recognized the republic. The evening journals of the 8th inst. contained this information; whereupon the members of the government and distinguished citizens of Paris arranged for an ovation. Mr. Washburne appeared on the veranda of his residence near the Triumphal arch and expressed his confidence in the new republic. Other delegations, both civic and military, hastened with music and banners to his residence, and were received with the greatest cordiality. These interviews, as well as the promptness of the Cabinet at Washington have been so highly colored by the editors of journals, and their reporters, that an armed intervention has been suggested and is really discussed in earnest. The example of Lafayette and his brave soldiers, crossing the ocean with arms and ammunition to help the American colonists to establish a republic is prominent before them, and they refuse to believe that assistance will not be sent. Strange hallucination indeed! Nevertheless it seems to be an honest conviction of many intelligent French people. In their desperation they are willing to believe what every American knows is an impossibility.

Another item of news, received on the same day encouraged the people. General Vinoy commanding the Thirteenth army corps reached Paris. By a skilful manœuvre and by forced marches he arrived at Lâon, and from there hastened back by railroad. Some of his troops



BRINGING IN CATTLE.

are encamped on vacant grounds near the Triumphal arch, for rest and sleep; for since they left Paris, three weeks ago, they have not enjoyed the advantages of either.

In conclusion we must notice what has perhaps most of all attracted the attention of the people during the last week. The inhabitants of the numerous suburban towns and villages have become panic stricken and alarmed at the approach of their enemies. Pell-mell they hasten towards the city, believing that their only safety is inside the walls. Those who have the products of the soil, live stock and property of value, are admitted; the poor are excluded. From early morning until late at night these terror-stricken people crowd the roads, the gateways and avenues leading to Place de la Concorde, Place de la Bastille and Place du Trône. Such scenes have doubtless never been witnessed—and they continue from day to day—vehicles of every kind, carriages, wagons, carts and hand-carts, loaded with grain, and hay, and straw, and wood, and charcoal, and peat, and vegetables, and farming utensils, and household furniture, and women and children, and turkeys, and geese, and ducks, and chickens, piled up in every conceivable manner; and mingled with these are thousands of fat cattle, and milk cows, and calves, and horses, and mules, and donkeys, and sheep, and swine. Everything that can be useful in a protracted siege is admitted into the city. Grain stacks, and hay stacks, and straw stacks are novelties in the center of Paris, as well as the numerous herds of domestic animals. The braying of donkeys, the lowing of cattle, and the bleating of sheep is strange music in contrast with the sounds of the bugle and the roll of the drum. We pity the dumb brutes in their changed condition, they cannot understand why they have been so suddenly transferred from the country into the city.

CHAPTER XIII.

PARIS, SEPTEMBER 16TH, 1870.

Serious Reflections—Conclusion to Remain in Paris—The Proscripts Arrive—Deputation sent Out—Destruction of Property—Great Activity and Solitude—Farewell.

IN these inauspicious circumstances—the victorious armies of the Germans approaching Paris on the north and east—I would not think of remaining here if my friend Dr. S. did not desire me to remain with him. We have had frequent interviews on the subject of a siege, he maintaining that it will not last many weeks, I that it might continue several months. He is much more disposed to undervalue the resources of the French than I am, and I may add, that his views are much more in harmony with the sentiments of the majority of foreigners in Paris. The policy of the late Emperor was not such as to inspire respect and confidence generally, but since the Empire has fallen, and the people have proclaimed the Republic with such unanimity, I do not find it an easy matter to withhold my sympathy. Such exhibitions of patriotism as I have witnessed in the last ten days, on the side too of liberty and free government have certainly never been surpassed in any country. We hear that all the cities of France not occupied by the Germans have proclaimed the Republic, and that every able-bodied citizen has entered some branch or other of the service for the defense of the country.

I have likewise had interviews with Mr. Washburne, as well as with Mr. Olcott, and it is due to both of them to say

that they advised me not to take the risks of a protracted siege. M. le Docteur Benjamin Ball, to whom I have already referred, has encouraged me to remain. He has charge of several wards in the Hôtel Dieu. He is a French Protestant in religion, was born of English and Italian parents, speaks English well, but in every other respect is a Frenchman. He loves France, is an enthusiastic Republican, and has thus far shown me many kindnesses.

The reader will readily understand that when meditating alone on this subject I have had serious reflections. It is well known that large quantities of provisions, of every kind, have been brought into the city, in anticipation of a protracted siege; and should the Parisians become obstinate, as did the Jews when the Romans, under the leadership of Titus, invaded Palestine and surrounded Jerusalem, I might lose my life or be reduced to want. The long and dreary months of winter are coming on, and to the cold may be added, starvation among the poor, pestilence, a bombardment of the city, and possibly an insurrection in which fraternal blood may drench the streets of Paris. All this and much more has appeared before me in imagination, and still I have resolved to take my chances with other foreigners. There is another reason for believing that the French may make a desperate resistance. The Emperor is a prisoner in Germany, and there is no government in France with which the Germans can make a treaty of peace. A National Assembly will have to be elected, and the French are not in a mood to do this. I cannot, therefore, see how it is possible to have an immediate cessation of hostilities.

Soon after my arrival in Paris I became acquainted with an American citizen Mr. R., who had resided in the city during the greater part of the reign of the late Emperor. He has thought it best, in compliance with the orders issued

(his wife being a German), to change his place of residence to London for a few weeks, confident that there will soon be an intervention by the continental powers, and that peace will follow. Before leaving the city he placed in my care his domicile on Rue St. Honoré, near the center of the city, and here I am comfortably housed. It consists of a half dozen apartments on the third story which face the south and overlook a court. The building itself is constructed in modern French style, though it is not by any means as large as some are. It is five stories high above the pavement (some are six or seven) and it is fire-proof throughout. How the city, so densely populated, is made fire proof, is a question that has interested me; and I have frequently delayed long enough in passing along the streets in which improvements are being made to notice the several stages, in the construction of these beautiful buildings. There is always a solid foundation laid and the basement or cellar is invariably arched. Places of business are usually on the right and left of the entrance, which admits a coach and two horses into the court. In one of the large doors or gates, there is a small door which opens by ringing a bell. At the rear are apartments for the *concierge* or porter, and still farther in the rear, and around the court are warerooms and stables. They are all built in a substantial manner and open into the court, where the hydrant is and where necessary work is attended to by the servants. The second story is low and is used for miscellaneous purposes, for the accommodation of the numerous occupants. The third, fourth and fifth stories are occupied by families; they are reached by flights of stairs used in common, which are kept in good condition by the *concierge* and his family. Non-combustible material is used from the basement to the roof; the walls are stone; the joists are iron; the floors are brick, overlaid with mosaic work

in cement or it may be with wood, and the roof is zinc composition. The stairs are made of iron and wood; formerly they were made of stone. The several stories are so constructed that a dozen or more families may reside in the same building, each one occupying a group of rooms on the same flat. In this style many respectable people live in Paris, even ministers of state. The water supply and drainage are usually good, and in ordinary times the court and halls are well lighted with gas. All persons entering or departing pass before the porter who is responsible to the proprietor.

Now that I have concluded to remain in Paris my correspondence with the outside world must cease. If this communication should reach its destination, you may regard it as my last, for at least several weeks, possibly months. I shall therefore only refer to a few items which might be much extended if space permitted.

The proscripts who have been absent from Paris since the 2d of December, 1851, are returning to share the dangers of a siege which may be the greatest the world has seen. Victor Hugo, who has been in England, and Edgar Quinet, who has been in Switzerland, have returned from exile, Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc and Schoelcher—all distinguished Frenchmen, have announced their arrival. Others less distinguished perhaps, but well known in France will never return; they have died in foreign countries, broken hearted, as it is said, on account of a long separation from friends and their native land. Among these are Charas, Flocon and Charles Kestner. They have not been permitted to see the return of the Republic for which they labored and suffered persecution. Two small volumes from the pen of Victor Hugo have already appeared—his *Châtiments* and his *Napoléon le Petit*. Edgar Quinet and Louis Blanc write every day for the journals.

The new government continues to work with commendable vigor. On the 12th inst. the following was adopted :

WHEREAS, It is indispensable, in case of an investment of Paris, that the government preserve its entire liberty of action to organize a defense in the departments, and to maintain its authority. Be it decreed :

First. That M. Crémieux, a member of the government for the defense of the nation, guard of the seal, Minister of Justice, be delegated to represent the government and to exercise its powers.

Second. That each ministerial department be represented by a special delegate who shall accompany him.

Third. The member of the government shall have his seat at Tours, and shall change it from place to place should the necessities of the national defense require it.

Fourth. The powers conferred by the present decree shall cease when free communication with Paris is restored.

Fifth. Each of the ministers is required to execute the present decree in as far as it concerns his department of service.

M. Crémieux immediately left Paris and entered upon the work of organizing a defense for the departments, and M. Glais-Bizoin has since been authorized to join him. Thus the two oldest members have been sent to Tours to organize a branch government. The organization of armies will be the principal part of their work—though they are wholly ignorant of military affairs—armies of undisciplined youth to meet the victorious Germans. On the one hand what folly ; on the other what patriotism.

In the meantime official news reached Paris that Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Sweden and Denmark have recognized the new government, and the day following the venerable M. Thiers was commissioned to visit England, Russia, Austria and Italy. His mission is, no doubt, to have a personal interview with the Ministers of State of these several countries, to advocate an intervention, an armistice and an honorable peace. The Republican leaders entertain hopes that the great

powers of Europe will interpose and save France from further loss. M. Tissot has been sent as *chargé d'affaires* to London instead of M. de la Vallette, and M. Tachard, who was deputy under the Empire, to Brussels.

On the 13th inst. I had an opportunity to witness a grand review of the extemporized forces of Paris—the work of eight days. They are under the command of nine generals or admirals, to each of whom is given a section of the *enceinte* or walls of the city to guard. Not less than one hundred thousand men were in line extending from Place de la Concorde to Place de la Bastille. They consisted of mobiles and National Guards. Nearly all the departments were represented by battalions of mobiles who have hastened to defend the capital. General Trochu with a large number of staff officers reviewed them on horseback.

But what may we say of these undisciplined volunteers who have taken up arms in defense of the city. Some of the battalions are already uniformed and armed with chassepots, but, certainly, three-fourths of them are in citizen's dress, and have the old muskets which can only be used for some of the purposes of discipline and drill. They are made up of all classes of citizens, men of seventy years of age and boys of sixteen. Each battalion consists of eight hundred men, and is allowed to elect its own officers, but their commissions may be taken from them at any time. They represent every grade of society, as well as every shade of politics. The National Guards consist chiefly of business men of the city, who are not expected to fight outside the walls. The mobiles are younger men and generally belong to the working classes.

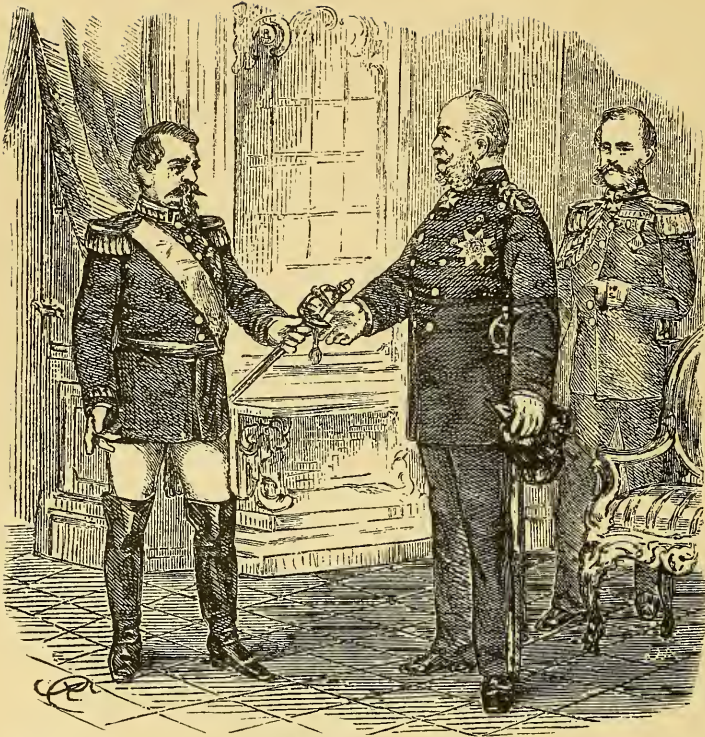
The marines, who have hastened to Paris, are in the forts and redoubts, and the Thirteenth and Fourteenth corps, commanded respectively by Generals Vinoy and Ducrot, as well as independent battalions of cavalry, are

outside the walls. They possibly do not exceed sixty thousand men. Most of them have never been in battle, and, of course, are without the experience of old soldiers. It is not supposed that they will be able to check the advance of the Germans.

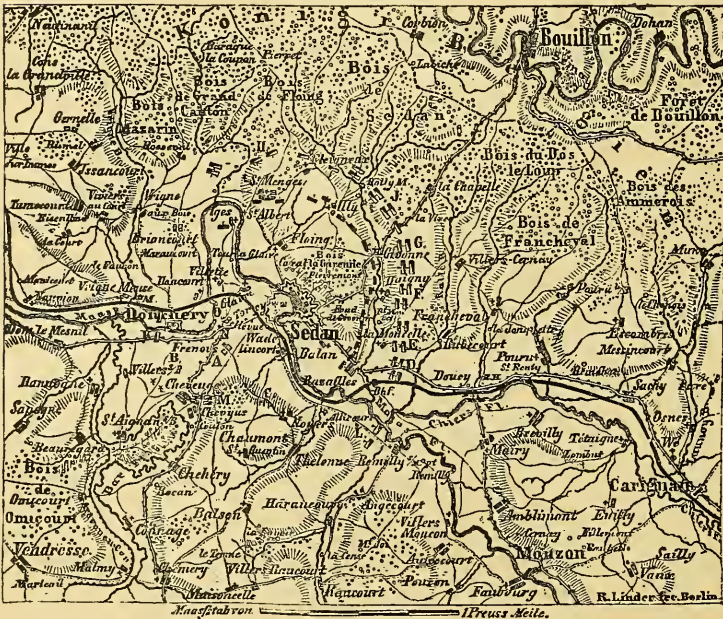
The enrollment of citizens in all the wards continues. Battalions, regiments and brigades are organized and assigned to their places. It is said that one hundred and fifty thousand stand of arms have already been distributed, most of which, however, are old muskets. There is marching and counter-marching in every ward, and the greatest activity prevails.

To M. Jules Ferry, one of the youngest members of the government, has been committed the study of the perplexing questions relating to the inhabitants of the suburban districts, as well as those residing immediately within the walls. He has had several meetings of the mayors of the city and with the representatives of the districts outside, to consult on these and kindred topics. It is supposed that about half the inhabitants of the numerous towns and villages immediately around Paris have escaped southward into other departments, taking with them all they could carry, and now it has become a duty to provide for the remaining half. Since the advance of the Germans these panic-stricken people have been seeking refuge inside the walls. They have lands, and homes, and produce which they are unwilling wholly to abandon, and they prefer to take their chances in the city. They still come by thousands from early morning until late at night.

Correspondents of newspapers have attempted to give descriptions of these scenes, but all agree that they cannot be represented. In the history of invasions they have never been equalled. The people are not only terror-stricken but they seem to be enraged. Some belong to families with titles and wealth, who have their palaces,



THE SURRENDER.



SEDAN

villas, lawns and parks in these suburban districts ; others are manufacturing princes who have found it convenient to reside near their works ; others are skilled artisans and laborers who have lived in comfort and happiness whilst others have been farmers, gardeners, dairymen and florists, but all are required to abandon their homes and their occupations. Some have already witnessed the total destruction of their dwellings, gardens, parks and lawns, towns, villages, factories, furnaces, mills and workshops. This has become a frightful military necessity. Out of the ruins thousands of laborers are engaged constructing fortifications and breastworks. Wise or unwise the defense of the city requires this destruction of property, even before a single shell has been thrown.

Of the great battle at Sedan the people of Paris know very little as yet. The Emperor no doubt gave orders to withhold information concerning his movements ; and the ministers were unwilling to give to the public what was received in their departments. Even since the Republic has been proclaimed, the editors of journals seem averse to giving any of the details. As a result we are indebted to the correspondents of English and Belgian newspapers for nearly all that has reached us. It seems probable that the Emperor and MacMahon were ignorant of the fact that a fourth German army was organized at Metz, and that it was moving in the direction of Grand Pré, under the command of Prince Albert. This flank movement effectually prevented MacMahon from making a junction with Bazaine and brought upon the French the conflict at Sedan.

The feeling against the Emperor is not mitigated by any consideration that can be presented. His pretensions as a chief executive were so extravagant that no one ventures to apologise for his conduct. His incapacity as a leader in the field, his ignorance of military science, and his lack

of courage in a great emergency, are apparent even to those who are not trained in the schools; most of all he has shown his weakness in submitting to the dictation of the regency.

There is a mixed opinion in Paris concerning Marshal Bazaine, although every person tries to think well of him. The Republicans make themselves believe that he is fighting for them, on the other hand it is affirmed that he has not abandoned the Empire, and that he prefers to fall with it. His army has now been surrounded a full month, and his chances for escape are becoming less and less every day. If Prince Frederick Charles had need of help the fourth German army would have been ordered back to Metz, but it is moving upon the north of Paris, and the Landwehr are crossing the Rhine.

The government had under consideration the subject of leaving Paris, until the 11th inst., when it was finally agreed to remain and to send out a deputation.

On the 12th inst. an order was issued requiring the *ponts-levis* at the gates to be raised every night at ten o'clock.

Yesterday the time expired for leaving Paris by railroad without a special permit from the government, but the mail service continues westward.

M. Jules Simon, the Minister of Public Instruction, has been made president of the scientific committee, to which are referred all the inventions that may be useful in the defense of the city. A large number have already been presented, among which is a steam *mitrailleuse*, which, it is claimed, will sweep down a whole regiment in less than a minute.

M. de Kératry, Prefect of Police, announces that five thousand men have been expelled from the city as vagabonds, as well as two thousand prostitute women.

On the 14th inst. the Governor issued a proclamation

on the subject of the review. In it he congratulated the thousands who presented themselves in line, and expressed himself with great confidence.

The flotilla of the Seine has its rendezvous at St. Cloud. It consists of four floating batteries and twenty-one steamers of smaller size. The armament is composed of thirty-one pieces of cannon, large and small, which are served by twenty-five officers and five hundred marines.

The Park of the Tuileries is now filled with artillery wagons, horses and men. They have come from the departments where perhaps they could be more useful to France.

The Communists, within the last week, have had several meetings and violent speeches have been made; Blanqui has started *La Patrie en Danger*, a vile sheet.

On account of the order issued by the government for the expulsion of all persons of German birth, Mr. Washburne has undertaken a work which may compromise him with the French people. The communards do not hesitate to speak ill of him. The ambassador of Switzerland, M. Kern, has taken the place of the representative of Bavaria. The French government has ordered free passes on all the railroads leading to Germany; and the assistants at the American and Swiss legations accompany the expelled Germans to the railroad stations to see that they are not imposed upon.

A few days ago, believing that it would be my duty to leave Paris, and thinking that I might never again look upon the queen city of the world, I once more ascended Montmartre with telescope in hand. From this elevated point, facing the south, we have before us the greater part of the French capital. On the right are the Triumphal Arch and the Hôtel des Invalides with its glittering dome; then the Tuileries and Louvre, the Notre Dame and the Pantheon; and on the left the Column of July, with

its gold covered globe. Looking down upon the proud city, soon again to be encompassed by a mighty army, I was forced into a thoughtful and serious mood; *Delenda est Carthago* came rapidly to mind. Will the Germans deliberately destroy Paris? I do not believe it. But they have taken the place of the all-conquering Romans, and their presence may provoke the French and indirectly secure this frightful result. May we not hope that there will soon be an intervention and an honorable peace. And now, dear reader, farewell.



M. LEON GAMBETTA

SECOND PART.

DURING THE SIEGE.

CHAPTER I.

PARIS, SEPTEMBER 27TH, 1870.

The Investment Completed—Two Balloons sent out—First Battles—Miserable Cowards—Interview between Jules Favre and Count Bismarck—Proclamations and Orders—News from Strasbourg and Metz.

THE investment of Paris is now a matter of history. On the 18th inst., the last railroad was taken, the last telegraph line was cut, and now the postroads all around the city are occupied by the Germans. No one can pass through the lines except at the risk of life. Three months ago who would have thought of the possibility of such an event? Certainly no one in France; possibly no one in Europe. At that time I had scarcely thought of a European tour; now I am a prisoner in a great city, with permission, however, to go where I please inside the walls, and at proper hours of the day outside the gates. Of course I can no longer think of a correspondence with friends across the Atlantic but I may make free use of my note book.

How to keep up a correspondence with the outside world is a question which concerns the Parisian population very much. An imprisonment of nine days has already produced an effect upon the people. They have so long regarded Paris as the center of the civilized world, that the business and educated classes feel very sensibly the want of news. The *London Times* and a few other journals have been smuggled in through the lines on several occasions, but the people can only get the telegrams a week or so after date. A daring fellow by the name of Letoile, who is engaged in the secret service of the government, has, it is said, crossed the lines several times; and it is also reported that a woman from one of the departments reached Paris three days ago with valuable information. But this method of conveying intelligence into and out of the city cannot be continued, as it will be difficult to find persons patriotic enough to risk their lives; especially since it is known that the Germans are forming a triple line of earth-works around the great circle.

To the Minister of Public Instruction and to the scientific men whom he has called to his assistance has been given the study of all questions pertaining to the transmission of news. The government is especially interested in keeping up communication with the deputation at Tours. Many ingenious devices have been suggested for this purpose, but the difficulties are numerous, whatever means may be considered.

A certain variety of shepherd dogs, it is said, would return to the city if taken out in balloons and would bring messages in their collars. Again it is said, that glass globes might be used as the bearers of messages to and from Paris if placed in the Seine or Marne and taken out at certain points in the city and below it. It has also been suggested that cables might be laid in the rivers—one down the Seine fifty or a hundred miles, and others up the

Seine and Marne, but it is not likely that money will be spent in any of these uncertain methods and besides the cables are not manufactured.

In the meantime two balloons ascended from the top of Montmartre, crossed the German lines and landed safely in France. The first, called the *Neptune*, rose on the 23d inst., and took out letters, newspapers and government messages. The second, called the *Cité de Florence*, rose on the 25th inst., at eleven o'clock with letters, newspapers, M. Jules Favre's report and pigeons. After a safe voyage of two hours and a half it landed in the department of Dreux. A pigeon was immediately set loose with a dispatch which it brought into Paris the same day. So much pleased are the people with this novel method of communication with the outside world, that M. Rampont, director of the postal service, has engaged to send out a balloon every two or three days.

Soon after the great battle at Sedan, the Third and Fourth German armies, commanded respectively by the Crown Prince of Prussia, and the Crown Prince of Saxony, set out on diverging lines. The former took the direction of Reims and the latter the direction of Län, and swept over large districts of country. At Reims the 13th, army corps crossed over to Soissons, a distance of thirty miles and joined the Fourth army. The Third army descended the Marne to Meaux, crossed over to Melun in the valley of the Seine, a distance of forty miles, and approached Paris from the southeast, The Fourth army descended the valleys of the Aisne and the Oise, and approached Paris from the northeast. These valleys are not separated by mountains, but by undulating tracts of land, very fertile and beautiful. The towns and cities we have mentioned, are the seats of government for as many departments. Some of them have extensive commercial relations, and are rich and populous. Soissons is a forti-

fied city and has concluded to stand a siege rather than capitulate.

As already intimated, the *enceinte* or walls of Paris, are divided into nine sections and a commanding officer is placed over every one. These sections are connected with the railroad, which passes around the city inside the walls, so that troops, arms and ammunition may be easily sent from one section to another in case of an assault. The first six are on the north or right bank of the Seine, and the seventh, eighth and ninth on the south or left bank. The river which enters the city on the southeast, flows out on the southwest, forming a semicircle. On a line which may be taken as the diameter of the semicircle, are forts Issy, Vanves, Montrouge, Bicêtre and Ivry. These forts are about a mile and a-half apart, and about the same distance from the walls. South of these forts and from one to two miles distant from them, are elevated lands and numerous towns and villages, among which are Sèvres, Meudon, Clamart, Châtillon, Bagneux, Villejuif and Vitry. Following the circle around we have Fort Charenton, between the forks of the Seine and the Marne. On the east we have forts Vincennes, Nogent, Rosny and Noisy; on the north Aubervilliers, Est, the Double Crown and Briche, and on the west the great fort or citadel, Valérien, besides numerous redoubts and earthworks.

Early in the morning of the 17th inst., General Vinoy, whose headquarters had been at Fort Charenton, ordered a reconnoissance to be made between the Seine and the Marne which revealed the presence of the Germans several miles distant from the fort. There was skirmishing at first and then an engagement, but the French were forced back with a loss of 6 men killed and 37 wounded. The troops of the Crown Prince of Prussia, crossing the Seine at Choisy-le-Roi, pressed on westward in the direction of Versailles.

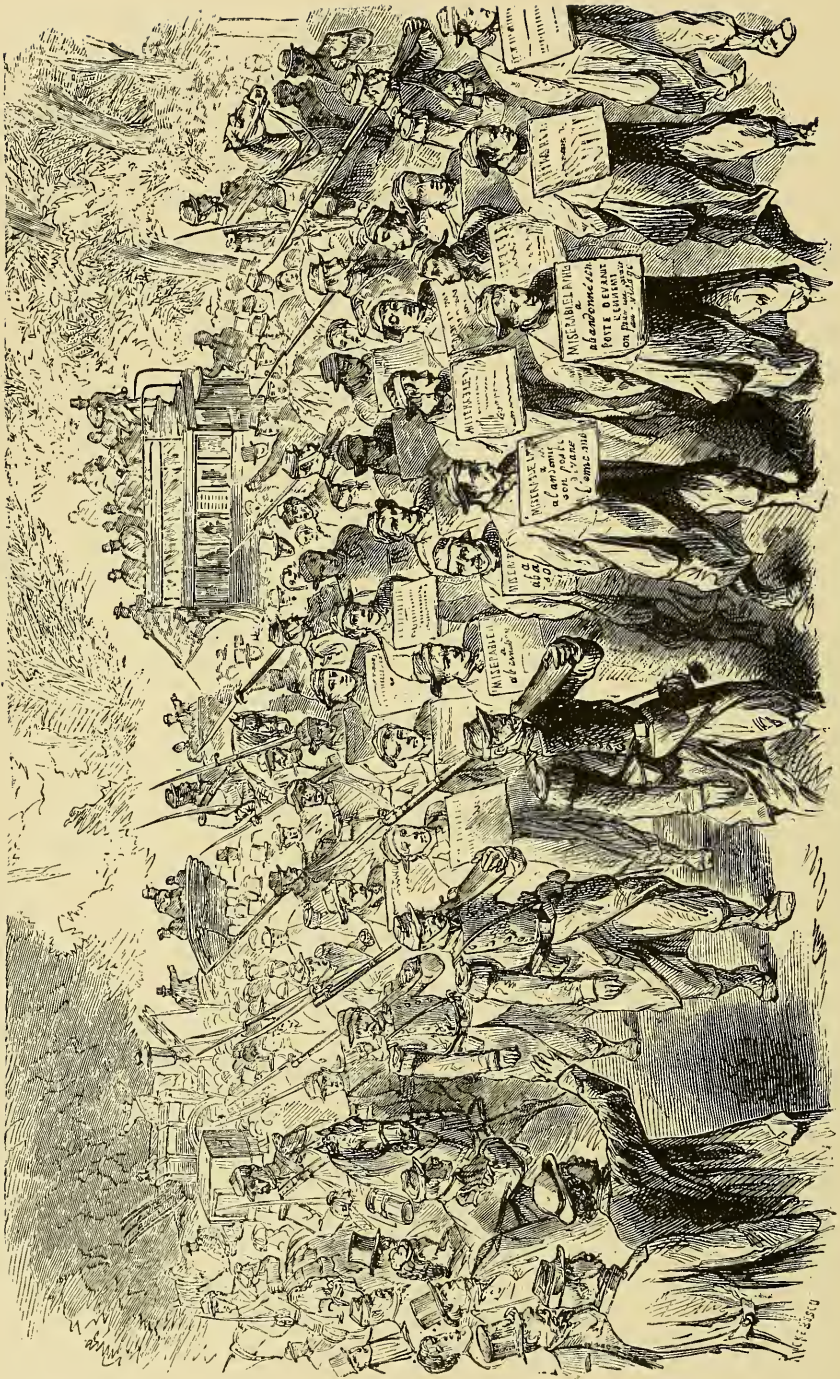


FIRST WOUNDED OFFICER AT PARIS.

The next day the Germans advanced upon three sides of the city, north, east and south, and drove in the French pickets. On the south several important points were taken, and the troops under the command of General Ducrot were forced to retreat. In the evening it was announced that all the telegraph lines were cut.

At 4 o'clock in the morning, September 19th, all Paris was awakened by the booming of cannon. The French artillery was beating back the Germans who had steadily advanced during the night, and were taking possession of elevated points in the neighborhood. It was a solemn hour for the Parisians. General Ducrot, who had command of the 14th army corps, had his headquarters at Fort Vanves. Two divisions of infantry occupied this part of the circle from Sèvres to Vitry. Redoubts had been in the course of construction with the intention of preventing the enemy from taking possession of a well macadamized road leading from Choisi-le-Roi to Versailles, but these were abandoned in the afternoon, and the result was a panic on the right. There were indications of a general stampede all along the line and to prevent it General Ducrot was obliged to order the infantry to fall back. The fighting, however, continued until late in the evening, for the Germans were determined to gain a decided victory. At ten o'clock they had possession of Versailles, Sèvres, Meudon, Clamart, Châtillon, Bagneux and Villejuif; indeed all the towns and villages of importance on the south side of the city were in their possession. The bridges leading to St. Cloud and Sèvres were blown up during the night lest an attempt should be made to take the city. On the east the Germans advanced within a mile or two of the forts and took possession of the plains of Avron and the forests of Bondy. In like manner the forces of the Crown Prince of Saxony advanced upon the north and were apparently only restrained by the fire of the forts.

The French forces, officers and men, have been much criticised for their cowardice on this occasion, but what has occurred is not more than might have been expected. Most of them were undisciplined troops ; even the officers were without experience. The Crown Prince of Prussia was determined to take immediate possession of Versailles, and the main roads leading from it to Paris. These radiate in the directions of St. Cloud, Sèvres and Sceaux, and are protected by redouts and earthworks. One of the redoubts, opposite Châtillon and Clamart, has been regarded as the key to the investment of the city on the south. Unfortunately for the French this fortification was in an unfinished condition. The engineers had commenced it as a fort, but after the disaster at Sedan they converted it into a redoubt for light pieces of artillery. There was not sufficient time to complete it, nor indeed any of them. At first it was denied that the French had spiked their guns and abandoned this important point, but it is now admitted to be true. The zouaves in their flight seized the artillery horses, as it is reported, and rode for their lives. They consisted, for the most part, of braggarts from the faubourgs who have not yet become accustomed to the explosion of shells. The gunners could do no better than spike their guns and abandon this important place. The Germans, as is reported, refused to take possession of it until several hours had elapsed for fear that a trap had been set for them as at Laon, where the citidel was blown up with a loss of several hundred in killed and wounded. A Frenchman, it is said, remained in the fort and applied a match to the magazine. On this occasion the losses on both sides must have been considerable. The Germans claim two thousand prisoners taken to Versailles. The illustrated journals represent the cowards marching back into Paris under arrest. The Minister of the Interior immediately issued the following :



TWENTY-ONE COWARDS.

M. F. 2570

CITIZENS : If cowards returning, as to-day, should attempt to produce disorder, or should circulate false reports, remain unmoved, and be assured that the military courts about to be organized for the purpose of punishing all such persons will protect the public and guard the honor of the nation.

The next day the President issued a proclamation in which he complimented those regiments, officers and men who had fought bravely. At the same time he presented to the public those sections of the law relating to cowardice, desertion, felony and other misdemeanors. The penalty fixed is death, or degradation to the ranks with disgrace.

Courts have since been organized at Vincennes, St. Denis and Place Vendôme, as well as in the 13th and 14th army corps. Spies, thieves and cowards are to be judged and punished according to the gravity of their offenses. A few days ago a group of cowards and deserters were marched through the streets, their blouses turned inside out, their hands tied behind their backs, and large cards hung upon their breasts with these words printed on them in large letters "*A miserable coward has deserted his post before the enemy.*"

It is understood that the Germans, since the 19th inst., are busily engaged arranging their forces and entrenching themselves. Their bold attack upon three sides of Paris was not wholly unexpected. In this they have given us another proof of their familiarity with the science and art of war. The simultaneous movement of hostile forces upon a great city has never been more grandly exhibited. Military men in other countries, reading the telegrams from day to day, must have admired their promptness and precision. On the 20th and 21st they might easily have entered the city, but their science and experience did not permit them to do a rash and imprudent thing. The French were fearful that they would attempt it, and they still believe that the assault will be made.

Had the late Emperor spent a few millions of francs in the erection of forts in the neighborhood of Versailles and at other points in the great circle, the investment of Paris would not have been so easily accomplished. At present the Germans occupy a belt or zone the inner edge of which is from three to eight miles distant from the walls. The weakest point in the circle is on the south. This is on account of the proximity of the forts, and the elevated points of land in the rear of them. The Germans have planted their cannon on these elevations and it may be impossible for the French to hold their positions.

We may here give a brief account of the recent interview between the Hon. Jules Favre and Count Bismarck, at Ferrières. The report as presented by the Minister to his colleagues, and the fuller account given to the people must always be regarded as a remarkable episode in the history of the war. First of all Mr. Favre expresses a belief that it was his duty to make an honorable effort at reconciliation. He had opposed the declaration of war in the House of Deputies, and had more than once characterized it as an unfortunate and hateful strife. Accordingly on the 10th inst. he telegraphed, through an intermediary, to the German Chancellor, and received a reply that it would be an irregularity to enter into a treaty of peace with a government which has not been recognized by the leading powers of Europe. A second telegram was sent and arrangements were made to send a messenger. Two days later the envoy extraordinary, who is understood to have been a diplomatic agent, returned, having experienced many difficulties on the way, and reported that he had seen the Chancellor, and that it would be necessary for some member of the Paris government to visit him. M. Favre expected a telegraphic dispatch from the Chancellor himself, but none came. There was no time to delay; the Germans were moving upon Paris and he concluded to assume the responsibility and to take the risk of passing through the German lines. To go in search of the conqueror was a humiliation that very few Frenchmen would have submitted to. The Minister of War furnished an escort, and on the 18th inst., they set out by way of Fort Charenton, between the Seine and the Marne. It consisted of a staff officer, Baron de Ring, M. Hendlé, a postman, and a bugler on horseback. Reaching the advanced post of the Germans, they halted and after some delay

were taken to the headquarters of the 6th army corps. It was not known where they would find the Prussian Chancellor, but reaching Villeneuve St. George they learned that the royal headquarters were at Meaux. It was now 1 o'clock but the general in command was absent, and they were obliged to remain under guard until 5 o'clock, when he returned. As it was late in the afternoon, the general proposed that they should wait until morning, and that he would send an officer with messages to the Chancellor. M. Favre prepared the following :

Monsieur le COMTE: I have always believed that it would be impossible not to make an honorable effort at compromise before engaging in serious conflict under the walls of Paris. The person who had the honor of seeing your Excellency two days ago, informed me that he had received from your lips an expression of a similar desire. I have come to the front to put myself at your Excellency's disposal. I await your pleasure to know how and where I may have the honor of conferring with you a few moments.

I have the honor to be, with high consideration, your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant.

JULES FAVRE.

September 18th, 1870.

They were all taken to the chateau of M. de Balzac, and there they spent the night, only a few miles distant from Paris. In the morning, at six o'clock, M. Favre received the following reply :

MEAUX, *September 18th, 1870.*

I have just received the letter which your Excellency has kindly written to me, and it will be very agreeable to me, if it is your pleasure, to do me the honor of coming to see me here to-morrow at Meaux. The bearer of this, Prince Biren, will see that your Excellency is conducted through our lines.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, your Excellency's very obedient servant.

VON BISMARCK.

A delightful morning and a warm day succeeded. The escort delayed, and in the meantime the minister and his private secretary, M. Hendlé, promenaded in the very beautiful park which surrounds the chateau. At 9 o'clock they set out for Meaux, distant from Paris 30 miles, led by Prince Biren. The roads were very much obstructed by artillery wagons and infantry on their way to Paris. Their mission was a doleful one. As they passed along M. Favre discussing the subject with his friends, as it is said, frequently shed tears. At half-past 2 o'clock they met Count Hatzfeldt, the first sec-

retary of the Chancellor, on horseback, accompanied by a number of staff officers. They informed M. Favre that the King was advancing and would spend the night in the château at Ferrières. Count Hatzfeldt requested M. Favre and his associates to retrace their steps, which they attempted to do, but their horses giving out, they were obliged to stop for rest at the little village of Montry. Here they delayed an hour or more until the Chancellor arrived, escorted by a body of cavaliers and staff officers, himself the most conspicuous of all. After the exchange of salutations, and a few remarks on the unfortunate condition of affairs, they repaired to a chateau a short distance from the village, the property of Count Rillac.

They immediately entered a lower hall, which looked into a court, and as they were about to take seats the Chancellor remarked: "This is a bad place for us; your sharpshooters can see us through the windows." The Minister expressed his astonishment, but the Chancellor replied: "Tell the people of the house, if you please, that you are a member of the Government, and that you will hold them responsible for any criminal attempt." In a few minutes, however, the chateau was surrounded by a strong guard.

M. Favre then introduced the subject of his mission by stating "That he believed it his duty, before a serious engagement should take place under the walls of Paris, to ask for an honorable understanding of the intentions of his Excellency. Our situation, though irregular, he said, is nevertheless simple. We have not overthrown the government of the Empire. It fell of itself, and in taking the reins of government in our hands we have only obeyed a law of necessity. It belongs to the nation to indicate the form of government and the conditions of peace. With this object in view we have convoked a National Assembly, and I have come to ascertain if it is your intention, by a continuance of the war, to desolate our country and to impose a government upon us against our will. In this case I wish to say to your Excellency that we have decided to defend ourselves to the last. On the other hand, your country will necessarily suffer by your armies being on our territory. A strife which assumes the character of extermination must be fatal to both countries, and I believe with your kind offices you are able to prevent these results by an honorable peace."

The Count responded: "I also plead for peace. Germany did not disturb it. You declared war without a cause; with the sole intention of taking part of our territory. In this you have been faithful to your past history. Since Louis XIV. you have aggrandized yourselves at our expense. We know that you will never re-

nounce this policy ; that you will only rally your forces to begin a new war. Germany has not sought this opportunity ; she seizes it for her security, and this security can only be guaranteed by a cession of territory. Strasbourg is a perpetual menace to us. It is the key to our house, and we wish to have it."

M. Favre here interrupted him : "Then it is Alsace and Lorraine?"

The Count continued : "I do not say so of Lorraine, but of Alsace I am very decided. We regard it as absolutely indispensable for defense."

The Minister then stated "that the war was the result of the ambition of one man, and that he is now a prisoner. And as France has repudiated him and his government, and has proclaimed the Republic with great unanimity, there is no longer any reason why the war should be continued."

The Count replied "that he understood the minority had condemned the course pursued by the Imperial government ; that this minority which is now in power is very unreliable, and unless the city is taken in a few days the populace will rise in insurrection and overthrow the present government."

At the use of the word populace M. Favre interrupted him and expressed his surprise that his Excellency was not aware that Paris contains an intelligent people, who would not conspire with the enemy to destroy a government that they have just proclaimed ; also, that the present government is only provisional, and that on this account he could not agree to any condition which would imply a cession of territory.

The conversation was continued for a considerable time on the several phases of the cession of territory, the Count insisting upon it as the essential element in a treaty and the Minister protesting against it with all the energy and eloquence at his command. The question of calling a national assembly to assume the responsibility and to conclude a treaty of peace was then introduced, but as evening was coming on, and it was necessary for the Count to meet the King at Ferrières, M. Favre asked for another interview, which was agreed to.

At 6 o'clock the Minister and his friends, knowing it would be difficult to pass through the German army if night should overtake them, the army wagons occupying the roads, set out for Ferrières and reached the village at 8 o'clock, living in the meantime on such fare as they could pick up on the way, or had taken with them. At 9 o'clock M. Favre presented himself at the magnificent chateau,

the summer residence of Baron de Rothchild, and was shown into the Salle des Chasseurs. The King and the royal guards were already in possession of the palace. The Count, hearing of the Minister's arrival, immediately rose from the table and invited M. Favre to dine with him, which, however, he respectfully declined. In half an hour the interview was renewed, but not with cheerful prospects on the French side.

M. Favre, in renewing the discussion, remarked "that he would like to have the privilege of giving to the Government he represented a brief *resumé* of their interview, as well as to the French people, who, in this case, must be the sovereign judge." The Count replied "that he should give himself no concern about the publication of what he had to say, that no restrictions would be placed upon him." The discussion concerning a National Assembly was then renewed, and the Count remarked "that it would be much less difficult to treat with the Emperor," and on this point the conversation turned, which permitted both to express themselves very freely. The Minister could not refrain from making the statement "that the French people would not, under any circumstances, agree that Prussia should become an agent for the restoration of the Empire." The Count, after referring to the insincere policy of the late Emperor, to Duke Gramont, to M. Ollivier and to the irritating conduct of Count Benedetti at Ems, replied "that Germany had no love for Napoleon III.—that it made very little difference to the North-German Confederation what kind of government France would adopt, whether the Emperor was restored or an Orleanist was accepted as King, or Count de Chambord. His Majesty, the King of Prussia, would no doubt prefer the last named as the representation of fixed ideas and a more stable form of government. As for himself he was also Republican; no form of government is good unless it springs from the will of the people, and is in harmony with their interests." To all this M. Favre agreed, but to come nearer to the subject he repeated the statement that he represented only a Provisional government and could do nothing more than make a report. "Allow us therefore," he said, "to elect an Assembly, of which notice has already been given to the people. It is the only means that can lead to a cessation of hostilities and an honorable peace."

The Count reflected a moment and then said "You are perhaps right. That which concerns me is the necessity of an armistice which is essentially unfavorable for our military operations and valuable to you. Each day is profitable to you and hurtful to us.

I have told you that I do not wish an armistice at any price, besides it is a military question and must be submitted to the King."

"You know, as well as I do," continued the Minister, "that there is no other power capable of treating with you except that of a National Assembly, regularly elected, and you know also that the election and meeting of such an assembly is practically impossible in a country that is invaded and is making an effort to defend itself. It is therefore necessary to make a truce for a few days in order that the people may deliberate."

"But it is right for us, in this case," continued the Count, "to ask for guarantees."

"All will depend," rejoined the Minister, "upon the conditions proposed."

"I have no authority," replied the Count, "to speak definitely upon this point, not having consulted the King. Nevertheless, I may say that the armistice will imply the occupation of Strasbourg and the fortified places of the Vosges. We will leave Metz as it is, and while I am speaking of Metz I may remark that Marshal Bazaine does not belong to you. I have good reasons for believing that he remains faithful to the Emperor, and of course will refuse to obey you."

M. Favre, immediately interrupting him, said: "I have the best reasons for believing to the contrary. May I ask you if the Marshal has been informed of the capitulation at Sedan and of the captivity of the Emperor?"

"Certainly he has been so informed," responded the Count. "That is sufficient," said the Minister. "If we conclude an armistice I may not be able to ask for the deliverance of the Marshal, but it seems to be right that he should be allowed to supply the city with provisions for a time corresponding with the armistice."

"I cannot agree to that," replied the Count, "nor can I agree to suspend military operations. Let each preserve his liberty. Let Marshal Bazaine be at liberty to attack us and us to attack him. As to your assembly, give me your ideas, so that I may reflect upon them and make them known to the King."

"My meaning is," rejoined the Minister, "that Paris should be neutral. Give us, at our indication, a safe conduct to and from Paris for our candidates and deputies. I would ask the same privileges for supplying Paris with provisions as for Metz. The armistice, it seems to me, ought to be fifteen days, and I think that at the end of this time the Assembly would be able to send a commission invested with full power to negotiate a peace."

"The neutrality of Paris," replied the Count, "appears to me not impossible. In this case, however, I will require a guarantee; but on this point we may speak more definitely to-morrow. If the King had not retired I would speak to him at once in relation to these matters. If it is your pleasure we will meet in the morning at 11 o'clock." At half-past twelve they separated for rest and sleep.

At the hour agreed upon M. Favre was again in the chateau of Baron de Rothchild. The Count was yet in conference with the King, but in half an hour he informed the Minister that he was ready to receive him.

M. Favre ascended to the magnificent *salon* on the second floor, accompanied, of course, by one of the guards, where he found the Count seated at a writing table. He was received very cordially, and, to his surprise, the Count introduced the subject by handing him a *Journal pour Rire*, not, of course, without a purpose. "Here," said he, "is a proof of your pacific and moderate intentions." It contained a caricature of Prussia as a decrepit old man (the King) derided and threatened by a French zouave. M. Favre remarked that "statesmen should not take any account of such things." Another journal which the Count also handed him contained rude sketches of bath-houses at the seaside, with this inscription in the handwriting of the late Empress: "This is a view of Hastings which I have selected for my good Louis. Signed, Eugénie."

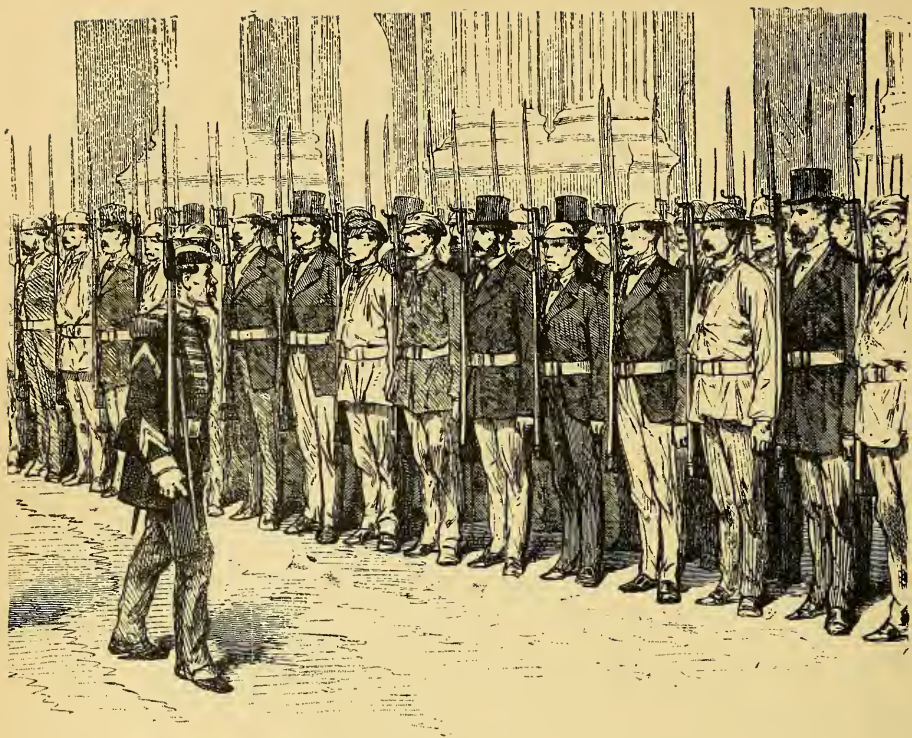
The Minister, looking at it a moment, remarked "that he did not comprehend its meaning." The Count said "that it has been the passport of a personage who came to interview me this morning."

"I was right," rejoined the Minister "when I said to you yesterday that the Bonapartists would seek to use you as their agent. It is clear that you have been waited upon with the intention of securing your support. This conference, whatever else it may mean, proves that you reserve to yourself all eventualities."

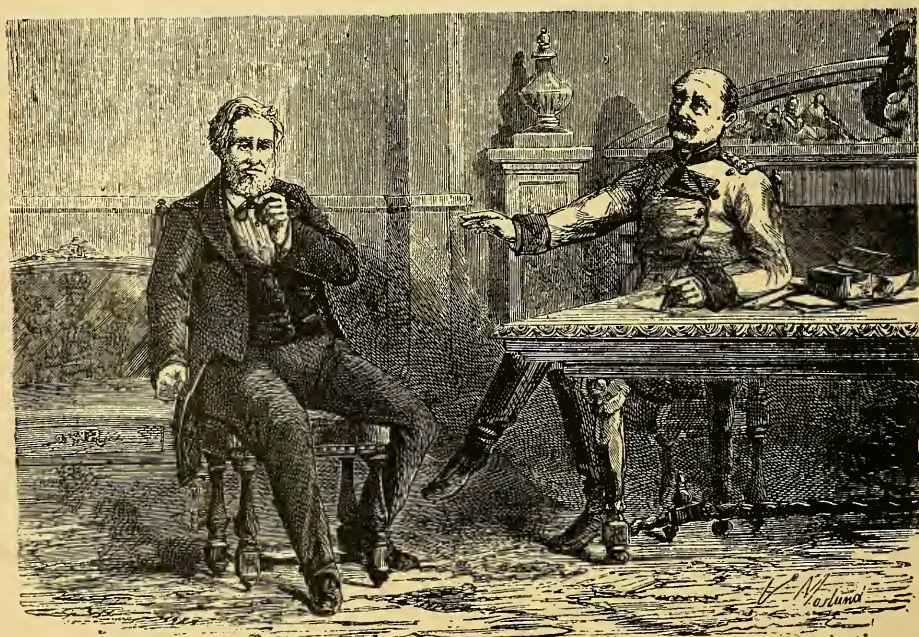
"I neither say yes nor no," responded the Count. "The person in question asked me to see the Emperor, and certainly nothing would be easier. The truth is, he is not a prisoner; he is our guest and it is our duty to aid him in all that he believes to be convenient."

"Permit me to say," responded the Minister, "that your language is perfectly clear and that I understand its bearing. What the Emperor regards as convenient would be his return to the throne and for this he has your consent we do not doubt."

"I have merely mentioned this," replied the Count, "and besides,



DEFENDERS OF PARIS.



M. FAVRE M. BISMARCK,

we have taken no action ; the person in question not appearing to be in a serious mood, I dismissed him."

At this point the Minister said, "Let us now go to the subject which concerns us most ; your Excellency has consulted the King, and I wish to know the result."

"The King," responded the Count, "accepts the armistice on the conditions we have mentioned and may yet agree upon. As I told you, we ask all the fortresses of the Vosges, that of Strasbourg and its garrison, as prisoner-of-war, and several forts around Paris, including Fort Valérien."

The Minister was scarcely able to contain himself, but replied, "I do not know that I will be able to make known to my government what your Excellency has just said. The garrison at Strasbourg which has been the admiration of the world, I will never surrender. That is a matter which belongs to the General commanding. And as for Paris, would it not be better to ask for the entire city? Do you suppose a French assembly would be able to deliberate under Prussian cannon? I can never agree to such conditions."

"Try then another combination," suggested the Chancellor.

M. Favre, reflecting a moment, said, "the Assembly might meet at Tours where a part of the government is already seated."

"I accept the preposition," replied the Count, "and I may add that we will assist you in every possible manner in the election of deputies in all the departments except in Alsace and part of Lorraine. But I must submit this new idea to the King, and at the same time I will speak of your objection to the surrender of the garrison at Strasbourg."

In the absence of the Count, M. Favre was left alone. His patience would have forsaken him and he would probably have given expression to violent emotions, had he not diverted himself by promenading in the magnificent hall, and by looking out upon the beautiful park, the flower beds and statuary around the palace.

In half an hour the Count returned with a paper in his hand the contents of which may be given in brief as follows: "The King agrees to an armistice and to the meeting of a National Assembly at Tours, but requires the surrender of the garrison at Strasbourg, the fortresses along the Vosges, and several forts around Paris including Fort Valérien."

M. Favre, finding a mist coming before his eyes and obscuring his vision, rose quickly and walked to a window where he supported himself while he suppressed the tears which he could no longer restrain. It was the affair of a moment ; and returning he said :

“Pardon, Monsieur le Comte, the weakness of this moment. I am ashamed of allowing myself to be overcome before you, but the sufferings I endure are such that I am excusable for not being able to restrain myself. I ask permission to retire. I have deceived myself in coming here, but I do not repent of it. I have obeyed a sentiment of duty; nothing but imperious necessity has enabled me to endure the tortures which this adventure has imposed upon me. I will make a faithful report of our interviews to my government. Personally I am thankful for the kindness you have shown me; I will keep it in remembrance. If my government thinks that there can be anything done in the interests of peace upon the terms proposed, I will return to-morrow; if not I will have the honor of writing to you. I am very unhappy but full of hope.”

“The Count,” said M. Favre, “appeared slightly agitated, extended me his hand, addressed me a few polite words and I descended the great stairway of the palace, my heart bursting with pain and anger.”

At two o'clock M. Favre and his companions left Ferrières, escorted by a staff officer, who conducted them to the advanced post, where he was directed to remain for an answer. Arriving at Joinville-le-Pont they were obliged to retrace their steps on account of a lively fusilade, and to enter the city by the way of Crêteil. From this point they advanced with a white flag and reached Fort Charenton as the sun was going down.

At nine o'clock, the Minister made his report to the members of the government and without a dissenting voice they rejected the conditions proposed and directed the Minister to inform the Chancellor of their action, which ended this notable interview. The letter reads as follows:

“Monsieur le Comte: I have faithfully reported to my colleagues of the Government of National Defense, what your Excellency has kindly wished me to do. I regret to make known to your Excellency that the government is not able to accept your propositions. It will agree to an armistice having for its object an election and meeting of a National Assembly, but it cannot subscribe to the conditions to which your Excellency has subordinated it. As for myself, I have the consciousness of having done all that has been possible to stay the effusion of blood, and to secure to both countries the blessings of peace. I have stopped only when an imperious sense of duty constrained me not to sacrifice the honor of my country. I associate myself without reserve in its sentiments as well as in those of my colleagues. God who judges us will decide our destinies; I have faith in his justice.

"I have the honor to be, Monsieur le Comte, your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

JULES FAVRE."

September 21st 1870.

In the absence of M. Favre, the *Electeur Libre*, a journal which gives encouragement to the Communists, violated the confidence of the government by publishing the fact that the Minister of Foreign Affairs had gone to confer with the Prussian Chancellor. A considerable sensation was thus produced which added very much to the peril of the situation, and the report of the minister came in time to save the city from at least an attempt at an insurrection. In the so-called red-clubs (clubs rouges) which have been holding meetings every night since the fall of the Empire, the subject was discussed, and one of the speakers is reported to have said that the members of the government should be pitched out of the windows of the Hôtel de Ville.

The celebration of the anniversary of the first Republic, which comes on the 21st of September, was another subject which they discussed, but the circumstances were so unfavorable that there was a diversity of sentiment among them; nevertheless there was permission given, and several battalions of National Guards appeared, about 1 o'clock, in Place de la Concorde, around the statue of Strasbourg. The 93d carried arms with bouquets of flowers and branches of trees stuck in the muzzle of their guns; others were without arms, for the reason, no doubt, that they could not be obtained, but instead the tri-colored flag and circles of evergreens. Speeches were made by MM. Lermina and Vermorel. The latter, it is said, indulged in criticisms of the government. After many cheers for General Urich, the city of Strasbourg and the Republic, they moved to the Hôtel de Ville where they were received by MM. Simon, Jules Ferry, Rochefort and

Etienne Arago, all of whom made brief speeches. They repeated the statements which the government had made in the morning that they would not make a treaty of peace. In this proclamation, signed by all the members of the government—the Minister of War, the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce and the Minister of Public Works—this remarkable statement is made: “*Ni un pouce de notre territoire, ni une pierre de nos forteresses*—Not a foot of our territory, not a stone of our forts.”

At the same time the following proclamation appeared in all the journals:

CITIZENS: This is the 21st of September. Seventy-eight years ago, in similar circumstances, our fathers founded a republic, and pledged themselves in face of the foreigner who polluted the soil of our country, that they would live free or die fighting. They kept their oath, they conquered, and the Republic of 1792 remains in the memory of men as the symbol of heroism and national grandeur. The government installed at the Hôtel de Ville with enthusiastic shouts of *Vive la République!* cannot allow this glorious anniversary to pass without saluting it as a noble example. Let the same spirit which animated our ancestors inspire our hearts and we will conquer. Let us to-day honor our fathers, and as they, we will know how, by facing death, to come off victorious. *Vive la France! Vive la République!*

Minister of the Interior,
LÉON GAMBETTA.

PARIS, *September 21st, 1870.*

These proclamations and the report of the Minister of Foreign Affairs have united all hearts. The government has become popular. Every word of M. Favre's report is believed, and M. Gambetta, by distinctly recognizing the Republic of 1792 has electrified the people. The Bonapartists and Bourbons now fraternize with the Communists who are expected to do most of the fighting. Up to this time there were many who believed in the possibility of reconciliation, but now all hope has disappeared.

The differences must be adjusted after a further loss of life and property.

An activity prevails in the city which has thus far not been witnessed. The entire population, without regard to distinctions of age, rank or sex, enter heartily into the work of the defense. The organization of armies, the manufacture of cannon, mitrailleuses, chassepots, ammunition and clothing, the drilling of companies, battalions and regiments, and the construction of breastworks and barricades are progressing rapidly. Sand bags by thousands are placed on the walls, pointed pieces of timber are placed in the ground and bundles made of the branches of trees are used as breastworks at the entrance into the city. All this is done in anticipation of an immediate assault.

Every day reconnoissances have been made, skirmishing has been kept up, and at several points attempts have been made to force back the Germans. The latter have planted their cannon so near the forts that their shot and shell have reached some of them. On the 13th inst. General Bellemare advanced upon the north in the direction of Pierre fitte, but was obliged to fall back in the evening with a loss of about 100 men in killed and wounded. On the southeast General Maudhuy's division recovered a portion of the ground lost on the 19th inst., including Villejuif and Hautes-Bruyères. Advances were likewise made on the northeast by Admiral Saisset in the direction of Bourget and Drancy. At the same time the floating batteries kept guard on the Seine where the river bends in front of Bellevue and St. Cloud. Daily reports are made to the government by the officers in command of the forts as well as those in command of the sections, which prove that the Germans are entrenching themselves everywhere around the circle.

The great circus building in Champs Elysées is to be used as a workshop for the manufacture of cartridges.

The Orleans railroad station has been converted into a balloon manufacturing establishment.

The government has revoked the order for the election of deputies to a National Assembly, which was to be held on the 2d of October or sooner, if it had been possible to agree upon an armistice.

Arrangements have been completed for the inspection, purchase and slaughter of horses at the abattoirs of Villejuif, Grenelle and Villette. At this date there are reported in the parks, gardens and boulevards 24,000 fat cattle, 150,000 sheep and 6,000 hogs. These with 85,000 horses may be sufficient for a siege of four or five months.

In a pastoral letter the Archbishop of Paris ordered prayers to be read every day in all the churches as well as in the cathedral.

A magnificent *aurora borealis* appeared on the evening of the 23d inst.

In the meantime we learn, through the newspapers smuggled in, the following important facts :

The revolution in Italy has been accomplished without serious resistance. This is one of the results of the Franco-Prussian war. The withdrawal of the French troops from the Pontifical States was the signal for a movement by Victor Emanuel. During his reign in Florence he has frequently entertained the thought of uniting the Italian States under one government, and of giving to the people a greater degree of political and religious liberty. Accordingly his forces, under the command of General Cadorna advanced upon Rome, bombarded the city, and on the 20th inst., as is reported, entered it in triumph. The Pope is thus deprived of the last vestige of his temporal power, but is allowed to remain in the Vatican as the head of the Roman Catholic church. In this manner Victor Emanuel, by a royal proclamation, has become King of United Italy, and the church is separated from the State.

We also learn that Spain is yet in an unsettled and revolutionary condition. The regency of Marshal Serano is not giving satisfaction to the people. The vigilance of Marshal Prim alone prevents the shedding of blood. The ex-Queen Isabella and her son Alphonso, in whose favor she abdicated, have left Paris, but it is not likely that she will soon be invited back to Madrid.

According to the latest news General Urich continues his heroic efforts in Strasbourg though the city is said to be a mass of ruins. Count Bismarck informed M. Favre that the taking of this fortified place is only a matter of engineering skill and time, that a concentrated fire upon the citadel will force a capitulation.

Information has reached Paris that Marshal Bazaine has not yet recognized the Republic, and that his sorties are made under the Imperial flag. If these statements are true his success is very doubtful. Many of the officers are in sympathy with the people. After the Mexican campaign they lost confidence in the son of Hortense, and now, since he has surrendered himself, they can no longer fight for a dead issue.

Of the details of the recent sorties made in the neighborhood of Metz the people know as little as they do of the fighting elsewhere. On the last day of August and on the first day of September Marshal Bazaine was making a heroic effort to cut his way through the German lines. On this occasion he chose the southeast, as it was supposed to be the weakest segment of the circle. In this movement he possibly intended to hold on to the city and to reach the supplies of the Germans in the rear. Had he moved more rapidly and been willing to sacrifice a larger number of men he might have succeeded. After the first day of fighting at Flanville and Noiseville both armies slept on their arms. In the morning at 3 o'clock, the French advanced and took possession of Retanfay. In the after-

noon the fighting became terrific. Bayonets were used on both sides, and many lives were lost. At this time the great battle of Sedan was going on and the French failed in both.

Another sortie was made on the 22d and 23d instant with a similar result. The Marshal again preferred the right bank of the Moselle, intending, no doubt, to reach the supplies of the Germans and to attack them in the rear. Southeast of Metz there were large herds of cattle and the railroad communication with Germany. Many lives were lost in this effort as in the former. Marshal Bazaine has, no doubt, learned by this time that 175,000 Frenchmen are not equal to 275,000 Germans.

At present there appears to be no hope for France except in an intervention. The mission of M. Thiers has this object in view. We have not yet heard anything that is cheerful from him, though it is reported he has reached St. Petersburg.

The outlook for France is gloomy indeed. Strasbourg, Metz, Bitche, Toul, Phalsbourg, Verdun, Soissons and Paris—all besieged and all refusing to surrender!

CHAPTER II.

PARIS, OCTOBER 12TH, 1870.

The Fifteen Preceding Sieges of Paris—The Picket Lines around the City—Military Operations—General Burnside's Arrival—Gambetta leaves Paris in a Balloon—Horse Meat Introduced—The Communists at the Hôtel de Ville.

WE have now entered upon the sixteenth siege of the city of Paris; and it may not be out of place to give at least the dates of the fifteen preceding sieges.

For the first we must go back fifty-three years before the Christian era. At this time Paris was limited to the *Ile aux vaches*, which is still called the *Cité*. The Parisii who lived on the island seeing the Romans advance under the command of Labienus, set fire to their dwellings and abandoned it, they retreated to the neighboring heights, and there engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict; they fought with desperation, sustained heavy losses and were finally overcome. The Romans took possession of the town, rebuilt and extended it on both sides of the Seine and held it five hundred years.

In 465 Anno Domini, Childeric I., son of Merovius, and chief of the Franks, expelled the Romans.

In 845 the Normans, attracted by the riches of Paris, precipitated themselves upon the city, pillaged the monasteries, the churches and the stores, and then burned them.

In 856 the same brigands of the north returned, but the inhabitants set fire to the buildings they had recently erected, and fled with what they could carry with them.

In 861 the barbarians returned again, took possession of

the city, but found nothing in it to pillage. The inhabitants escaped with their goods and cattle.

Fatigued by these disasters the Parisians determined to fortify their city. The walls were not entirely completed when the same northern hordes appeared again. About 30,000, it is said, encamped around the walls. The inhabitants defended themselves with great courage. The siege continued more than a year, and in 887, when the enemy was about to abandon their undertaking, King Charles, the Fat, raised the white flag and signed a disgraceful capitulation.

In 1358, the Dauphin, or heir of the throne, made a fruitless attempt at a siege.

In 1359 the King of England was not more successful.

In 1420 however the English captured the city and held it sixteen years.

In 1427 Charles VII. attempted to take Paris from the English but failed.

In 1462 the Duke of Burgundy ravaged the suburban towns and villages, but did not succeed in taking the city.

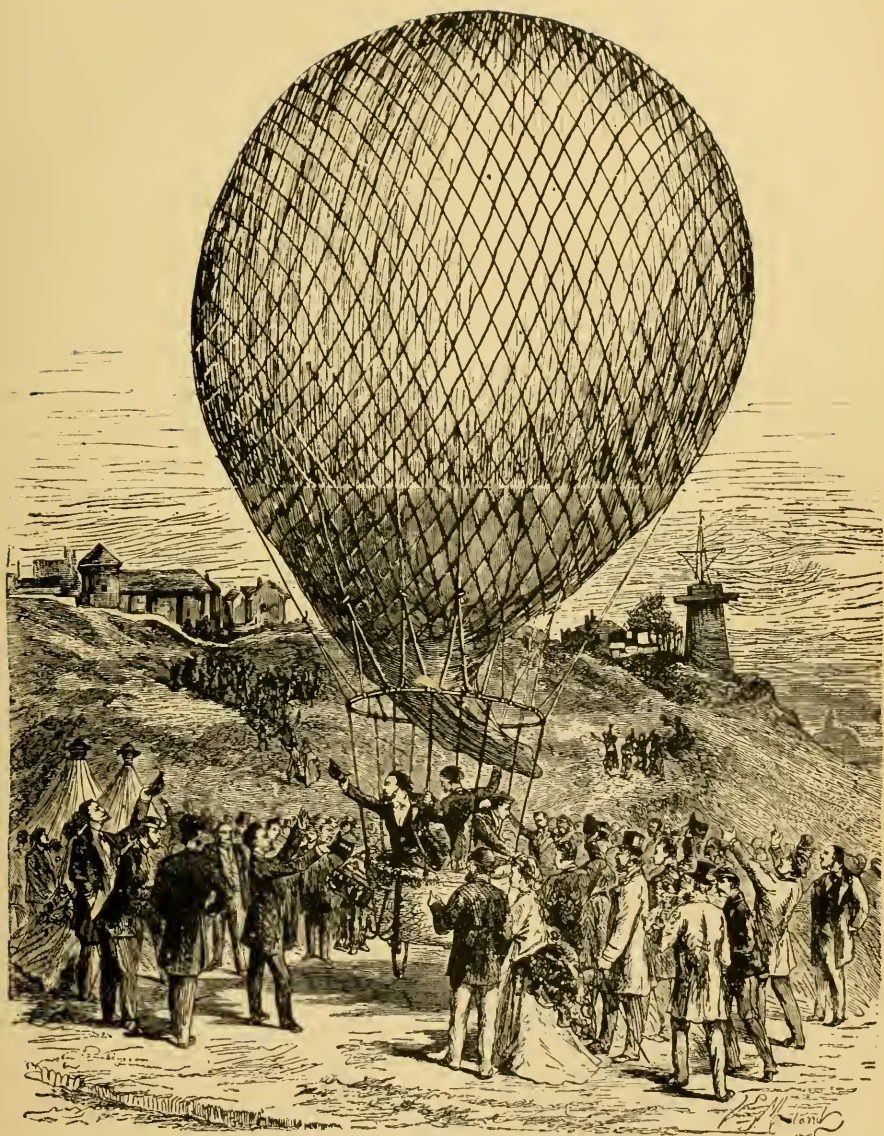
In 1536 the army of Charles V. surrounded Paris, but its fortifications saved it.

In 1593 Henry IV., the friend of the Huguenots, besieged Paris.

Finally, in 1814, the combined forces of northern Europe, about 200,000, besieged Paris. On the 31st of March about 40,000 of the allied troops marched through the city, headed by the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, the Grand Duke Constantine and the Prince of Schwartzenberg.

At this time Paris did not include within its walls more than half as much territory as it does now, and its defenses were not to be compared to its present fortifications.

We cannot undertake to give, in these brief sketches, the names of the numerous towns and villages now occu-



DEPARTURE OF GAMBETTA.

pied by the contending forces or included within the great circle, many of which have a history running back into the dark ages. But we may give, at least, the names of some which are occupied by the pickets. From the official reports and from a recent article in *Le Français* we are able to gather reliable information, as to the proximity of the Germans. A map would be a valuable help to the reader, but in the absence of this we may say that a part of the circle is quite well protected by the Seine. The river flowing out of the city on the southwest continues in this direction a mile-and-a-half or more until it reaches Bellevue, and then turns upon itself and flows northward a distance of 16 miles in the direction of St. Denis. At this point it makes another turn and flows backward a distance of 14 or 15 miles until it reaches Bougival where it once more turns and flows northward, thus forming two peninsulas, so that the Germans will find it impossible to carry forward any successful military operations on this side of the city. From Bougival on the west to Pierrefitte on the north, the distance is about 20 miles, and from each of these points the distance to the walls is about 7 miles. Bougival is in the department of the Seine-et-Oise, canton of Marly-le-Roi, and has 2,300 inhabitants. Louis XIV. purchased the ground from the family of Count d'Assy. Here white and colored linens are manufactured.

Benneguin Snalem, a distinguished inventor, was buried in the old church at this place. Pierrefitte is in the department of the Seine, and in the canton of St Denis. In 1420 the English encamped here and literally demolished the town. Argenteuil, mid-way between these places, and on the picket lines, is a town of 8,000 inhabitants. It is on the right bank of the Seine, in the department of the Seine-et-Oise, and like the two just named, is a manufacturing town. Francis I. surrounded it with walls, and in 656 the Benedictine monks founded a large monastery

here. The famous Heloise, after her misfortune with Abelard, retired to this place.

From Pierrefitte to Chelles on the east the distance is about 20 miles, and between these points are Stains, Bourget, Drancy, Bondy and Villemonble, also on the picket line. Stains is in the department of the Seine and has 1,500 inhabitants. It is a manufacturing town. A rich landed proprietor built a magnificent palace here during the last century which Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia, afterwards owned. Bourget is also a manufacturing town of 8,000 inhabitants. It is about four miles distant from the walls. Here Napoleon I., on his retreat from Waterloo, stopped for rest and meditation before entering Paris. He remained two hours and reached the Palais de l'Elysée at 10 o'clock at night, June 20th, 1815. Bondy is a village of 600 inhabitants and like Bourget is on one of the main roads leading to Paris from the northeast. Chelles, in the department of the Marne, on the right bank of the Marne, has about 2,000 inhabitants. Clotilde, the wife of Clovis laid the foundation of the abbey of Chelles. In 1358 the English destroyed this institution. The town has an interesting history; the spot where Chilperic was assassinated is marked by a large stone; Clotaise II. had his summer residence here. The old monastery still stands in which the sister of Charlemagne spent the closing years of her life.

The picket line from the Marne to the Seine on the southwest is very irregular. It touches upon Noisy-le-Grand, Brie-sur-Marne, Champany-sur-Marne, Chennevières and Choisy-le-Roi. These towns have a history which runs back into feudal times, and they now have from 1,000 to 3,000 inhabitants each. Like most of the towns and villages in the immediate vicinity of Paris, their population has been engaged in manufacturing employments, but they are now nearly all abandoned and some of them are in ruins.

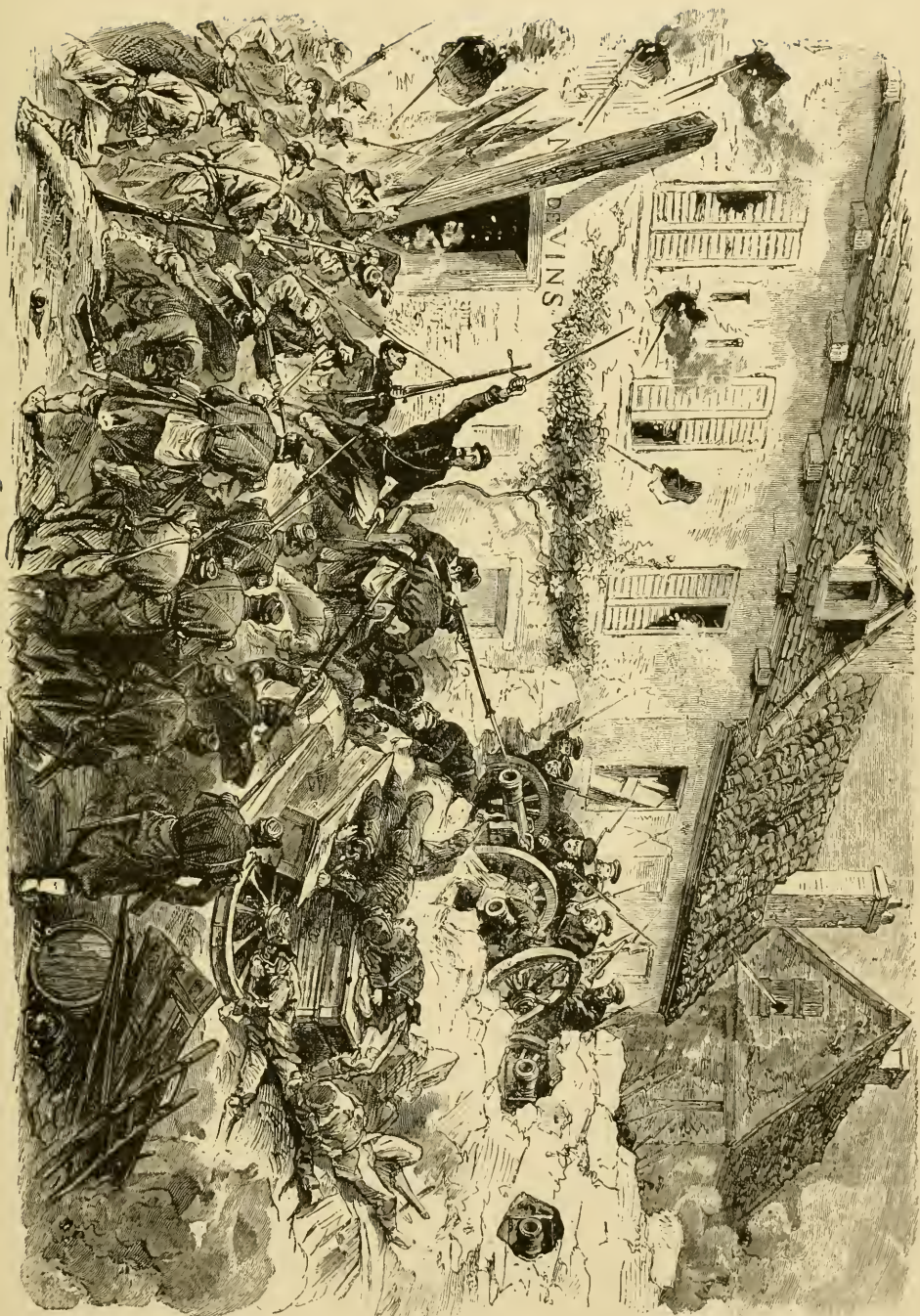
The distance from Choisy-le-Roi to Bougival on the west is about 25 miles. This last quadrant of the circle contains a large number of towns and villages, some of which we have already mentioned, as Chevilly, Hay, Villejuif, Bagneux, Châtillon, Clamart, Meudon, Bellevue, St. Cloud and Garches. On this portion of the circle, the heaviest fighting has thus far been done, and here the picket lines come nearest to the city. The belt or zone which the Germans occupy, has a circumference therefore of about 80 miles and a depth of one or two miles. Had the forts on the south been placed a few miles farther from the walls the city would be quite safe at this time; at least any attempt to take it by storm would be attended with heavy losses, and a bombardment of the city would be impossible. The distances of the forts from the center of Paris (Palais Royal) are given in the newspapers but we need not occupy space with them. A writer in *Le Temps*, discussing the possibility of a bombardment of Paris, concludes that it cannot be done unless the Germans can place their rifled cannon within 5,000 metres of the walls (5,500 yards) and this he thinks cannot be done.

In giving a brief account of what has interested the people during the last fortnight, we may commence with the military operations outside the walls. After the investment and the fighting on the 19th of September, ten days passed without any serious engagements though reconnaissances were made every day, and there was some skirmishing. The 13th and 14th army corps were scattered around the circle and the people expected an advance upon the city every hour of the day and night. At times there was heavy cannonading from the forts, at other times there was complete silence and the people began to wonder what was about to happen. But on the 30th, at the break of day, the troops under the command of General Vinoy began to move out upon the plateau of Villejuif; the heavy

siege guns opened fire upon the Germans, who occupied Hay and Choisy-le-Roi. Between these points, are Chevilly and Thiais, also held by the Germans. Brigadier General Guilhem, commanding the 35th and 42d regiments, advanced upon Chevilly, his troops displaying great courage and heroism. At 8 o'clock the French had possession of the village, after facing the cannon in the streets, but were without reinforcements. The Germans rallied their forces and in their efforts to recapture the town, which they succeeded in doing, General Guilhem fell mortally wounded. At the same time General Blaise of General Maudhuy's division advanced upon the village of Thiais, and for a short time had possession of it. His troops, in a hand-to-hand engagement, captured a battery, but for want of horses were unable to bring it away. At the same time also General Exea advanced upon Creteil, between the Seine and the Marne, but found the Germans strongly entrenched. About ten o'clock reinforcements appeared all along the line, 30,000 as it is reported, and General Vinoy was obliged to order a retreat. Many of the French dead and wounded were left in the hands of the Germans. The fighting continued until three o'clock in the afternoon, but the French held possession of a part of the ground they had lost on the 19th inst. At the same time demonstrations were made on the other segments of the circle by the French forces under command of General Ducrot on the west, General Bellemare on the north and Admiral Saisset on the east. The work of the day cost them about 2,000 killed and wounded, but it is claimed that this experience will be useful to them in other efforts which may soon be made.

On the 1st inst. a *parlementaire* was sent to the village of Hay to arrange for the burial of the dead, but he received a response that the King had given orders that an exchange of courtesies of this kind would not be allowed

BATTLE OF CHEVILLAN.



on the line between Versailles and Creteil. The body of General Guilhem, however, was placed in a coffin, covered with evergreens and flowers, and borne to the International Society by officers of rank, and was received by the French.

Reconnoissances have since been frequently made ; at one time in the direction of the heights of Montretout, on the west, at another in the direction of Bondy, on the north-east, and at another in the direction of Neuilly-sur-Marne, on the east. On the evening of the 4th inst. a company of *Spahis* (cavalry equipped and armed in the style of the Turks) dashed into a party of Germans encamped in the valley of the Marne, but without producing any other result than a temporary panic. Reconnoissances have likewise been made on the south at Meudon, Clamart, Cachan and Creteil, but these have only confirmed the fact that the Germans are everywhere entrenching themselves.

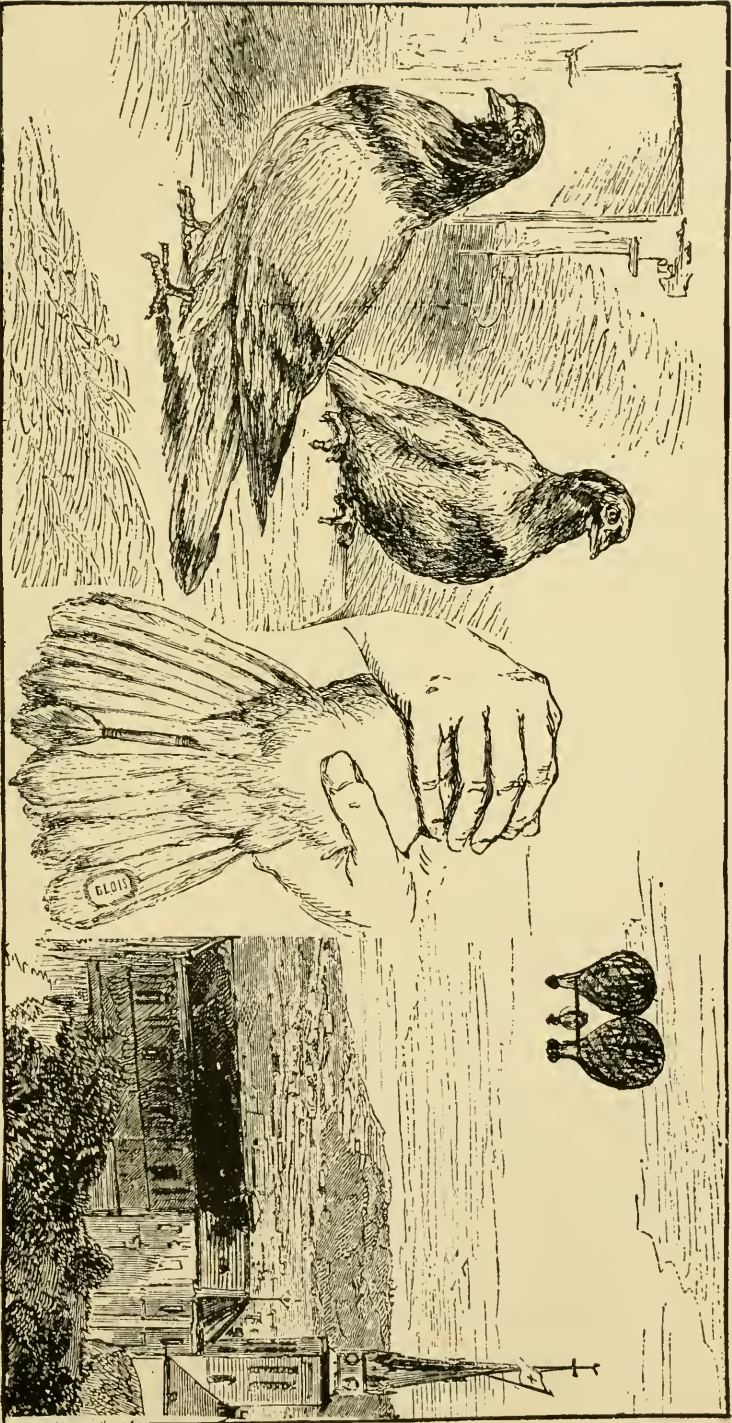
In the meantime the cannon of the forts have been playing upon the Germans wherever they are discovered planting their siege guns. Fort Valerien on the west keeps them at a distance of five miles, but at other points in the circle, especially on the south and north, they seem to defy the shells of the French columbiads.

The funeral of General Guilhem took place on the 4th inst. It was largely attended by members of the Government, representatives of the army and distinguished citizens of Paris. His body was laid in a vault in the Hôtel des Invalides. At the Palace of Industry, where it had been placed two days before, General Trochu delivered a very brief oration, which we translate :

“Our duty for the present is here. The future of all of us is here (pointing to the casket). The solemn circumstances in which we are placed forbid an extended eulogy upon the dead. I will only say a word before the coffin of General Guilhem—He lived nobly ; he fought bravely ; he died as a soldier. Gentlemen, I commend him to your kind remembrance.”

The announcement that General Burnside, of the United States army, arrived in Paris on the 2d inst. produced a considerable sensation. The newspapers commented upon the event as if a deliverer had come, some surmising one thing and some another. The General left the headquarters of the King at Ferrières Saturday morning, reached the advanced post of the Germans during the night and the American legation at four o'clock and thirty minutes in the morning. There can be no doubt that he was escorted through the German lines, but it is not likely that he was made the bearer of any official communication concerning an armistice, though he may have consented to act as a friendly intermediary in the interests of peace. M. Favre called upon him at the American legation, and arrangements were made for an interview with General Trochu the next day. After remaining part of two days he and Mr. Forbes, an American citizen who accompanied him, were conducted to the bridge of Sèvres, where they were placed in the hands of the Germans.

But the most important event since the battle on the 30th of September was the ascension of M. Gambetta in a balloon, and his safe landing at Epineuse. There were intimations in the newspapers that a member of the Government would be sent out with further instructions in regard to the organization of armies. Four balloons had sailed out of Paris and had landed safely in one or other of the departments. They had all escaped the sharpshooters and the Uhlans, and pigeons had returned with dispatches. On the 29th ult. the third balloon ascended with 120 pounds of letters, besides newspapers and government dispatches. It was a triple balloon, called the *Etats Unis*, or United States. Two old balloons were held apart by a perch, and from the center of it a small one was attached. It was an abnormal kind of aërial machine. No one seems to know why the three were sent



CARRIER PIGEONS.

TRIPLE BALLOON.

out in this manner except that there was a desire to utilize them until others were manufactured, and it was not considered safe to venture out with any one of them alone.

On the 30th ult., while the fighting was going on, a fourth experiment was made by the *Celeste* which likewise resulted favorably. In the meantime the government, as well as the inventors and aëronauts, became interested in the new method of communicating with the outside world. A new industry was started, and hundreds of skilled workmen are now employed.

On the 6th inst., M. Gambetta was to have ascended from the top of Montmartre, but clouds hung over the city, and it was difficult to determine which way the atmosphere was moving, though two miniature balloons were sent up. The next day (October 7th), at eleven o'clock and ten minutes, M. Gambetta, M. Spuller and the aëronaut stepped into the aërial car, made in the shape of a large basket, six feet in diameter and four feet high. The balloon was allowed to rise above the crowd, and the three standing up in arctic overcoats and caps were the admiration of all, Hearts beat with hope and fear, but M. Gambetta, self-possessed and full of enthusiasm, leaned forward, and, taking his cap from his head, gave the signal *Vive la République!* and the cable was cut. The crowd responded *Vive la République! Vive la République!*

At the same moment, and from the same place, another balloon ascended, which made the occasion the more interesting and solemn. A sub-prefect, on an important mission, took with him an aëronaut and two Americans, William Reynolds and Charles May, who, it seems, were obliged to leave the city. As the two balloons ascended the immense crowd cheered, women waving their handkerchiefs and men their hats. They moved slowly in the direction of Dieppe, northwest, and remained in sight of each other until 3 o'clock. The former was called *Armand-*

Barbés and the latter *George-Sand*. They were well freighted with newspapers, addresses, letters and official dispatches, and, most important of all, carrier-pigeons. The *Barbés* was made of yellow silk, the *George-Sand* of white silk and cotton, mixed, and each contained about 25,000 cubic feet of gas. Both landed in the department of Somme, after a voyage of four hours and a half—the one near the village of Epineuse, the other near the village of Roye, not many miles from Clermont. The parties joined each other at Amiens, where they all received a kind and enthusiastic welcome, and then set out by railroad for Tours, making a semi-circle around Paris, to confer with the other branch of the Government.

Friday afternoon, all of Saturday and Sunday the people of Paris were without news from Gambetta, and in the meantime rumors were started that the balloons, being too heavily freighted, had fallen inside the German lines, that they had all become prisoners of war, and that Gambetta was shot by the Prussians. Another rumor was current that the aëronauts had sailed too far, and that they had fallen into the sea, mail-bags, pigeons and all. At last a pigeon came from the *George-Sand*, Sunday evening at 5 o'clock, and a few hours later, Monday morning, at the break of day, another came bringing the following cheerful dispatch from Gambetta, which was soon after published in all the newspapers :

MONTDIDIER, DEPARTMENT OF SOMME,

Friday evening, 8 o'clock.

Arrived here, after an accident in the forest at Epineuse. Balloon collapsed. We have escaped the Prussian sharpshooters, and thanks to the mayor of Epineuse, have reached this place, from which we will set out in an hour for Amiens ; thence by railroad to Mans and to Tours. The Prussian lines do not extend beyond Clermont, Compiègne and Breteuil in Oise. There are no Prussians in Somme. Everywhere the people are rising *en masse*. The government of the defense is proclaimed in all the departments.

GAMBETTA.

The minister immediately gave to the printers a proclamation which he had prepared in Paris, and hastened to join his colleagues in office at Tours. It is reported that the aëronauts, after three hours sailing over the departments supposed to be occupied by the Germans, allowed their balloons to fall within a mile or so of the earth; but seeing groups of cavalry, by the use of their field-glasses, they would throw overboard some of their ballast and then rise and continue on their course. In this manner they sailed over towns and villages, forests and fields, until they could no longer discover the enemy. However this may be, they certainly landed near the border line of the Uhlans.

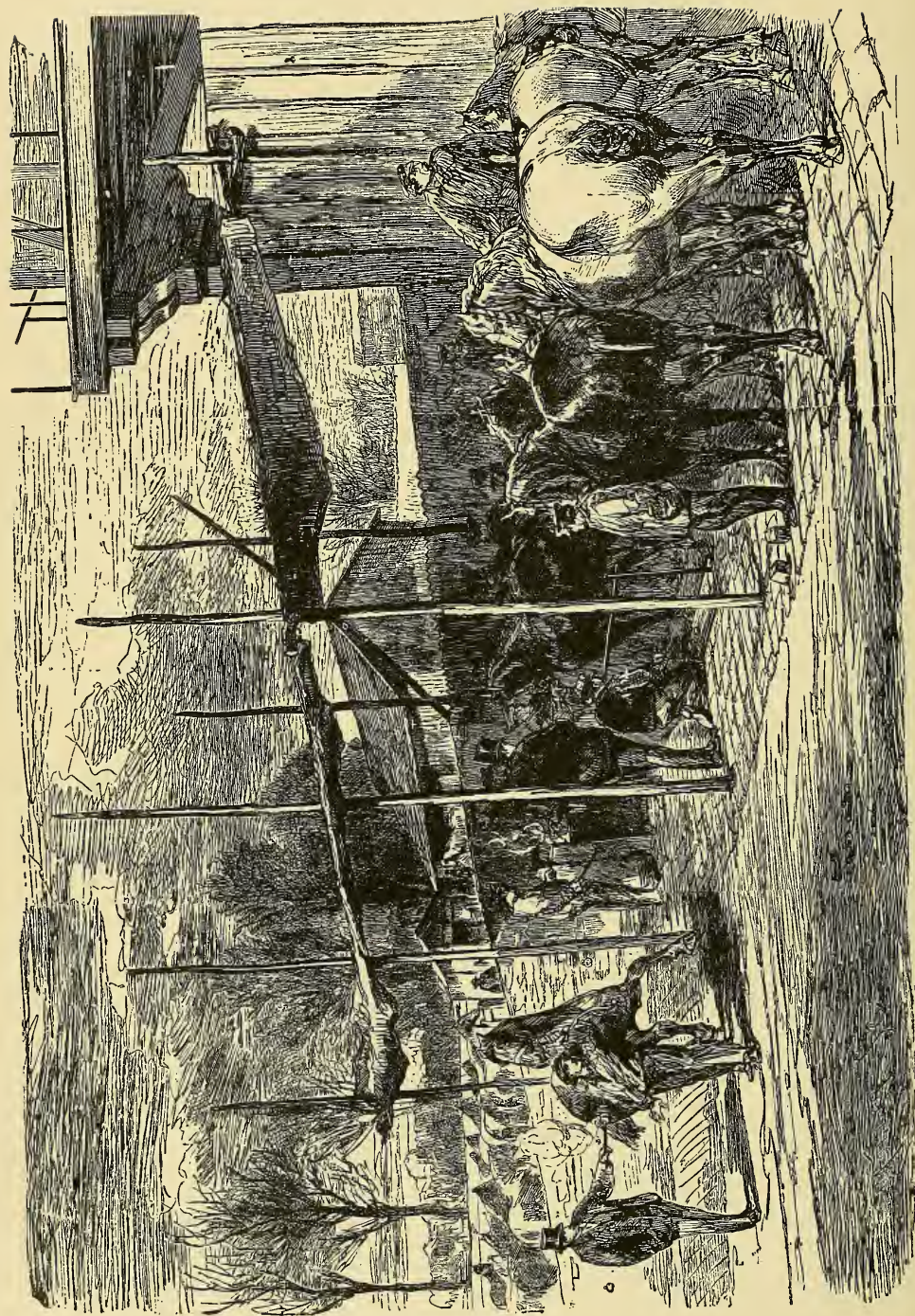
The so-called carrier-pigeons have suddenly become objects of endearment to the Parisian population. The attachment of these birds to their homes and to each other is very remarkable. They may be delayed in their mission by storms, cloudy weather and fatigue, but after resting a few hours they renew their efforts, and very generally, by an instinct that is astonishing, find their way back to their companions. M. Fonody, the proprietor of the *Colombier*, at Batignolles, has a booth erected in which he remains the greater part of his time feeding his pigeons and training them. The illustrated journals give wood-cuts of his premises, of the pigeons, and of the method of attaching messages to their wings or tails.

In the meantime another balloon, whose destiny was not so fortunate, ascended from the gas works at Villette. It was mounted by M. Ziper, a purveyor of the army, his secretary, and an employé of M. Godard, who has charge of the construction of balloons at the Strasbourg railroad station. A gentle breeze carried them along northward a few miles, when suddenly the balloon collapsed and fell within rifle shot of the German lines near the village of Dugny. Fortunately it dropped into a pool of water which, however, was not deep enough to drown them. It

was this mishap which increased the anxiety of the people concerning M. Gambetta.

After the fall of the Empire the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce continued to purchase and import into Paris all the produce that could be found, as his predecessor had done, and since the siege began the Mayor of Paris, under the direction of the Government, has been taking an account of it. Unoccupied buildings, such as the New Opera, the Hôtel des Invalides and the great central market house have been used for storage, as well as extemporized buildings which have been erected for the purpose. An inventory of all the grain, flour, rice, peas, beans, potatoes, salt meats and salt fish has been ordered. The fat cattle, milk cows, sheep and swine have all been numbered, and in like manner the horses, mules and donkeys. At the same time requisitions were made for the produce in the hands of private parties, and forty-eight hours were given to make a report to the proper authorities. All this involves a great amount of labor, but the machinery of the municipal government is so perfect that I have no doubt it can be effected. Steam mills have been started in different parts of the city, and new methods of making flour have been adopted which no one had thought of. On the 22d of September flour was distributed to the bakers in proportion to the amount of bread in demand every day, and the price of the bread is fixed by the government. In the 6th ward cards have been issued to all families containing two or more persons, with coupons for every day in the month, so that no one can purchase more bread than is necessary, and there can be no extortion on the part of the baker. The same system of rationing will be adopted in all the wards.

The sale of meats and fish is now under the control of the government. The butchers are restricted in their purchases as well as in their sales, and every family must pre-



WEIGHING AND BRANDING HORSES.

sent a card with coupons on it, as in the case of bread. The prices are as yet quite moderate, being fixed by the municipal authorities.

A few days ago a ministerial order was issued for the introduction of horse meat into the market. We translate the following :

Horses destined for alimentation must be sold at the horse-market on Monday, Wednesday and Friday of each week, from 8 to 11 o'clock in the morning. Their sanitary condition must be endorsed by the veterinary service of inspection at the market. Horses can only be slaughtered at the abattoirs. They must be purchased by the government agents, weighed alive on the market scales, and paid for at a maximum price of 40 *centimes* the kilogramme ($3\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound). In the stalls authorized to sell horse meat the price of the so-called *viande* is fixed as follows :

Surloin, tenderloin, gite a la noix and tranche grasse, 10 cents a pound. All other pieces six cents a pound.

Until the introduction of the *viande de cheval*, on the 10th inst., about 500 cattle and 1,000 sheep were slaughtered every day. From this time on these numbers must be necessarily diminished, whilst the number of horses slaughtered must be increased. The illustrated journals represent the horse passing through all the processes of inspection, weighing, branding and slaughtering. He is blindfolded, struck with a sledge hammer on the forehead and bled with a large knife. The blood is caught in basins and used for the purposes of making puddings. A bellows is used to inflate the hide so that it may be more easily removed. The animal is then disemboweled, quartered and distributed among those who have stalls in the markets and have a special license to engage in the traffic.

The Central Sanitary Commission, desiring to satisfy themselves as to the nutritious and palatable qualities of the *viande de cheval*, ordered, a few days ago, a dinner, the *menu* of which was as follows :

Croûte au pot au consommé de cheval.—Cheval bouilli garni de choux.—Culotte de cheval à la mode.—Côte de cheval braisée.—Filet de cheval rôti. Boeuf et cheval salés froids.

The guests unanimously agreed to commend these several dishes, on account of their excellence and sweetness of flavor. This may not be the exact sentiment of the commission, says the editor, but the Parisians, rich and poor, to satisfy themselves, began to experiment, each in his own way, and it is believed that we will all very soon be feasting upon the *filet de cheval rôti* as well as other parts of the horse not so tender and sweet.

Although the weather has been remarkably fine since the proclamation of the Republic, and the sanitary condition of the city seems to be as favorable as it has ever been, the mortality of the last five weeks, as compared with that of the corresponding weeks of last year, has risen considerably. In these weeks there have been 854 deaths from small-pox, 280 from pneumonia, 253 from bronchitis and 231 from typhoid fever, all of which show that the mortality may be great if the siege should continue.

In these sketches we have frequently referred to the political parties and factions in France, all of course having their theories of civil government, natural rights and personal liberty. The foreigner obtains a better idea of these parties and factions by a study of their newspaper literature than in any other way. Their daily journals, for the most part, are small, weak and sensational. Some of them are vile and contemptible. It is not surprising that their newspapers are sometimes suppressed. A very respectable Paris journal—*La Liberté*—gives a list of 24 new ones which appeared in the month of September. Most of them are communistic and revolutionary in their character, thrown out upon the public at a venture.

The most important of these are :

La République, La Patrie en Danger, Le Patriote, L'Europe Libre, La Défense Nationale, Le Courier Français, Le Peuple Souverain, La Commune de Paris, Le Salut Public, Le Combat, Bulletin de la Municipalité de Paris, Les Nouvelles, Le Moniteur de la République, L'Avant Garde, La France Républicaine.

Out of this kind of literature has grown the communism of Paris, which, in some respects, threatens the destruction of the city more than the Germans. Indeed the entire French press seems to be weak and unreliable, the result of an excess of vanity in the people combined with an obstinate adherence to old forms and institutions, religious as well as political.

The late Imperial government feared to manufacture more cannon, mitrailleuses and chassepots than there were soldiers to use them. There was no place in France in which they could be safely stored—certainly no place in Paris. And when the war came on, and there was really need for them, the House of Deputies declined to accept the proposals of private parties to manufacture them. But the new government immediately ordered large quantities of chassepots to be made. The regular army, outside the walls, was to be equipped first, afterwards the mobilized National Guards. General Tamisier, who has command of the National Guards, has given to them the old muskets, with which they are becoming dissatisfied. It was only recently that a proposition was made to mobilize a portion of the guards and to organize them into regiments and brigades. In this, as well as in other directions, the greatest activity has been displayed, and yet we have had two demonstrations at the Hôtel de Ville which were unauthorized and of course have given rise to an unusual degree of solicitude,

The Communists are becoming very impatient. They are not satisfied with the acts of the Government. They profess to be very willing to fight the Germans, but it is

evident that they prefer what is called the reign of the Commune. They imagine that they could, with the discipline of a month, advance upon an entrenched army. In this they certainly display as little good sense as they do in insisting upon their theories of government. The man whom they now worship, is Gustave Flourens of the 20th ward. He possesses all the elements of a first-class political demagogue; he has a commanding appearance, is a fluent speaker and, at the same time, a ready writer. He is a representative of Belleville, a faubourg or side town of the northeastern part of the city, where it is supposed the best fighting material is to be found. In consequence of this, he has been treated with a degree of deference more than usual by the government. His popularity in his own ward has secured for him the position of *commandant* of four battalions. Under the regulations he would have the right to choose any one of them, but he has accepted the command of all, and, as a consequence, wears four badges. He is a very industrious worker and has possibly done more than any other one in his part of the city, to organize the National Guards. His battalions call him major, though his rank is simply that of *commandant* or chief of battalion.

The Provisional Government, after the failure of M. Jules Favre at Ferrières, announced the rescinding of the order to hold an election in France, and, also recalled the notice of a municipal election in Paris, for the reasons that it might interfere with the successful defense of the city and endanger the Republic. This latter act of the Government gave offence to the Communists who hoped that their cause might be profited by electing some of their crazy politicians.

Accordingly Major Flourens, as he is called, appeared at the head of his battalions at the Hôtel de Ville on the 5th inst., and asked for a hearing. He was admitted into

the presence of the members of the government and read before them a paper, a summary of which may be given as follows :

1. That the National Guards, especially those disposed to take part in sorties, and, as soon as possible, all, without exception, be furnished with the most improved arms.
2. That frequent sorties be undertaken to encourage a spirit of self-sacrifice and patriotism in the army.
3. That Republican commissioners be sent into the departments.
4. That the people be allowed to proceed immediately with the municipal elections and with the distribution of supplies.

To these propositions General Trochu, M. Dorian and M. Gambetta replied that it was impossible to manufacture chassepots more rapidly than they were doing ; that without full preparation and proper discipline sorties would only result in a useless sacrifice of life ; that it would be unwise to send out commissioners to dictate a policy to the department, and that the people had a much more important work in hand than the election of municipal officers. Offended at these statements, the Major tendered his resignation, but General Trochu, appealing in a pleasant way to his patriotism, declined to accept it. The delegation failing to gain the assent of the members of the government to their propositions, rejoined their battalions, and, with the exclamation, *Vive la Commune!* returned to Belleville, the band playing the *Chant du Départ*.

Three days later Major Flourens and his battalions returned. During the night colored placards were posted on the walls in every ward inviting the National Guards and all citizens interested in municipal elections to meet on Place de l'Hôtel de Ville. In the early part of the day the Government had ordered two battalions of National Guards to form a double column immediately in front of the hall. At the same time a few hundred dissatisfied citizens collected in groups in the distance. About two

o'clock the Belleville battalions appeared, music and flags in front, and marching in the direction of the crowd which had now increased to several thousands, they were greeted with exclamations such as, *Vive la Commune! A bas les Prussiens!* Standards were raised with such inscriptions as *La Commune* in large letters and the crowd applauded. Soon after M. de Keratry, at the head of a detachment of the *garde mobile*, advanced and took a position mid-way between the two bodies of National Guards. A suspicion soon arose that he was about to arrest the leaders who had affixed their names to the placards, but this was no part of his intention. Mixed exclamations were now heard *Vive la République! Vive la Commune!* At the same time, and unexpectedly, General Trochu appeared on horseback alone, and with uncovered head rode slowly along the lines without making a distinction. After him followed, in like manner, General Tamisier on horseback, and then his staff officers who took their places in front of the hall with the two generals. The members of the Government then appeared upon the veranda and M. Favre made a speech in which he referred to the extraordinary situation of France and of Paris, and called upon all Frenchmen to unite in a patriotic and harmonious effort to defend the city. The cannon on the forts, as if in response, echoed the duty of all, and of this M. Favre did not fail to take advantage. General Tamisier followed with a few happy remarks to the National Guards without making any reference to the act of disobedience to the orders he had issued. A heavy rain came on, and the Communists, feeling themselves completely outgeneraled, returned to Belleville to consider what other movement might be made to gain the ascendancy.

The self-styled Major Flourens, vexed at his second failure, at the Hôtel de Ville, immediately offered his resignation which was as promptly accepted; but a few hours

later he addressed the following communication to General Tamisier:

MONSIEUR LE GÉNÉRAL: Notwithstanding the fact that you have accepted my resignation I feel myself obliged to retain my command, that order may be preserved in Paris. It is useless for me to say to you that I relinquish none of my rights to command, and that my entire staff concur with me in this movement.

G. FLOURENS.

The major also addressed a letter to his friend, Henri Rochefort, who was a representative from Paris in the House of Deputies, is now a member of the government, and is president of the commission on barricades. The major was added to this commission, with the view of giving him plenty to do and likewise of increasing his salary. He is, however, an irrepressible man. Henri Rochefort is much more politic. In his somewhat lengthy reply to Flourens he says: "You find fault with me, my dear and excellent friend, because, as you say, I capitulate with my convictions. If this is so you must pardon me that I may not be obliged to capitulate with the enemy. In the circumstances my resignation would perhaps be the prelude to a disaster." This reply was dated Paris, October 9th, 1870.

These demonstrations at the Hôtel de Ville made it necessary for the government to take some action, and M. de Keratry, Prefect of Police, immediately issued an order which is given in the *Journal Officiel*. The government then followed with an address to the National Guards in which full credit is given for patriotic intentions on the part of all who may be dissatisfied with what has been done. Next there is a plain statement that battalions assembling for any purpose whatever, without special permission from General Tamisier or the Minister of the Interior, do so in violation of military law. Then there is a reference to the impropriety of making an exhibition of

discord while the enemy is crowding upon the city, and a statement that armed demonstrations are hostile to republican institutions. Finally, there is a willingness expressed by the government to receive communications or deputations having any subject of importance to present relating to the siege or to the defense of the country.

To the foregoing a few items may be added, and first of all, the Government announced the capitulation of Strasbourg and Toul. The loss of these strong places is another evidence of the superiority of German siege guns.

On the 27th ult. a dense smoke was seen in the north-eastern part of the city at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. It proved to be the destruction of several thousand barrels of coal oil, the work of a Prussian incendiary, as it is alleged.

A few days ago M. Courbet, who has become distinguished as a portrait painter, and is now president of the commission appointed to take charge of the works of art in the numerous museums of Paris, proposed that the column on Place Vendôme be pulled down as an expression of hostility to imperialism. This is a strange movement on the part of one who claims to be an artist, as this is the most beautiful piece of art of the kind in the world. Certainly no one but a *communard* would suggest such vandalism.

The days are becoming much shorter, and on this account an order has been issued to open the gates of the city at 7 o'clock in the morning and to close them at 6 in the evening.

The sensational journals give accounts of a council of war which is said to have been held at Versailles. Among the things that have been agreed upon is the bombardment of Paris and an advance of all the available German forces.

Louis Blanc has addressed a letter to the English people on the subject of the bombardment in which he maintains

that they should not permit it, and Victor Hugo addresses the people of Paris and urges them to prepare for the greatest sacrifices and an obstinate resistance.

On the 4th inst. M. Jules Favre, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was also appointed Minister of the Interior *ad interim*, in the absence of M. Gambetta and during the continuance of the siege.

The Bank of France has recently announced that it is ready to issue 10,000 twenty-five franc notes, 12,000 fifty franc notes and 6,000 one hundred franc notes daily until 2,000,000 of francs have been issued. This has assured the people that a circulating medium will not be wanting,

The absence of news is becoming a serious evil. Very little has reached us from the outside world since the 1st of the present month. On the 6th inst. the *Journal de Rouen* of the 30th of September reached the city and was largely copied by all the newspapers. There is no hope for news except brief dispatches which the pigeons may bring us, as the German pickets keep a close watch all around the circle.

CHAPTER III.

PARIS, OCTOBER 26TH, 1870.

Personal Experience and Comments—The Burning of the Palace of St. Cloud—Sixteen Balloons—The Prefect of Police sails out of Paris—The Battle of Malmaison and Excitement at Versailles—Instructions to Mr. Washburne by Count Bismarck—General Burnside's Second Visit—General Garibaldi reaches France.

ANOTHER fortnight has passed around and the prospects for an armistice have not improved. The people are waiting patiently for definite information from M. Thiers. The great statesman and patriot has returned to France after a hasty visit to London, St. Petersburg, Vienna and Florence, but the carrier-pigeons have brought us very little news that is encouraging. This absence of news concerning an intervention may be taken as a sign of indifference or of denial on the part of the remaining empires of Europe. It seems to be their policy not to help each other when in trouble unless full compensation is assured. France has so often boasted of her greatness and strength that she has excited the jealousy of other nations, and now, in a life-and-death struggle with an inveterate foe, she is forsaken. There is, however, another consideration which has perhaps as much weight as any other. It consists in the fact that France is making an effort to establish a Republic. A nation seeking to free itself from the bondage of Imperialism is not likely to find much sympathy in the cabinets of emperors and kings.

It is now forty days since I ventured to send anything to friends across the Atlantic. Of course I have received

nothing from them. I have lived, during this time, in hope that an armistice would be agreed upon, and that I would soon be at liberty to resume my correspondence instead of merely taking notes of what has occurred. I have been dining recently with a few American friends and we have been discussing the probabilities of a protracted siege, of which we have now had some experience. Instead of roast beef we have been eating the *viande de cheval*, as no other meat can be had at the restaurants except by special order. It is an article of food which has not only come into universal use in the Parisian world, but it has become a topic of universal comment and criticism. It is roasted in the same manner as beef, turkey or chicken, in front of a wood fire. The pieces revolve upon an iron bar which is turned by a kind of clock-work. This is the old French method of roasting meats still adhered to, and I dare say, that after all the modern improvements, it is the best. The flesh of the horse is coarse in its fiber, has a dark brown color, an insipid taste and an odor which cannot be easily mistaken. We eat it, not from choice to be sure, but of necessity. The roasting is often done in the front room of the restaurant in order that the people passing along may have an opportunity to see where they can obtain a good dinner.

In these circumstances I find that it is difficult for me not to indulge in serious reflections. The people are hopeful in the extreme. They seem to be all prophets, and they prophesy smooth things. If a Jonah should appear with this announcement: Yet forty days and Paris will be destroyed, they would not believe him, nor would they repent of any of their folly. In the darkness which is coming down upon the city they imagine they see light. The government has evidently very little information from M. Thiers that could be given to the people with propriety. An intervention would have been announced if a proposi-

tion of this kind has been made by any European government, and it is folly in them to look for help from the United States. The editors of newspapers comment upon the ingratitude of nations. Such questions as these are asked: "Has England forgotten Inkerman?" "Has Italy forgotten Solferino?" "Has America forgotten Lafayette?" It is very evident that Marshal Bazaine will soon be obliged to surrender if he cannot cut his way through the German lines. In this case the last army of the Empire will then be shipped off to Prussia. A rumor has recently reached Paris that the Marshal has sent an officer to consult with Count Bismarck, in relation to a capitulation, in the name of the ex-Emperor, and the Communists express great dissatisfaction at the possibility of such a turn in affairs.

For many years Paris has been holding the position of Nineveh of olden times. This ancient city was not only the capital of a great empire, but it was the center of civilization and of fashion. It was situated on the banks of a small river, distant from the ocean, and in the midst of a rich and beautiful country. Nineveh in her grandeur was possibly a larger city than Paris, and yet it has disappeared. The greater part of her ruins was long ago shipped away, so that for centuries the very site of the Assyrian capital was not known and the beautiful country around has become a desert. What will be the fate of France and of Paris no one can tell. The darkest hour seems to be the present. This Paris, so often besieged, burned and rebuilt, still remains. This beautiful city, so often called the Sodom and Gomorrah of modern times, by the people who now surround it and by others, is, nevertheless, the admiration of the world, and at no time more than now. All eyes are turned in the direction of beleaguered Paris. In no period has there been so much interest awakened as to the fate of a great city. Railroads, telegraph lines and sub-marine cables have, of course, contributed to this. The inquiry

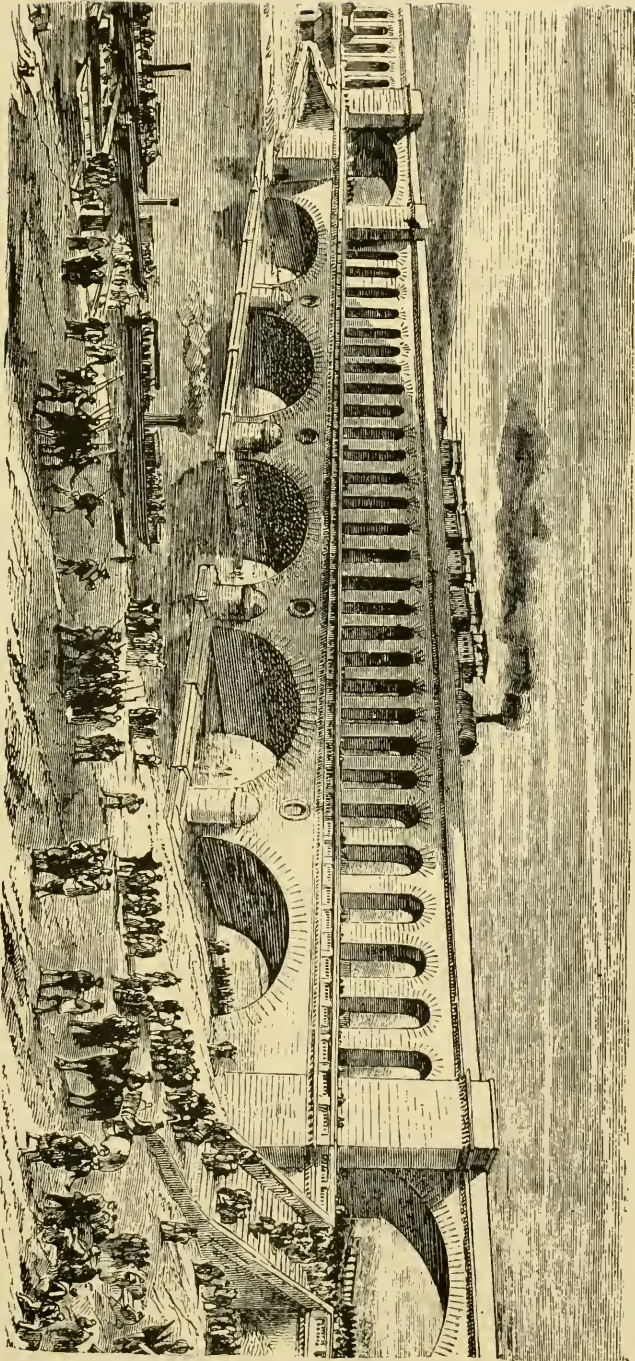
is made, no doubt, every morning, by millions of anxious, throbbing hearts: What news from Paris? What news from Paris?

How to spend the time most profitably and how to escape the accidents which are liable to occur in a protracted siege are questions which especially concern me as a stranger in a foreign land. I usually rise in the morning at 7 o'clock, go to a convenient place for a bowl of chocolate and a couple of rolls, look over an early morning journal and then make my customary visit to one or other of the hospitals, generally to the Hôtel Dieu. Afterwards I take a late breakfast or early dinner, between 10 and 11 o'clock, which leaves me the greater part of the afternoon for an excursion in some part of the city, and sometimes outside the walls, or for study until dinner, between 3 and 5 o'clock. I have been regarding the excursion as the most important part of my daily programme, as it affords me the means of mental diversion, which cannot be otherwise supplied. I am already sensible of the necessity of moderation, and I hope in this way to secure a full share of refreshing sleep, and thus preserve my health. The possibility of insomnia overtaking me, of which I have had some experience, induces me to adopt this manner of living. The medical lectures and public clinics which I hoped to take advantage of have been abandoned, and I am now left to make use of such means of diversion as the circumstances afford. There are many meetings held in the city, but these have generally some specific object in view, pertaining to the siege, which could not be a means of diversion to me. A few lecturers continue their courses of instruction to small audiences, among whom is the distinguished Renan, who has been lecturing in the Sorbonne on the Book of Job. His audience consists chiefly of persons advanced in years, men and women to whom, no doubt, the study of archaeology is a diversion.

Accordingly, on the 20th inst., I made an extended excursion upon the Seine. The afternoon was delightful autumn weather and I determined to see once more the entrance of the river into the city as well as its exit, and the defenses at these points. The little steamers ply the river every day bearing small parcels of goods and passengers, stopping every half mile or so at the landing places. The numerous bridges under which we pass constitute one of the attractions of the voyage. They are all built of stone, very substantial, except two or three, which are iron and wood. Each possesses some new feature of architectural beauty not recognized in the others, the arches being cycloidal, elliptical or circular. At every point, as we make the semi-circle of ten or twelve miles, the scenery varies. Magnificent residences and public buildings, palaces, parks and gardens fountains and statuary, make the excursion a delightful one. The appreciation of the beautiful, depends largely, of course, upon the condition of the mind, and had it not been that I could hear in the distance the booming of cannon, and nearer at hand the sound of the bugle and the roll of the drum, and could see the marching and countermarching of soldiers, this living panorama of the Seine would have been a source of unalloyed happiness and pleasure. The shadows of palaces and tall trees could be seen in the river as we landed on the quay at 4 o'clock near the bridge of Solferino.

Paris has so many features of interest that one could make an excursion every day in the year and still find something new—something to admire. The general plan of the city, which is that of irregularity, provides for an almost infinite variety of scenery and objects of interest. The municipal government seems to have made an effort not to construct any two things upon the same plan, whether parks, palaces, churches, boulevards, fountains, monuments or statuary. Nature has, of course, laid the foundation, but

THE EXIT OF THE SEINE.



the hand of art is seen everywhere, surprising those who have an appreciation of the beautiful. Most of the museums are closed, but recently I spent a few hours in the Hôtel de Cluny, which is open certain days of the week. It has become government property, and is now used for the safe-keeping of antiquities. Several of the large halls of the Louvre are now used as workshops for the change of the old muskets into breech-loaders. The statuary has been boxed up and placed in the deep cellars of the museums or, as it is said, in the catacombs, where the bones of the dead are carefully preserved. The tapestry and paintings have also been removed from the Louvre, and instead of the easel and pencil of the painter there is the drill and the file of the gunsmith. The people think only of war and of the means of defense and deliverance.

Paris, that has done so much for the education of the world, has closed her institutions of learning. For a time the hope was entertained that this would not be necessary, but now the schools are closed, except for the boys and girls. The professors and tutors, as well as the students, have entered one or other branch of the service for the defense of the city. Some foreign students residing in Paris have joined the National Guards—besides other foreigners who have need of a franc and a half a day upon which to live.

The churches of Paris are open as usual, except those in which foreign languages are used. I have heard Rev. M. de Presseñsé and Rev. M. Monod several times in their preaching places in the city. They and their associates (Protestants) are doing a good work, preaching to respectable audiences, made up, not merely of women and children, but of devout and intelligent men. The American chapel on Rue de Berri is closed. The pastor and most of his people left the city before the investment. Another Protestant chapel on Rue Bayard is closed. It has been supported by the Church of England.

Sunday, as a day of religious worship, is recognized by the laws of France, but it is only nominally observed. The people, though very generally connected in one way or another with the Roman Catholic Church, do not attend it except at stated times in the year. Religious books and newspapers are not given to the people, the catechism and prayer book being excepted. Sunday afternoon is almost entirely given up to sight-seeing and recreation. Religious services are not thought of in the evening, but the operas and theatres and club-rooms and drinking saloons are all open.

In the afternoon of the 13th inst. the Palace of St. Cloud was discovered to be on fire, and as my excursion led me in that direction, I had an opportunity, from that elevated part of the city called Auteuil, of witnessing, with many thousands of citizens, the flames escaping from the windows. This noted palace, including gardens, fountains and park, has long been regarded as the most attractive resort in the neighborhood of Paris. But not satisfied with this distant view of the burning palace I retraced my steps to Porte Maillot, and at this point entered the Bois de Boulogne, and then pressed on through the crowd until I reached Boulogne, a town of 18,000 inhabitants, on the right bank of the Seine. The beautiful town of St. Cloud, with 5,000 inhabitants, is on the other side of the river, and the blown-up bridge connects them. At this point the adventurer is almost in a straight line with the palace and Fort Valérien, distant from each other about four miles, and the great shells flying every few minutes over our heads, made timid persons fearful lest they should fall and explode in our midst. Hoping that I might be able to enter the city by the way of Porte du St. Cloud, and thus have another view of the burning palace, I pressed on in this direction, but I soon found sentinels on duty, and I was obliged to return by the way of the Bois de Boulogne

and the main entrance into Champs Elysées. The next day I renewed my excursion as far as the picket lines, which, on this part of the circle, are on the right bank of the Seine, but I could only see in the distance the smoking ruins in the possession of the Germans.

As to the origin of the fire there can be very little doubt. A report is current that the Prussians, as the Germans are called in Paris, flooded the palace with coal oil and then set fire to it, but the fire originated much more likely by the explosion of shells from Mont Valérien. The Germans have had possession of the chateau and they have been using it as an observatory. They have also been planting their siege guns in the vicinity where they can very easily bombard the city. A knowledge of these facts have induced the French to take the risks of destroying the palace as well as many other valuable residences in the neighborhood.

This beautiful chateau has a history that would fill a volume. It was designed by Mansard, and built for a rich financier in 1658. Louis XIV. bought it and presented it to his brother, the Duke of Orleans, who spent large sums of money in improving the main building, in erecting others and in ornamenting the grounds. Queen Henrietta of England died here in 1670. It was the favorite summer residence of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, and a few years later of the unhappy Josephine. Here Napoleon I. laid the foundation of his power and placed himself at the head of the government by expelling, with his armed grenadiers, the Council of Five Hundred, who were holding their meetings in the *Orangerie*. Here Charles X. signed the fatal ordinances which caused the revolution of 1830, and from here the late Emperor started on his fatal mission to the frontier.

In this connection we may introduce a few sentences from one who has written the history of France and has

closed it with a few paragraphs concerning the late Emperor, whose career has been as remarkable, if it has not been as brilliant, as that of his distinguished uncle :

It will be sufficient to say that the shifting canvas of the last ten years has presented scenes and combinations never dreamt of before. The despised adventurer, who raised the pity of his countrymen by his attempt on Strasbourg in 1837, and their laughter by his expedition to Boulogne in 1842, has for six years been Emperor of the French by the elective votes of an overwhelming majority of the nation. France, under him, has attained a stronger position in Europe than it has held since the calamities of his uncle began. He has persuaded the proudest and most boastful of peoples to accept protection from the dangers of domestic factions as the price of the last vestige of their political and individual freedom. The elect of the whole nation and the offspring of a popular revolution, he has accumulated on his own head more power than was acquired by the sword of Philip Augustus or the policy of Louis XIV., and yet his subjects are more liberty-loving than their mediæval ancestry. It is not for us to foretell what the end of these strange circumstances will be.

The burning of the chateau of St. Cloud, in which this adventurer resided so many years, and his imprisonment in another at Wilhelmshoehe, are the realizations of what the historian of this restless and ambitious people could not foresee. Clodould, who lived as a hermit at St. Cloud, was canonized as a saint, and gave his name, by abbreviation, to the place. The park and gardens have a circumference of twelve miles. Cascades, fountains, statuary and a tower called the Lantern of Diogenes, gave to the place a grandeur scarcely equaled anywhere else.

The postal service is becoming more regular. Ten other balloons have sailed out of Paris, making in all sixteen. Five or six hundred pounds of letters, newspapers and dispatches are taken out in each balloon, but the return mails reach us in precious morsels. The poor dispatch bearers do not all get back to Paris.

On the morning of the 12th inst. a very large balloon, the *Washington*, sailed from the Orleans railroad station, taking along M. Lefavre, on a government mission. M. Bertaux, aëronaut, and M. von Roosbeck, proprietor of pigeons. The following dispatch was received in Paris :

Direction, due north—velocity, forty miles an hour. A brisk fusillade as we crossed the advanced posts of the enemy. Found safety above 1,500 yards. Same reception at Chantilly, Senlis, Compiègne and Noyon. Firing ceased after we passed Ham. At 11 o'clock we were forced down by the violence of the wind at Carnières—very much bruised, but no bones broken. People much excited. The Mayor of Cambrie came for us in a wagon. Dispatches sent to the post-office. I am in bed at Donai.

LEFAIVRE.

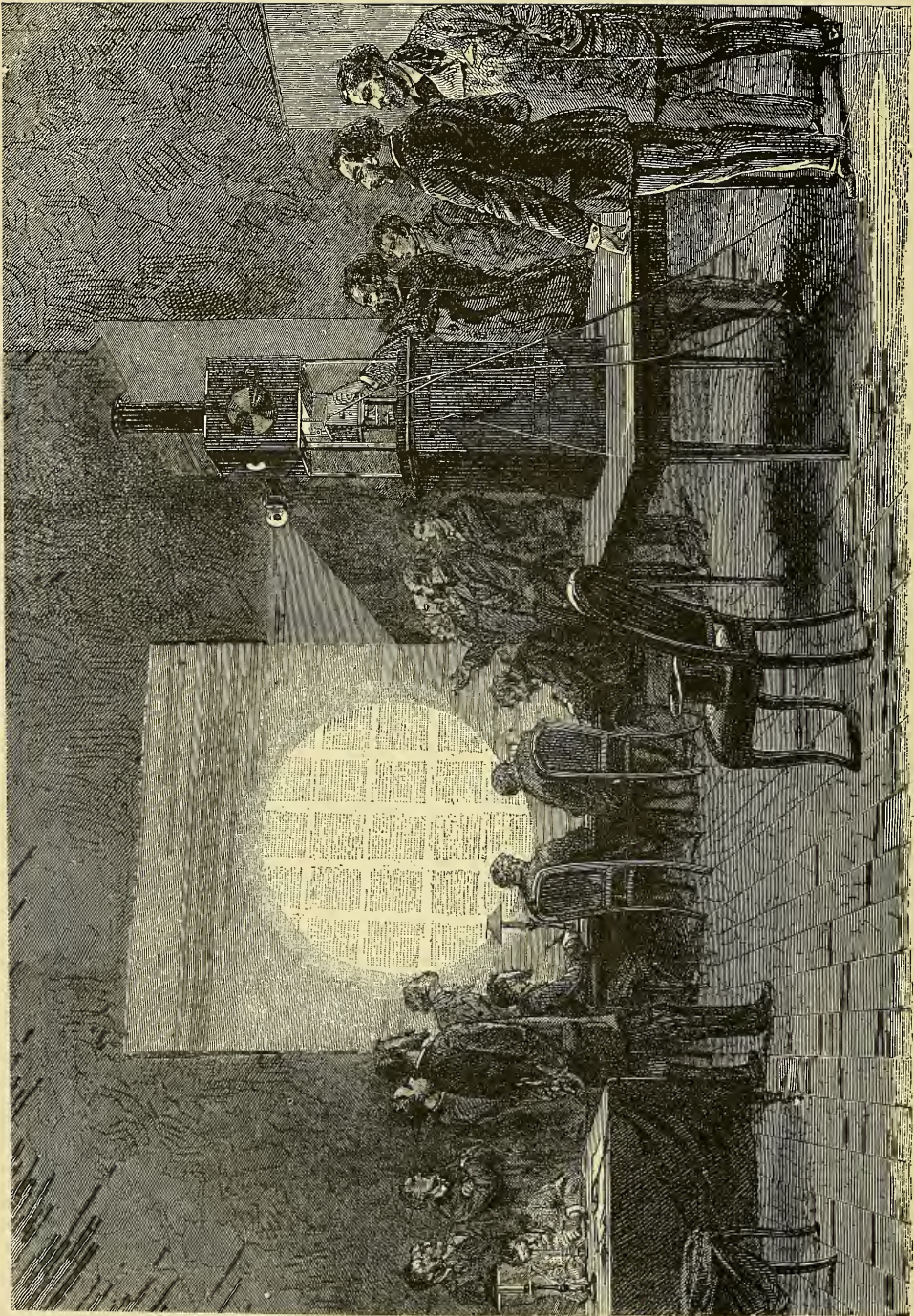
On the same day, the *Louis-Blanc* sailed from Saint Pierre, Montmartre. The balloon was made of white silk. M. Farcet was sent out in the interests of the telegraph service, and M. Tackery accompanied him to introduce a uniform method of return dispatches by the pigeons.

On the 14th inst., at 10 o'clock, M. de Kératry, Prefect of Police, his two secretaries and M. Godard sailed out of Paris in the *Godefroy-Cavaignac* from the Orleans railroad station. The balloon was large, constructed by the Godard Brothers, and the father of the firm, seventy years of age, was the aëronaut. They ascended slowly, passed over the chateau at Vicennes, up the Marne, and as they reached the German lines, they were the objects of a brisk fusillade. In their haste they threw overboard two bags of sand, and rose immediately above the dense haze or fog which covered the sky. They soon found themselves in a region where the sun shone in all its splendor and no other object was to be seen. They were in a new world, a world of light, boundless and cloudless. Long hours passed and they knew not in what direction they were sailing, or how rapidly. Their barometer indicated the ex-

traordinary height of five miles, their thermometer the temperature of winter, and their sensations told them they were breathing an almost breathless atmosphere. At times, they were fearful that the expansion of the gas would cause a collapse. Gradually, however, they descended, and the earth appeared, but no one could tell in what region they were about to land. The anchor was cast, the valve was opened, when they discovered a column of soldiers. They attempted to rise but it was too late. Nevertheless fortune favored them. They sailed over a small woods, and immediately dropped down; M. de Kératry, also advanced in years, was stunned as he attempted to descend in haste from the car, but soon recovered his senses. The country people came to their relief, and informed them that the nearest village was Brillon, a few miles from Bar-le-Duc, in the department of Meuse. It was 3 o'clock in the afternoon when they landed. The German Uhlans scoured the country, but generally kept on the main roads. The people said it was possible for them to reach Chaumont where they could take the railroad. From house to house, and from village to village, they were taken in carts and wagons, under straw and wagon covers, and thus they all escaped. M. Godard proposes to give a graphic account of his five hours above the clouds. Balloon, dispatches, pigeons and all, were saved.

At 1 o'clock a second balloon, the *William Tell*, set out from the same place with M. Ranc, mayor of the 9th ward. It landed near Troyes the same day. The mayor went on special business for the Government not known to the people.

On the 16th inst., two *ballons postes* set out from the Orleans railroad station. The first, which ascended at 6 o'clock in the morning was called the *Jules Favre*, the second, which sailed at 10 o'clock was called the *Jean Bart*, and, beside dispatches, took out also two merchants MM. Bar-



TRANSCRIBING DISPATCHES.

thelemy and Dary. The *Jules Favre* landed at Valenciennes, and the *Jean Bart*, near Namur, not far from the Belgian line.

On the 18th inst., an immense balloon, the *Victor Hugo*, holding 2,000 cubic meters of gas, ascended at noon from the garden of the Tuileries, with 1,200 pounds of letters. Naturally it took out a declaration from the pen of Victor Hugo, and a manifesto in German and French from M. Bonvalet, on the subject of the brotherhood of nations.

On the 19th inst., the *La Fayette* sailed out with M. Dubost. On the 23d, the *Garibaldi*, with M. Jouvencel, and on the 25th, the *Montgolfier*, with M. Hervé, a sailor. The *Garibaldi* landed in Belgium.

Aërial navigation, as stated by M. Wilfred de Fonville, in a recent number of the *Liberté*, has reached a period of unexpected importance and activity. Photography has come to its assistance. All the journals of Paris could now be photographed and sent to the outside world in a very small package if it were necessary. Moreover a system of microscopic-photography has been devised by which a pigeon may bring into Paris many columns of dispatches, on a very small piece of tissue paper, attached to one of its wings or its tail. The remarkable dispatch received from M. Gambetta, has been photographed upon a piece of paper no larger than a finger-nail, and afterwards magnified on canvas so that all present could read it. Artists will soon be sent out in balloons with photographic apparatus to take charge of this department of the service at Tours. Fears are entertained that there will not be a sufficient number of pigeons for the work that is expected to be done. The *colombicurs* are busily engaged training their birds. They take them out into the country as far as they can and then set them loose. Like man and other species of animals, they are not all equally intelligent.

M. Wilfred was to have sailed out in a balloon called *La Liberté*, but an accident happened to it, and he was detained. The Government has forbidden the manufacture and departure of balloons without the inspection and sanction of the commission appointed for the purpose.

Let us now take a brief survey of what has been done on the picket lines during the last two weeks. The French are evidently passing from the defensive attitude to what may be called the offensive. The Germans seem to have made up their minds not to endanger their lives, but to remain in their intrenchments and behind their batteries. On the 13th inst., General Vinoy was ordered to advance upon the south. The object seems to have been to feel the strength of the enemy at certain points and to report. It could only be called a reconnoissance in force upon ground already fought over, in front of Meudon, Clamart, Châtillon and Bagneux. The ball was opened with a few shots from Montrouge and Vanves, and at 9 o'clock the infantry advanced. The troops engaged were commanded by Generals Blanchard, Maudhuy, Dumoulin, Surbeille and La Charrière, and they were scattered along a line of several miles. Those chiefly engaged were commanded by Blanchard. If the object was to get possession of Bagneux and Fontenay beyond, the movement was not well supported. The reconnoissance revealed the fact that the Germans were strongly entrenched, and that their field batteries were well posted. In the afternoon a retreat was ordered. Commandant Dampierre was killed, leading his battalion, in front of Bagneux. The French loss in killed and wounded was about 150. A few German prisoners were brought into Paris, but possibly a larger number of French were taken to Versailles.

On the 21st inst., another reconnoissance was made. The Germans this time seem to have been taken by surprise, and possibly General Trochu was himself surprised that

the French would fight. There are those in the army as well as those out of it, who have a great admiration for the Governor of Paris, but they do not believe that he is a fighting man. What his theory is in regard to the defense of the city, no one can as yet discover. It would appear that he is acting on the plan suggested a few weeks ago by Gustave Flourens, that it is necessary to make frequent attacks upon the enemy, in order to accustom the French to the use of arms. However this may be, he ordered General Ducrot to advance in the direction of Reuil, Malmaison, Jonchère and the chateau of Buzenval. These points are due west of Paris, and are beyond the reach of the heavy guns of Fort Valérien. General Ducrot's troops have been occupying the peninsula formed by the river, and have been under the protection of the citadel. We may be permitted to give some of the details of this engagement, which will aid us in forming an opinion of the Governor.

Three groups of soldiers were selected for the attack. On the right was General Barthaut with 3,400 infantry, 30 pieces of artillery and a squadron of cavalry, to move upon the line of the railroad leading across the peninsulas to St. Germain. On the left was General Noël with 4,350 infantry, 20 pieces of artillery, to operate on the left of the turnpike leading to the same point. A third group, commanded by Colonel Cholleton with 1,600 infantry, 18 pieces of artillery and one squadron of cavalry, to support these columns. Besides these there were two strong reserve forces the one on the left commanded by General Martenot and composed of 2,600 infantry and 18 pieces of artillery, the other in the center commanded by General Paturel and composed of 2,000 infantry, 28 pieces artillery and two squadrons of cavalry.

At one o'clock everybody was ready, and the artillery opened upon the Germans in a semi-circle of about three

miles. The fire was concentrated for three-quarters of an hour upon Buzenval, Malmaison, Jonchère and Bougival. At a given signal the artillery ceased fire, and the French columns advanced in excellent order under the fire of the German artillery. In the village of Malmaison, in the park around the chateau, and at other points, as Buzanval and Longboyau, there was obstinate fighting. The Germans retreated or were forced back to St. Cuçufa, Jonchère and Bougival, where they placed themselves in their entrenchments and under the protection of their artillery. The fighting continued until 5 o'clock when General Ducrot ordered the French to fall back.

From very reliable newspaper information smuggled in through the lines, this effort produced a great excitement at the royal headquarters, which could easily have been turned into a panic. The French had reached a point about five miles distant from Versailles. It is the opinion of at least some who took part in the affair, call it a sortie or a reconnoissance, that if General Ducrot had taken the responsibility and had ordered up all the troops under his command—about 20,000—he could have cut his way through the lines. As it has turned out, neither he nor General Trochu, has shown any of the talent of great military leaders. Napoleon—the only one who deserves the name—would have found in the occasion an opportunity to gain a brilliant victory. He would have forced back his enemies if the effort had cost him one-third of his army. In his report to the Governor, General Ducrot, recognizes the gallant conduct of the zouaves, mobiles, and infantry of the line, as well as the Dumas-tirailleurs, the Francs-tireurs of Paris, and other volunteer companies. He gives a loss of 28 officers in killed, wounded and missing, and a loss of 413 men of the ranks, killed, wounded and missing, making in all 441, besides a loss of two pieces of artillery. Why there were only 20,000 men, with chasse-

pots placed under his command, when there might have been 60,000 is a matter for which the Governor is much criticised and censured. The only answer is that he merely intended to make a reconnoissance in force.

A wood-cut of the chateau of Malmaison is given in an illustrated journal with the French and Germans fighting around it. The palace has fallen into the hands of the Queen Dowager of Spain who has closed the grounds to the public. Forest trees and evergreens have grown up in the park and give to the place the appearance of desertion and sadness. M. Lecoulteux purchased it as government property in 1792 and gave it to Josephine, the widow of M. de Beauharnais, who, on the 9th of March, 1796, married Napoleon Bonaparte. After her divorce from the Emperor, in 1809, she returned to the palace, and there died May, 29th, 1814. Here Napoleon planned some of his greatest campaigns, and here, after his defeat at Waterloo, he retired for a few days of rest and meditation, and after his second abdication set out for St. Helena, June 29th, 1815. The unhappy Empress was buried at Rueil, a short distance from Malmaison, and a beautiful monument marks the place with this inscription, "A Joséphine, Eugène et Hortense." The Emperor, according to his request, was also buried on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the people who idolized him, but not at this spot. His body lies in a crypt in the Hôtel des Invalides.

On the 25th inst. the Mayor of Paris held a *reunion* of the mayors of the several wards at the Hôtel de Ville. There were three subjects discussed: the question of lodging for the mobiles, the question of the distribution of rations and that of the mobilization of the National Guards. The mayors all made reports, of which we can only give a summary. The census, which has been conducted by them, shows that there are 2,021,700 inhabitants in Paris.

The mobilization of the National Guards has been ordered. On the 14th inst. the Governor addressed a letter to the Mayor of Paris on this subject, in which he ventured to give his plan in detail, which has given rise to much criticism. Each battalion is invited to furnish a company of volunteers, of young men under thirty-five years of age, who are willing to enroll themselves for active service outside the walls. They are to be armed with the most improved weapons as soon as they can be manufactured, and supplied with all the camp material of the regular army. Each company is to consist of 150 men, and four companies are to make a battalion. The companies and battalions are to elect their own officers. At the Pantheon a bureau has been opened for the enrollment of the companies, and the portico has been converted into an immense stage where speeches are made, alternated with music. In this way it is proposed to utilize a portion of the National Guards.

We close this chapter with a few items which we gather from the journals.

On the 12th inst. M. Edmond Adams was appointed Prefect of Police instead of M. de Kératry, who has gone out in a balloon on a mission pertaining to foreign affairs.

Ten millions of francs have been recently given to the Minister of Public Works for the manufacture of cannon, mitrailleuses and chassepots. Accordingly all the gunsmiths and other mechanics who are capable of making any of the parts of the chassepot gun are requested to present themselves before the commission on armament at the ministry of public works. In like manner the committee of civil engineers has invited all who have skill as founders of bronze to present themselves at the Conservatory of Arts and Measures.

The manufacture of gunpowder has become an important industry, and all the materials needed for it are in de-

mand—charcoal, sulphur and potash. Requisitions are made by the government for these and all other products which are necessary for the armament and defense of the city.

The bakers are required to make a statement to the government of the quantity of wood ashes which they collect every forty-eight hours from their ovens. The quantity of wood burned is thus verified and the potash is also secured.

On the 13th inst. the owners of cattle, milk cows, sheep and hogs, as well as provender, were required to make full returns to the government.

The hospital at Bicêtre, outside the walls, has recently been opened for the reception of small-pox patients. The mortality from this dreadful disease is rapidly rising.

Thousands of those who have been engaged as small farmers have obtained permission to gather in their potato crop, and it is reported that some of them have lost their lives by venturing too near the German sharpshooters.

General Trochu is said to have made his will, but it is not supposed that he will be killed in a sortie against the Germans.

The ambassador of the Pope and the Minister of Colombia left Paris October 17th with their *personnel*. They obtained permission from Count Bismarck, through Mr. Washburne, on condition that their papers and baggage would be subject to inspection. In crossing the lines no one is permitted to take with him more than he can carry in his hands.

Two days later the following letter was received at the office of the American Minister :

I have the honor to inform you that I have authorized the Viscount Lancastre, *chargé d'affaires* of Portugal, to leave Paris by crossing the Prussian lines. The same permission is given to MM. Azenas and Bastamente, with six of their countrymen, and to

Mr. William Martin, *chargé d'affaires* of the Kingdom of Hawaii. They must be provided with certificates signed by Mr. Washburne, Minister of the United States, testifying to their nationality and identity. Please to inform them that packages of letters and other papers which they wish to take with them must be sent open to the advanced post, in failure of which they will expose themselves to all the rigor of military law.

BISMARCK.

It is reported that the Austrian Minister, before leaving Paris, obtained permission to remove from the Tuileries the personal property of the Empress.

Some of the newspapers have gained a reputation for circulating sensational rumors, among which is the *Siecle*. One of these rumors is that General Boyer reached Versailles on the 14th inst., from Marshal Bazaine, on a mission in regard to the surrender of Metz. Another is that the Crown Prince of Prussia took suddenly sick and died.

The return of General Burnside and Mr. Forbes on the 12th inst. is not well understood. The authorities are silent on the subject and the journalists are at liberty to indulge in sensational conjectures. They were entertained by Mr. Washburne, and they had interviews with General Trochu and with Mr. Jules Favre. It is probable that they insisted upon an armistice.

The mission of General Bourbaki to London and to Tours is another subject which has given rise to comment and suspicion. He is known to have been friendly to the Imperial government and he is suspected as a Bonapartist agent. How he got out of Metz is a mystery.

The *Figaro* of the 22d inst. gives the market prices of the following articles, now in great demand in Paris: Butter is worth two dollars a pound, but there is very little for sale; eggs, seventy-five cents a dozen; a head of cabbage, forty cents; green peas, forty cents a pound; tallow, fifty cents a pound; ham, eighty cents a pound; lard, one dollar and twenty cents a pound; potatoes, one

dollar a bushel ; a chicken, one dollar and forty-five cents ; a goose, three dollars ; mutton, ninety-five cents a pound.

The council of war of the 8th section, under the presidency of Admiral Quillio, acquitted Sapia, commandant of the 146th battalion of the National Guards. He was charged with disobedience to orders and with making speeches of an incendiary character. Thus far those who have been condemned to be shot have had their sentences commuted.

A musical concert will be held next Sunday for the benefit of the wounded. The following is the programme :

- Overture of Semiramis, of Rossini.
- Symphonie pastorale, of Beethoven.
- Quintetto (clarinette solo), of Mozart.
- An oration by Francisque Sarcey.
- Marche du songe d'une Nuit d'été, of Mendelsohn.

We give this as a sample of the numerous concerts held by M. Padeloup and others in the French theatres. The musicians of the orchestras give their services gratis, and the money is spent in the purchase of such articles of clothing and food as may be useful to those wounded in battle. Sanitary commissions, consisting for the most part of women, have been appointed. Musically speaking, there seems to be no strife between France and Germany. "When this cruel war is over" the French will no doubt be willing to think of the Germans as masters of military science as well as masters in music, and it is to be hoped they will both think more kindly of each other as nations. But the music which seems to be the best suited to the enthusiastic temper of the French people is the *Marseillaise* of Rouget de Lisle. This national air, so inspiring, is now called for at the close of every theatrical entertainment or concert, the people rising to their feet and joining in the chorus.

The 24th inst. was a day of emotions. News reached

Paris of the heroic defense of Châteaudun and the total destruction of the town. The people refused to surrender. There were rumors also of the capture of Orleans and of the surrender of Metz. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon a fearful explosion took place. This is the second of the kind, and the government has taken possession of all the foundries and workshops for the manufacture of projectiles and explosives of every kind. And in the evening, between 7 and 9 o'clock, a magnificent *aurora borealis* appeared. More than half of the heavens was illuminated. Many persons at first supposed that the Prussians were burning the city.

Dispatches have since been received stating that the deputation at Tours has voted 100,000 francs to the people of Châteaudun. And the municipality of Paris passed a resolution that the street called Rue de *Cardinal Fesch*, of the 9th ward, should be changed to *Rue de Châteaudun*.

The Garabaldis, father and two sons, with a handful of followers, have reached Tours. Everywhere they have been received with open arms. At Marseilles, where they landed, their reception was enthusiastic, and at Tours the archbishop is said to have embraced the old soldier and patriot who, at one time, was supposed to be the enemy of the church. What a noble example! He comes, not for France imperial, but for France republican. He comes, the first with sword in hand, to cheer and encourage the French in the darkest hour of their history.



Fautassier,
tambour de campagne

Officier
de la garde.

Tambour

Général d'infanterie
prussienne.

Artillerie
à cheval.

Garde
du corps.

Hussard

GERMAN STYLES OF MILITARY DRESS

CHAPTER IV.

PARIS, NOVEMBER 7TH, 1870.

A Great Sensation: Felix Pyat Publishes a Card—The Battle of Bourget—M. Thiers Returns to Paris; He Confirms the Rumor that Metz has Fallen and that Orleans is Captured—The Communists take possession of the Hôtel de Ville—The Members of the Government made Prisoners—The Insurgents Fail—An Election is Ordered—The Government is sustained—The Communards Arrested—Five more Balloons.

DURING the last ten days the situation of affairs in Paris and in France has changed very much, and yet there are no certain indications of an armistice. On the 27th ult. the following appeared in the *Combat*, a daily journal edited by Felix Pyat. It was surrounded by a heavy black border:

BAZAINE'S PLAN.—It is a fact, true and certain, that the Government of National Defense has in its possession a secret which should be given to the people and which we regard as high treason. Marshal Bazaine has sent a colonel to the headquarters of the King of Prussia to treat concerning a surrender of Metz, and peace in the name of his Majesty Napoleon III.

Immediately there was a demand for the *Combat*, and the indignation of the people ran high. Crowds assembled on the boulevards Montmartre and des Italiens and at many other places. Some condemned Felix Pyat for publishing a slander, others condemned the government. A Prussian prisoner stated something of the same kind but nobody believed him.

In the evening crowds collected around the Hôtel de Ville and explanations were demanded, but these were de-

ferred until the next day, when the following appeared in the *Journal Officiel* :

The government considers it a duty to respect the liberty of the press, notwithstanding the difficulty of doing so in a besieged city. It would be able, in the name of public safety and of law, to enforce obedience, but it prefers to consult public sentiment. The government denounces the odious lines printed in the *Combat*, edited by Felix Pyat.

The author of these disgraceful calumnies has not dared to make known his name. They are printed over the signature *Le Combat*. They are hurled against France by the accomplices of the Prussians. For want of a ball which would go to the heart of the nation a double accusation is brought against those who defend it, an accusation as infamous as it is false.

He affirms that the provisional government deceives the people by concealing important news, and that the brave soldier of Metz dishonored his sword by a treasonable act.

We give to these two fabrications an unqualified denial. Denounced in a council of war, they should subject their inventor to the severest punishment. Such pretended patriots should be branded, as they deserve whose business it is to undermine the authority of the government and to sow distrust and suspicion among those who fight for their country.

Since the 17th of August no dispatch direct from Marshal Bazaine has crossed the lines, but we are far from thinking of a treasonable act such as has been imputed to the Marshal. We know that he has not ceased to hurl his forces, in numerous sorties, against the besieging army. General Bourbaki has escaped, and his relations with the delegation at Tours, his acceptance of an important command, sufficiently contradict these fabrications, which all honorable men should denounce.

The next day the following was printed in large type in the *Combat* :

It was M. Flourens who made known to me, for the safety of the people (according to his statement), Bazaine's plan, and he told me that he obtained his information direct from M. Rochefort, a member of the provisional government.

The next day the following reply appeared in the same journal :

MY DEAR PYAT : The safety of the people requires indeed that such news should be made known immediately to all, and it would be shameful and treasonable not to do so. It belongs to the government to show that this deplorable news is inexact. As for myself, I will not undertake to prove that it is either false or true. I maintain merely that I obtained the news from a citizen attached to the government, and I affirm that the citizen is not M. Rochefort, whom I have not seen for several days.

Yours, etc.,

GUSTAVE FLOURENS.

M. Pyat added :

I thank M. Flourens for having confirmed, as much as he could, my declaration.

FELIX PYAT.

Meanwhile M. Rochefort, under the necessity of saying something, denied the fact by stigmatizing the perfidy and cowardice of Felix Pyat, who, he says, is always ready to conceal himself behind others when he is in danger. The members of the Government had no doubt received information of these rumors, but the circumstances forbade an official announcement of statements which needed confirmation. Seventy days had elapsed from the time Marshal Bazaine was surrounded, and there had not been an extra supply of provisions laid in. M. Rochefort knew all this, and the Communists depended upon him for intimations of what was about to happen, and the editor of the *Combat* was the man to create the sensation.

At the same time there was desperate fighting at Bourget, a village of 800 inhabitants northeast of Paris, and the French were defeated. On the 27th inst. General Belle-mare was ordered to advance and take possession of the village. The next day he reported a successful result, but with a loss of 5 killed and 20 wounded. The fighting

was continued. On the 29th the Germans were reinforced. Heavy rains fell, but this did not prevent them from advancing with infantry, cavalry and artillery, though it did interfere with the reinforcements of the French on account of the low lands which lie between Paris and Bourget. In the evening, after fighting all day, some of the French deserted their positions for the reason, as it is alleged, that they had nothing to eat for two days and that no relief had been sent to them. The 188th, 10th, 101st and 49th battalions of the National Guards took part in the fight. Early in the morning of the 30th the Germans advanced in large numbers and took the village house by house. Commandant Baroche remained with his battalion fighting until he was surrounded. He was wounded several times in the engagement and finally killed. One hundred and sixty-eight of his men were taken prisoners and sent, it is said, to Erfürt. The loss of the Prussians was also heavy. Count Waldersée, while leading his regiment, fell mortally wounded. Two companies, imprudently advancing, were surrounded, as it is said, and were brought into Paris. But the German forces have possession of all that remains of Bourget, burned and battered down as it is. They form part of the 2d division of infantry guards, commanded by General Budritzki.

General Bellemare has been severely criticised for his conduct on this occasion. It is said that he was in Paris dining with his friends when he should have been in the field. However this may be, it is conceded that the undisciplined French troops will fight when properly commanded.

During the evening and night the news spread of the retaking of Bourget and there was great excitement. The people believed that the Germans would advance upon the city. There was also a rumor that M. Thiers had returned to Paris with unfavorable reports, and very many

persons spent a sleepless and anxious night waiting for the early morning journals. Their worst fears were realized, for the announcement was made that Marshal Bazaine had capitulated with Prince Frederick Charles, which news fell upon them like a thunderbolt.

In a few hours the *Journal Officiel* appeared and gave to the people the sober facts in the case. Metz, the impregnable fortress, has fallen. The last army of the Empire has been shipped off to Germany. Orléans has been taken by Von der Tann, and the First and Second German armies are moving into the interior of the country. Added to these facts was the defeat of the French at Bourget, the serious nature of which was only beginning to be known. The entire population was in a state of consternation and fear, for there was a belief that the Germans would now take the city by storm.

M. Thiers, provided with a *Laissez-passer*, had set out from Tours in an open carriage, and on reaching the German lines was also provided with an escort. The journey was long, but he arrived at Versailles without accident, except to the carriage. He had a fine opportunity to see the German armies, and was much impressed with their appearance. At Versailles he was politely received by Count Bismarck, and, after a brief interview, was escorted to the bridge of Sèvres, where he was received by the French and conducted to the Hôtel de Ville.

At ten o'clock in the night the members of the government were ready to hear the report of their ambassador. First of all he stated what was in circulation among the Germans, that Marshal Bazaine had surrendered Metz, though he had no official information on the subject, and that General Von der Tann had taken Orléans. He could give none of the details. The venerable ambassador then proceeded to give an account of his reception at each of the courts to which he was sent. He had given a similar

account to the deputation of Tours and had gained the assent of three of the representatives of the government there to an armistice. M. Gambetta was in favor of war until the invader was driven from France. He maintained that the nation should exhaust all its resources before agreeing to the conditions presented by Count Bismarck at Ferrières. The main object of the government in sending M. Thiers to London, St. Petersburg, Vienna and Florence was, of course, to ascertain the sentiments of the leading powers, and in returning he had an opportunity to ascertain the sentiments of the Prussian chancellor.

M. Thiers was profoundly convinced of the folly of attempting to continue the war against United Germany, and he so expressed himself. He had attempted to secure an armed intervention, and, failing in this, he made an effort to secure a pledge that the boundary lines between Germany and France should remain as they are, and, finally, he asked that an armistice be insisted upon, which was agreed to, in order that the French might have an opportunity to elect delegates to a National Convention.

Russia, as is well known, was opposed to the annexation of French territory, but the Emperor was unwilling to back up his sentiments by a resort to arms. Neither Austro-Hungary nor Italy was willing to take the initiative, and England, as has been very evident from the tenor of the *London Times*, was determined to remain an indifferent spectator. The session continued until 3 o'clock in the morning, and an interview was to be had by M. Favre with M. Thiers at noon, October 31st. The latter was to return to Versailles at 3 o'clock, by the same way he had come, and the Foreign Minister was to accompany him as far as the bridge of Sèvres. But a dispatch was sent to M. Favre that he should hasten to the Hôtel de Ville, and soon after a member of the government came for him. Armed men were collecting on Place de l'Hôtel de Ville,

and cries of *Pas d'Armistice! A bas Trochu!* and *Vive la Commune!* were heard. M. Thiers, his secretary and escort, set out an hour before the time agreed upon. When M. Favre reached the Hôtel de Ville it was already in the possession of the Communards, but the ambassador was left under the impression that the demonstration was not one of serious import.

The *Journal Officiel* published in the morning two notes prepared by M. Favre. One of these announced the surrender of Metz, the other contained a proposition of an armistice which is said to have emanated from the four neutral powers. Most of the newspapers commented upon the unfortunate condition of France (for it was known to the editors that M. Thiers had returned the evening before), and those of communistic tendencies indulged in revolutionary criticisms. At noon the people were in a state of unusual excitement, and the best of men found it difficult to control themselves. At 1 o'clock the mayors assembled in the Hôtel de Ville, their usual place of meeting, and immediately entered upon a discussion of the situation of affairs. Some of them openly declared their unwillingness to serve under the present government. The President, Etienne Arago, was unable to preserve order, and he found that it would be necessary to tender his resignation to the government, and so announced his intention. Later in the afternoon placards appeared upon the walls calling for meetings of the so-called red-clubs in the evening and for a meeting of the commissioned officers of the National Guards at the Bourse at 8 o'clock. On the one hand there was a disposition to agree to the best terms that could be made with the Germans without sacrificing the honor of the nation. This was the feeling of the more intelligent classes of citizens, this was the opinion too of the majority of the members of the government, including the President and Vice President, and it

was especially the opinion of M. Thiers, who is recognized as the ablest statesman in France. On the other hand, the enthusiastic and less intelligent classes, including the Communists, were opposed to an armistice on any conditions; they believe in fighting the Germans. But the Communards have afterthoughts; they wish to organize a new form of government on a basis which the great majority of the people understand quite well and dread as much as they do the presence of the Germans.

M. Favre accompanied the ambassador to the left bank of the Seine and placed him in the hands of a faithful escort to conduct him to the bridge of Sèvres and to leave him in the care of the Germans. The Vice-President, returning, fell in with his colleague, Ernest Picard, and they both went to the Hôtel de Ville together. On account of the crowd they were unable to reach the main entrance, but by making a circuit they entered on the east side of the building without being recognized. M. Picard protested against entering the hall, saying that it would be better to employ military force at once and to lose no time, but M. Favre insisted that it would be his duty, as Vice-President of the government, to be with the President, or at least with those assembled, and stated that he had given orders to the Prefect of Police and officers of the National Guards to preserve order. They therefore ascended one of the stairways and entered the chamber in which the members of the government were accustomed to meet. General Trochu, Jules Simon, Eugène Pelletan and other had admitted a deputation, led by Maurice Jolly, who, at this time, was making a speech. The insurgents had taken advantage of this, had crowded in through the open gates and doors and had filled the corridors. The members of the government were now all present except MM. Rochefort and Dorian, who were no doubt intentionally absent. Maurice Jolly did not speak to the satisfaction either of

the government or those who accompanied him. He was too moderate for the crowd, and he was frequently interrupted. When he had finished his harangue General Trochu spoke with great deliberation. He attempted to show that the retaking of Bourget was not a matter that compromised the Government of the Defense and that General Bellemare had exceeded his orders and had advanced without sufficient reinforcements. He attempted also to speak of the advantages of an armistice, but the crowd refused to hear him on this subject. Maurice Jolly had specially urged the addition to the government of other members, an election of mayors and other municipal officers. The General then stated that the members of the government would retire to another chamber for deliberation, and, taking the lead, he pressed through the crowd. The other members followed. They unanimously rejected the proposition to make additions to the present provisional government, but would agree to an election of municipal officers. At this time the Mayor of Paris entered the chamber greatly excited. He said in substance :

That the mayors of the wards are in session, that they have sent me to beg you to unite your efforts with theirs in order to prevent a threatening catastrophe. They ask that the government surrender itself to them and agree at once to the election of municipal officers. They all believe that this is the only means of safety to-day. In the name of our country, in the name of harmony, I beg of you not to reject their prayer.

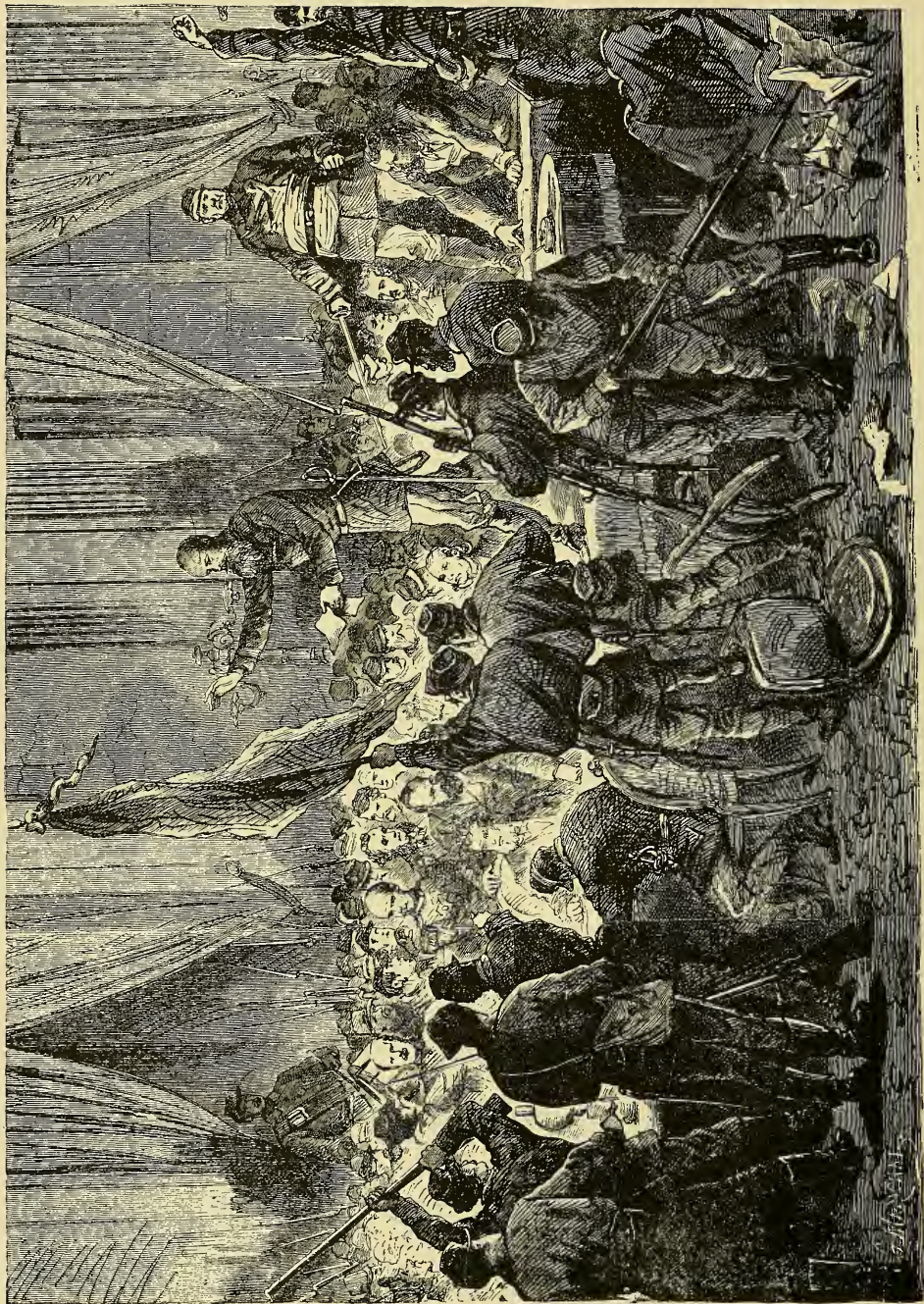
The members of the government responded to M. Arago's entreaties but remained firm. What the mayors ask, they said, is nothing more nor less than an abdication of the Government and an instalation of the Commune. They expressed their astonishment at the pretensions of the mayors and requested M. Arago to return, and, as President of the council of mayors, to state that the Government would consider the subject of an immediate election and

that they were all desirous of reaching a solution favorable to the demands of the people.

M. Arago departed in haste to the assembly of mayors, but in a very short time returned, pale and agitated. Throwing his sash upon the table he said :

They have dishonored it with their insults ; I surrender it, and will not take it again until the honor of a magistrate is vindicated. All is lost. The gates of the Hôtel de Ville are open, the palace is invaded, and you will soon see the demons.

If we may believe the account given by the chief agitator and insurgent, Gustave Flourens, twenty-three chiefs of battalions were invited to meet at the Café of the National Guard, on Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, at 4 o'clock. These were supposed to be thoroughly democratic, that is to say, communistic. He did not wish to descend from Belleville alone, and therefore ordered his *Tirailleurs*, about five hundred men, to be in readiness at three and a half o'clock, and, according to his own statement, he distributed cartridges to them. On their way he learned that a *levee en masse* and an election by the Commune had been ordered, and that MM. Dorian and Schelcher were to take charge of it. At 4 o'clock he arrived at the City Hall and found it surrounded with people. He placed his battalion on the quay and entered alone, as he says, the gates being open. He pressed through the corridors, ascended the stairway, and found the members of the government seated around a table. He was urged to mount upon it, and to make a speech, which, it seems, he was quite willing to do. The meeting at the Café did not take place. There was no concert of action among the chiefs of battalions, possibly not more than half of them were present. Those who came before Flourens had but little courage to act, and those who came after him had no opportunity. He was dictator, generalissimo and demagogue.



INSURGENTS IN THE HOTEL DE VILLE

Some of the illustrated journals represent Flourens mounted upon a table in the center of a large hall, sword in hand, strutting about over the inkstands and papers. Others represent Millière at one end of the table and Flourens at the other, gesticulating and making efforts to terrorize the members of the government. When they failed to make an impression, others, who imagined that they might be more successful, took their places, and so the hours of the night were spent making speeches until all were exhausted.

Flourens at first attempted to reason with the members of the government as to the propriety and importance of adding to their number a few men of courage and resolution, as he expressed it. To this M. Favre replied, but the confusion and noise was so great that only a few could hear what was said, and it became apparent to himself and his colleagues that any attempt to conciliate the insurgents would be fruitless. Flourens, retaining his position, then changed his tone, and in response to frequent interruptions by the crowd, declared that the Government of the 4th of September no longer existed, and that it was necessary to appoint a committee of Public Safety until elections were held: first, an election of municipal officers and then a provisional government. But there were many dissenting voices, some calling for a commission, others for a dictature. Flourens, however, insisted upon the nomination of a committee, and the following appeared to have the consent of the larger number of voices: Dorian, Flourens, Felix Pyat, Mottu, Avrial, Ranvier, Millière, Blanqui, Delescluze, Louis Blanc, Raspail, Rochefort, Victor Hugo and Ledru-Rollin. These were afterwards announced, according to the statement of Flourens, in two crowded rooms and at the top of the great stairway. He ordered the committee to convene at once in an adjoining room and to proceed with business.

It was now half-past five o'clock and Flourens, in response to a call for light, ordered the chandeliers to be lit, and, at the same time, two hundred of his *Tirailleurs* to come to his assistance. He could not rely upon those who were under the command of other chiefs of battalions.

At this time there seem to have been present Generals Trochu, Le Flô and Tamisier, with a few other loyal officers of lower rank, besides Jules Favre, Jules Ferry, Eugène Pelletan, Garnier-Pagès, Emanuel Arago, Ernest Picard, Magnin and Jules Simon. Dorian was in the City Hall, but at this time seemed to be in sympathy with the mayors. He favored, as it appears, a consolidation of the municipal with the provisional government. Rochefort was also in the Hall, but he seems to have taken no part on either side.

The insurgent leaders present were Flourens, Millière Ranvier, Tibaldi, Avrial, Mottu, Felix Pyat, Morice Jolly, Delescluze, Vermorel and others of less notoriety.

The *Tirailleurs* promptly responded to the orders of their chief and soon found their way into his presence. There was great confusion and noise as they pressed into the corridors, and the members of the government, newspaper reporters and others who crowded in were fearful that a crisis had come. It was plain, however, that the leaders had no concerted plan, that there was considerable difference of opinion among them and that they were generally opposed to violence. Some of them had but little confidence in Flourens, some hated Jolly, others Rochefort and others Felix Pyat. The members of the government understood all this and they therefore took courage and remained firm.

As the *Tirailleurs* pressed into the hall others were necessarily forced out, and M. Picard, taking advantage of this, entered the counter-current and escaped, and to him more than to any other the members of the government owe their deliverance. He went immediately to the head-

quarters of the Governor and found that no one had yet given orders. The subordinates feared to take the responsibility. Assuming the right to command he at once signed orders to beat the *rappel* to rally the loyal battalions and to place them upon the quays, in the neighboring streets, and around the Hôtel de Ville. For his prompt and patriotic efforts to save the government and Paris from an insurrection the Minister of Finance has received the thanks of all good citizens. His orders were cheerfully obeyed.

Before the lighting of the chandeliers General Trochu quietly removed his epaulets and passed them into the hands of two of his subordinates, Commandant Bibesco and Captain Brunet, who stood by him as a body guard. It was difficult for a man of such marked physiognomy to conceal himself, but he stated afterwards to his friends that he felt more comfortable without them.

Flourens, now surrounded by his *Tirailleurs*, was prepared to advance a step further. He dictated orders to those of the committee who were present, one of which was that 400 copies of a placard should be printed, announcing the fall of the Government of the Defense and recognizing the committee of Public Safety, 20 for each ward, and that they should be pasted on the walls. He ordered them to be printed at the national printing establishment. He distributed his *Tirailleurs* as he thought best, some at the principal entrances, some in the corridors and others in the room to guard his prisoners. Millière, his associate, ordered his men to occupy a place east of the City Hall, and about midnight he ordered them to fall back upon Château d'Eau.

Flourens in his report says: Except two companies of another battalion which remained with us up to midnight I had at my disposal only 500 brave *Tirailleurs*. It was with these brave young men that I held the Hôtel de Ville until 4 o'clock in the morning.

Other battalions, devoted to the democracy, were really there and remained for several hours, but they were isolated and did not come to take orders for defense. If Millière's battalion and a battalion of Belleville, which came later, had come forward to support my volunteers, our prisoners could not have escaped. I was not able to detach 200 of my men to conduct the ex-government to Mazas. This small number was not sufficient, and with 300 I would not have been able to occupy the Hôtel de Ville. It was best, therefore, all things considered, to keep my prisoners in sight. All at once Commandant Ibos, with his armed men of the 106th battalion, invaded the hall. "These furious church-wardens," says Flourens, "seeing me upon the table, threatened me with death. Their chief, in turn, climbed upon the table, and while he was occupying my attention by gesticulating, General Trochu and Jules Ferry escaped. I jumped down from the table to secure the other prisoners. A collision took place between my volunteers and those of Ibos. The latter were repulsed and the door closed. But Blanqui, who came to join our men, was violently attacked by the church-wardens. Fortunately my *Tirailleurs* saved him."

About this time the 8th company of the 17th battalion, commanded by Captain Levaux, was detailed and authorized to enter the Hôtel de Ville in order to rescue the members of the government. M. Charles Ferry, one of the secretaries of M. Jules Favre and chief in the department of the interior, volunteered to show them the way. With arms unloaded and bayonets in the scabbard they advanced to the main entrance through the crowd. The strong men were placed in front and without giving any sign of their intention they pushed aside the guards and entered the gate, the main corridor and the hall in which the members of the provisional government were held as prisoners. At the top of the main stairway the *Tirailleurs* showed signs of serious opposition, but M. Ferry, being unarmed, addressed them in a manner which seemed to produce a good effect. There was the greatest confusion in the corridors and halls at this time, and some threatened to assassinate the members of the government. The

leaders, however, protested against any act of violence. Even Flourens, bold and reckless as he is, was opposed to the shedding of blood. In the meantime Emanuel Arago and Eugene Pelletan escaped from the hall. Several shots were fired, but it is supposed that they were accidental. The *Tirailleurs* kept the 8th company at a distance.

Blanqui, who is editor of the *Patrie en Danger*, had command of the 169th battalion on the occasion of the demonstration on the 8th of October, but was relieved of it. When the news reached him that he was nominated as a member of the Committee of Public Safety he immediately set out for the City Hall. In a lengthy report which he has made he claims to have been received with acclamations as he passed through the corridors. His jealousy of Flourens and want of agreement with him contributed as much as anything else to the failure of their efforts to overturn the government. If we may believe his statements, he was the busiest man there. He issued numerous orders and signed them himself without consulting the other members of the committee. He was held prisoner, as he says, for half an hour, by the National Guards of the 15th and 17th battalions, and was finally delivered by the *Tirailleurs*. He drew up a declaration and presented it to the committee, which, however, was not adopted. Delescluze also offered a series of propositions which were likewise not agreed to. According to his statements no other members of the committee assisted him during the evening and night except Delescluze, Flourens, Ranvier, Millière and Muttu, and yet they could not agree. Failing in their efforts, they rallied around Dorian, who, it seems, occupied a separate room. They all expressed a desire to make him President, but he protested against this, stating that he had no qualifications for any other position than that of public works. All this appears to have occurred before 9 o'clock.

At this time there were in the City Hall the following representatives of the government: Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Garnier-Pagès and Dorian. The last seems to have been diverting the attention of the insurgents. Generals Le Flô and Tamisier were present. Violent discussions were continued, and Flourens, finding that his prisoners were escaping, placed double guards around them and gave orders to shoot the first man who attempted to escape. The members of the government took seats near a window which looked out upon the quay and the river.

The calls for Dorian were so frequent and earnest that he was obliged to mount upon the table and make a speech:

I am, says he, only a modest workman. I am willing to give myself without reserve to the service of the Republic, but I cannot accept the rôle of a political man. Allow me to continue at my specialty. I am entirely occupied with the armament. I will continue my work. I pray you, as a favor, to avoid all violence. We ought to hold an election and not dishonor the defense of the city by a civil war.

M. Favre says that "the crowd applauded his remarks, so full of modesty and of patriotism." Apparently he acted so as to retain their confidence and at the same time avert an impending disaster. He seems to have thought it his duty in this disgraceful affair to control the insurgents without offending them or losing their confidence. He did not sit with the committee nor sign any of their orders. All who have given an account of this attempt at insurrection speak well of M. Dorian, the friends of the present provisional government as well as its enemies.

When the Committee appointed by Flourens came together they found it very difficult to agree upon anything. Delescluze was the first to offer a series of propositions, but they were not agreed to. Blanqui next claimed the right to say what should be done, but his propositions were still more objectionable. Millière said that they left

a door open for civil war. Blanqui did not use the word Commune but his propositions contained as much communism in them as those of Delescluze. These crazy politicians finally agreed to constitute themselves a provisional government, with Dorian as president, but how to dispose of their prisoners perplexed them more than anything else. They did not dare to assassinate them, and to take them out of the Hôtel de Ville was impossible.

We may now suppose that it was midnight, and that, on account of fatigue, many of the unarmed had retired for rest and sleep. The loyal battalions had thus an opportunity to press in upon the insurgents. The situation was changing every hour and the members of the government were not slow to observe it. On the other hand, the insurgents were becoming aware that their efforts to terrorize their prisoners would fail. Violent as well as persuasive speeches had been made, shots had been fired, either from pistols or from chassépots, Jules Simon had been struck with the butt of a gun, threats had been made to take the prisoners to Mazas and frequent calls were heard to shoot them. Millière volunteered to have an interview with M. Favre. Politely approaching him he said "that it would be a very easy matter to sign an abdication; that the commission did not intend to usurp authority; that an election would be held the next day, and that he would certainly be retained as Minister of Foreign Affairs."

M. Favre replied "I do not wish to have an interview with you. You need not trouble yourself to ask me to do what I have resolved not to do. I am unwilling to enter into an exchange of sentiments, being retained as a hostage against every right and by a crime which has no excuse."

Millière seemed disheartened and immediately mounted upon the table and began to make a speech. He said "there was no need for retaining the prisoners any longer or for requiring them to sign an abdication." But his

remarks were not well received, and the guards crossed their bayonets before the prisoners and showed signs of a determination to hold on to them. Flourens made a similar attempt to give them an opportunity to escape but he was not more successful.

The ingenuity and skill of the insurgents being now nearly exhausted they agreed to send Dorian, who seemed to be their only hope. The Minister of Public Works advanced towards the prisoners, who were indeed his colleagues, but in circumstances unfavorable for a conference, and, taking a chair beside M. Favre, addressed him in his usual polite and confiding manner and asked him to retire to another room where they might have a private interview. But M. Favre said, "You distress me much more than it is possible for you to believe. I beg you to allow me to remain here. I am quite comfortable. I do not wish to converse with any one. In order that my courage may not fail me it is necessary that my resolution remain unshaken. Do not attempt to change my mind."

M. Dorian, expressing his regrets, retired, but sent M. Delescluze, as is reported, to take his place. M. Favre simply turned his back upon this insane politician.

"The person the most grotesque in these lamentable scenes," says M. Favre, "was one named Alix who had enjoyed, twenty-five years ago, a moment of celebrity among these sympathetic creatures. I saw him at that time without speaking to him. He was a young man, blonde, portly and good looking. I scarcely knew him under the guise of an old man, nervous and talkative, who, clothed with the uniform of a National Guard and with an umbrella under his arm, did the police duties around the prisoners. It was amusing to witness his comic gravity, his affectation of importance and the seriousness with which he discharged the duties of an improvised jailer. He indulged in philosophic remarks, which he made with emphasis; he seemed to believe that the next day he would be one of the chiefs of the republic. He protected General Le Flô and General Tamisier, and said, with an air of incomparable dignity, 'No one will obtain from me anything that will compromise my responsibility.'

“At the same time he believed that without exposing himself too much he was warranted in permitting one of his men to bring us something to eat. It was now about midnight and I was dying of hunger. I accepted with thanks a morsel of coarse bread and a piece of horse meat slightly cooked. Then I supported myself against the window frame and slept for a few minutes. The heat, which had become suffocating, awakened me, and I made an effort to open the window to get a little fresh air. At the same moment two shots were fired. I closed the window after seeing the quay crowded with National Guards drawn up in line. My movement seemed to alarm the insurgents. They believed they were going to be attacked and they hastened to prevent it.

“All this was the affair of a few moments and the tumult in the building drowned the noise outside. At the same time M. Simon was insulted and struck by one of the guards. He protested with great energy against such treatment. Happily the wretch, who used his fist, was taken from him and Provost-Marshal Alix exclaimed, in a stridulous voice, ‘Let no one touch that window again ; I forbid it !’

“But in half an hour, about 1 o’clock, a clambering noise reached us. It came, apparently, from the outside. A chill ran through us. Each soldier was at his post and a captain of the Belleville volunteers cried ‘Attention !’ They arranged themselves and adjusted their arms.

“In a few minutes we heard heavy strokes of an axe or the butt end of a gun as it were upon a door beneath our room. The volunteers took aim at us. I thought all was now at an end, but it was only the flash of a moment. It soon occurred to me that our guards were wanting in the courage necessary to execute a crime. The chiefs disagreed among themselves. Some wished to fight, others spoke with vehemence against it. I perceived that they hesitated and that they would not dare to shoot us. Moreover, the noise downstairs seemed to be remote. The arms were replaced, the captain took his seat and we our places in the recess of the window.”

The orders issued by M. Picard after his escape were promptly obeyed. The “rappel” was beaten throughout the city. The loyal battalions responded and they were placed in the streets leading to the Hôtel de Ville and on the quays so that when General Trochu was delivered he had only to complete the details. The General needed no

one to inform him of the real situation of affairs, and on this occasion he exhibited great prudence. He was unwilling to precipitate an attack lest he should bring about the assassination of his colleagues. M. Favre himself hoped that no attempt would be made to deliver them until daylight would come when, the insurgents seeing the hopelessness of their efforts, would be forced to surrender.

The weary hours passed slowly along and it was now about 2 o'clock. The prisoners hoped to be delivered but they could not see how. M. Favre had kept the window open long enough to see the National Guards in ranks along the quay. It was evident too that the insurgents were becoming anxious. They had means of obtaining information that were denied to their prisoners. The latter could not conjecture what was being done outside, nor could the brave Picard and Trochu be sure that their colleagues would not be shot. Unexpectedly an officer exclaimed "We are going to be attacked." Another said, "It is necessary to shoot from the windows. Let the young men of the battalions step forward" said a third, "We will place them on the roof!" The excitement was great and the orders were contradictory. Flourens mounted upon the table and attempted once more to harangue his volunteers. This time he was much more subdued. "Let us not give to the foreigner," said he, "the spectacle of a fratricidal strife. Let us avoid the effusion of blood, but let us stand for our rights!"

Suddenly there was a great commotion and noise. The reverberations through the corridors reached the door of our room. "To arms! To arms!" cried one of the chiefs with a stentorian voice, brandishing his sabre and stepping to the front. The volunteers of Belleville seized their guns and leveled them upon us. It was a grand and solemn moment. I still ask myself what fear of punishment prevented these men, some of whom were intoxicated, from shooting us."

A battalion of mobiles from the department of the Indre, who held the Napoleon barracks, entered an underground passage and made an unexpected appearance in the Hôtel de Ville. The Communists, who were wholly ignorant of this communication between the buildings, were taken by surprise. The barracks stands east of the City Hall, across the street, and of the communication the members of the government were equally ignorant. The brave *Tirailleurs* were panic-stricken at the sight of these armed men so suddenly appearing in their midst. At the same time a signal was given to the National Guards who entered the City Hall with the cry *Vive la République!* The insurgent chiefs, finding themselves outnumbered and unable to escape, proposed to surrender. "A thousand hands," says M. Favre, "pressed our hands and congratulated us. Charles Ferry and M. de Choiseul gave me their arms. We descended in the midst of frantic exclamations, and, though it was 3 o'clock in the morning, we passed before the battalions standing in ranks around the Hôtel de Ville. A handsome and brave young officer offered me the horse on which he rode, which, however, I had the prudence to decline. He was Commandant Franchetti who was killed soon after by a Prussian shell."

Flourens gives a more detailed account of their exit from the Hôtel de Ville. He claims that M. Dorian had made an agreement with them before they surrendered, as to elections and the order of marching; that the insurgents were all to return to their headquarters, bearing their arms. He also states that General Tamisier took the arm of M. Blanqui and led the way through the crowd; that at the top of the stairs the General gave command that the National Guards should resume their places and that he and his *Tirailleurs* returned to Belleville. Thus terminated a most disgraceful attempt at insurrection.

Etienne Arago and General Schmitz have been very much criticised for their conduct on this occasion. The former, who is Mayor of Paris and had charge of the Hôtel de Ville, allowed the insurgents to enter. He also, as it is said, ordered the gates of the city to be closed, to prevent M. Thiers from reaching Versailles. The latter, when asked why the Mayor had ordered the gates to be closed, replied in an ambiguous manner. The gates were not closed and M. Thiers reached Versailles.

The members of the government convened early in the morning, November 1st, and, learning that placards had been posted during the night with the consent of some of the mayors for elections to commence at noon, issued an order fixing the time for the first election on Thursday, the 4th inst. Its sole object was to determine, by Yes or No printed on the tickets, whether the government of National Defense should be continued. It was also announced that on Saturday mayors and adjuncts would be elected. M. Rochefort, who was present, soon after resigned, and the mayors in like manner asked to be dismissed. There was much dissatisfaction expressed during the day, and it was evident that the Communards were making arrangements to renew their efforts at sedition. General Trochu issued an address to the National Guards and General Vinoy an order to the 13th army corps.

On the 2d inst. Gromier, Barberet, Dietsch, Lonquet and Chassin, all chiefs of Battalions, were suspended. Ranvier, Milliére and Flourens held a meeting in a new church in Menilmontant.

On the 3d inst. orders were issued by the government for the arrest and prosecution of the leaders who took part in the attempt at insurrection on the night of the 31st. This action has become a necessity in view of the fact that the same agitators continue to denounce the

Government in their club-rooms in the most shameful manner, charging the members with treason and declaring that it would be a patriotic act to assassinate the Governor.

In the *Patrie en Danger*, edited by Blanqui, his programme is given, a portion of which we translate :

It is necessary that all the churches be closed to the worshipers and used as graineries or club-rooms, or for any other revolutionary purpose.

It is necessary that the ambulances be rid of the priests ; it is necessary to arrest, arm and place them in the front ranks, before patriotic men, in the most perilous positions. We would reserve for them the best work, that they may be martyrs and may go to heaven and obtain their reward. We, who do not believe in them, ask that they may die before us. Let them take the place of the fathers of families. This will be the only time they will be good for anything.

It is necessary to have a commission on barricades ; that each citizen be armed with revolver, poinard and bayonet ; that all Bonapartist agents be arrested ; that the journals, clubs and Commune demand that the provisions be equally distributed ; that the name of every inhabitant of a house be posted on the door, etc., etc.

On the 4th of November the election, which was duly announced, was held in all the wards, as well as in the army outside. At 11 o'clock at night the result was made known by the Mayor of Paris in front of the Hôtel de Ville. In the army 236,623 voted yes and 9,053 voted no. The people voted 321,373 yes and 53,585 no. Total, 557,096 yes and 62,638 no. The endorsement of the Government is thus plainly indicated.

The following proclamation was immediately issued :

CITIZENS : We called upon you for your suffrages. You have responded by an overwhelming majority. You have ordered us to remain at our post of danger where the revolution of the 4th of September placed us. We remain in it, by the power which comes from you, with a sense of the importance which your confidence imposes

upon us. Our first duty is that of the defense. It has been, it will continue to be, the object of our exclusive attention.

We will all be united in the great effort that it requires. With our brave army, with our valiant *garde mobile*, the battalions of our spirited National Guards will be united in a desire for victory.

Let the vote of to-day consecrate our union. Hereafter it is the authority of your vote that we must respect. Giving to the world a new spectacle of a city besieged in which the greatest liberty reigns, we will not allow the minority to control the majority, to defy the laws and to become, by sedition, the ally of Prussia.

The National Guards cannot be so often called away from the ramparts to suppress such criminal movements. We pledge our honor that we will prevent such efforts by a rigid execution of the law.

Inhabitants and defenders of Paris! your fortune is in your hands. Your attitude since the commencement of the siege shows that you value citizens who are worthy of liberty. Go forward with your work. As for ourselves, we ask no other reward than to be first in peril, and, to have merited our maintenance in office by our devotion. *Vive la République! Vive la France!*

(Signed)—General TROCHU, JULES FAVRE, EMANUEL ARAGO, JULES FERRY, GARNIER-PAGES, EUGENE PELLETAN, ERNEST PICARD, JULES SIMON.

November 4th, 1870.

The government issued an order that the election on the 6th be limited to the mayors and that the adjuncts be elected on the 7th.

General Clement Thomas, who commanded the National Guards in 1848, has taken the place of General Tamisier.

The *Gaulois* of the 5th inst. gives an account of an interview which took place the day before at the bridge of Sèvres between two distinguished Frenchmen and two Germans. The clarion sounded on the left bank of the peaceful Seine, which, at this point, is less than a fourth of a mile broad. A little green boat was seen to start with two persons in it, one taking the oars in his hands and the other holding a small white flag and a package of papers. Hostile pickets watched each other on opposite sides of

the river. M. Favre, accompanied by General Ducrot, received the distinguished French ambassador, M. Thiers, who is giving the remainder of life to the new republic. The little boat returned, and in half an hour brought two officers bearing likewise a flag of truce. They were kindly received, and the last words on the subject of an armistice were spoken as they walked to and fro on the right banks of the placid stream. They separated, and M. Favre returned to Paris, crushed in spirit but hopeful for the country he loves so much.

The next day the following statements appeared in the newspapers :

The four great neutral powers, England, Russia, Austria and Italy, have put forward a proposition for an armistice in order that we may elect a National Assembly.

The government for national defense stated its conditions, which were: The revictualing of Paris and a vote for a National Assembly by all French citizens.

Prussia emphatically rejected the revictualing; the other proposition she agrees to with the exception of Alsace and Lorraine.

The government of the national defense has decided with unanimity that the armistice, thus understood, should be rejected.

Five additional balloons have sailed out of Paris since the date of our last chapter, making in all twenty-one.

The *Vauban* sailed from the Orleans railroad station on the 27th ult. It took out three persons, 600 letters, 1,000 pounds of ballast and thirty pigeons. It was driven by an unfavorable wind eastward and landed near Verdun. When it touched the ground two of the passengers jumped out, which lightened the balloon. It immediately rose and carried M. Monceau into the German lines. He landed at Hellemont, on the road leading to Metz, and was made prisoner. It is reported that the country people cut the balloon into four pieces and saved the packages of letters and the pigeons.

On the 29th ult. the *Colonel-Charras* sailed from the Northern railroad station. It took out letters, a single passenger and the aëronaut. It landed near Metz, in the German lines. The aëronaut, after burning the dispatches, escaped to Belgium and afterwards reported at Lille, in France.

On the 2d inst. a very large balloon, the *Fulton*, containing 2,045 cubic meters of gas, sailed from the Orleans railroad station. It took out a large mail-bag, dispatches and ten pigeons.

The *Ferdinand Flocon* sailed on the 4th inst., at 10 o'clock, and in the afternoon at 2 o'clock the *Galilee* likewise sailed from the Orleans railroad station. The latter is said to have taken out two aëronauts, a civil engineer and 900 pounds of letters.

Another balloon, the *Châteaudun*, sailed out of Paris on the 6th inst., at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. It sailed southward and landed in the department of Loiret.

When the weather is clear and the balloons sail in the afternoon the people gaze upon them with astonishment. The *Châteaudun* was greatly admired yesterday. It was a large balloon and was heavily freighted with letters and newspapers. We learn that the Germans look upon these ascensions with equal admiration.



RESULT OF THE ELECTION.



CHAPTER V.

PARIS, NOVEMBER 19TH, 1870.

The Organization of Armies—Commissions Appointed—Proclamations and Letters—The Communists Dissatisfied—MM. About and Dabernat—The Balloons and Carrier-Pigeons—Horse Meat Sold Everywhere—The Dog, the Cat and the Rat in Market—Cheerful News—Other Balloons—Small-Pox in the City.

IN these sketches we have several times referred to the organization of armies in Paris, but we have not been in a position until recently to give the reader a satisfactory account of what has been done in this direction. We have expressed our astonishment at the activity of the people and at their well-nigh superhuman efforts to fortify the city. Inside and outside the walls we have seen battalions, regiments and brigades marching and counter-marching, banners and music at the head of the columns. Every unoccupied space is filled with soldiers undergoing the discipline of arms. The buglers and drummers resort to the banks of the Seine where they are trained and disciplined by their instructors. When the battalion is formed and ready to march the *vivandière* takes her place on the right, with chapeau and white feather, a keg of water, a bottle of wine and a silver cup. A revolver and knife is attached to her belt with which she is allowed to defend herself.

Many of these groups of soldiers are, as yet, very poorly armed and equipped, and they certainly know very little about the discipline which is necessary to face veteran soldiers. Indeed, there are frequent indications of insub-

ordination in the ranks, and of the necessity of military courts and punishment. How could it be otherwise? The people, at the first impulse, hastened to enroll themselves, irrespective of age, physical conditions and social inequalities, and they now find that they have entered upon a life of great sacrifices and self-denial, a mode of living altogether different from that to which they have been accustomed. Old men of seventy and boys of sixteen march side by side in the ranks.

Another fact may be mentioned which has given rise to a considerable degree of dissatisfaction. In the hurry of organization, and as an encouragement to the ambitious, each battalion was allowed to elect its own officers, its chief of battalion, its captains, lieutenants and corporals. This was possibly a mistake, but it has given free scope to the ambition of all who are capable of making friends, and has brought into the ranks a much larger number than could have been otherwise induced to enter.

The material for Three Armies has now been collected, and their organization has made considerable progress. The First is apparently intended to keep order in the city and to defend the walls if an attack should be made; the Second, to fight the enemy, and the Third to defend the government. General Trochu and his staff have, of course, supreme command.

The First army consists of National Guards, corresponding to what are known in the United States as militia. They are organized into an indefinite number of battalions, each containing 800 men, but very often 1,000. The maximum number is 1,200. There are now reported 266 organized battalions undergoing discipline, which would make, in round numbers, about 250,000 men.

These battalions are distributed among nine superior officers, generals and admirals, who have command of as many sections of the walls. Each section includes a stretch

of two or three miles, six or seven gateways and from nine to twelve bastions. Six of these sections are on the north side of the river and the remaining three are on the south. General Thomas has command of the National Guards.

The Second army, under the command of General Ducrot and his staff, has thus far been doing most of the fighting. It consists of three corps, two of which were the 13th and 14th, organized under the Empire. The 1st is commanded by General Vinoy. It consists of three divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Malroy, Maudhuy and Blanchard, making six brigades. The 2d corps is commanded by General Renault. It likewise consists of three divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Susbeille, Berthaut and Maussion, making six brigades. The 3d corps is commanded by General Exea. It consists of two divisions of infantry, commanded respectively by Generals Bellemare and Mattat, making four brigades. A division of cavalry, consisting of two brigades, is commanded by General Champeron, thus making in all eighteen brigades, but some of them are not yet completed. Adding the artillery to these, General Ducrot has, at present, about 100,000 men, but most of them have very little experience in the camp and in the field.

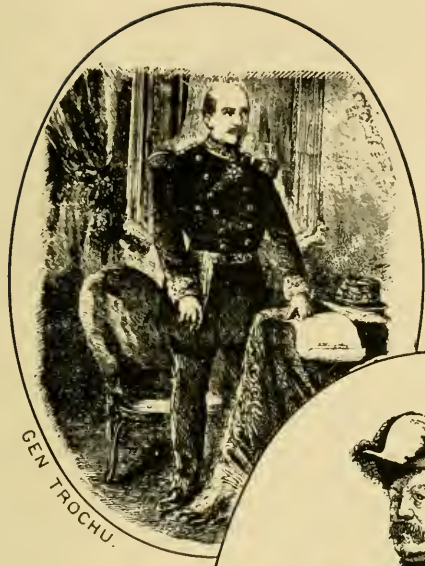
The Third army, which is called, by way of distinction, the Army of Paris, is under the special command of General Trochu. It is yet in a formative stage. Some of its division commanders are Generals Loumain, Laniers, Beaufort and d'Hugues, and Admirals Roncière and Pothuau. This army at present consists of about 50,000 men, many of whom are as yet imperfectly armed, equipped and drilled.

Besides these there have been organized forty volunteer associations which contain, in all, about 25,000 men. They consist for the most part of companies in charge of mitrailleuses or battalions of scouts or sharpshooters, such as

Volontaires de la Seine, Cavaliers de la République, Tirailleurs Perisiens and Canonniers Auxiliaires. They are generally made up of the wealthier classes of citizens who are willing to furnish their own horses, arms and accouterments, chivalrous young men who are fond of adventure and personal conflict. They have already done good service, especially as cavalry scouts, but the government recently issued an order that no other associations of the kind would be recognized, the tendency being to diminish the strength and usefulness of the service.

It is also reported, on good authority, that there are now over 4,000 pieces of cannon in place, on the walls, in the forts and redoubts, and that 15,000 artillerymen are at their posts. Of these one-half are said to be gunners of the navy who hastened to Paris at the call of the Governor. These occupy six of the most important forts, as they are regarded the best artillerists. Others also responded to the call, old men of the departments who have had experience in forts and in the navy.

In the engineers' department of the service an immense amount of work has been done. About 80,000 men have been constantly employed on the roads leading to the city, around the forts and redoubts and around the walls. At the numerous bastions magazines have been made for the safe keeping of the ammunition, and what are called *ponts-levis* have been constructed by which the gates may be closed in an instant, no matter what kind of a crowd, armed or unarmed, may be attempting to pass into or out of the city. In like manner, at the entrances and exits of the canals, river and railroads, defenses have been constructed. Millions of palisades, sacks of sand and gabions or bundles of sticks give to the walls, the bastions, the gateways and the country around a truly warlike appearance. Railroads have also been constructed between the forts for the purposes of rapid transportation, though it is difficult to



GEN. TROCHU.



GEN. DUCROT.



GEN. VINOY.



GEN. REAULT.



GEN. CHARRIERE.

see what great advantage they can be in case of an assault. Thirty-five miles of this extemporized railroad are reported to be in running order.

Under the direction of the Minister of War and the Minister of Public Works, the engineers of the army, as well as civil engineers, including those of roads, bridges, mines and architecture, have been frequently called together in conference. Commissions have been appointed to receive and study the numerous projects and means proposed for the defense of the city. Prof. Raynaud has been made president of the commission on the use of electricity as a means for illuminating the ground upon which the Germans are planting their siege guns, as well as for the employment of gun-cotton, torpedoes and other explosives. More than one hundred propositions have already been considered relative to the use of these products of art. Recently electric lights have been thrown from the top of the Triumphal Arch of St. Denis, which gave us all an opportunity of witnessing what can be done within a radius of two or three miles. The experiments thus far scarcely warrant any further expenditure of money. Whilst the light may be clearly seen by the Germans, the field in the distance cannot be sufficiently illuminated to be seen by the French.

The commission upon the armament of France has been divided into two sections, one in Paris and the other at Tours. The former has been occupied chiefly in the manufacture of cannon and in the alteration and repair of muskets. As many as fifteen repair shops have been opened in different parts of the city. The central one is in the Louvre, where, it is said, 50,000 muskets have already been repaired. The conversion of the old muskets into breech-loading snuff-box guns have given employment to all the gunsmiths in the city. Two shops are now turning out 800 a day. But the most difficult part of the

work of this commission appears to be that of manufacturing chassepots. The special machinery and the special workmen are not in the city. The problem is not yet fully solved. The National Guards must use the old muskets until they are converted into breech-loading snuff-box guns.

A commission of civil engineers has charge of the manufacture of mitrailleuses, cannon of long range, mortars, cartridges and shells, as well as field pieces, but of these only a small number have been delivered. One hundred and fifteen mitrailleuses, of the Gatling and Cristopher patterns, were to have been delivered several weeks ago, with 300,000 cartridges suited to them. Also, 50 mortars and their carriages; 300 siege guns and field pieces with 500,000 shells and cartridges suited to them. But it may be several weeks yet before they are ready for delivery.

Another commission is that on barricades, the president of which was Henri Rochefort, who has recently resigned. The chief work of this commission has been to construct a third line of defenses inside the walls, the forts outside being the first line. This, of course, is based on the supposition, which was very generally accepted by the French, that their enemies would immediately make an effort to take the city by storm. I have not believed that a movement of this kind would be made, and it is becoming less probable every day. After the failure of the communists to overthrow the government and the failure of M. Thiers and Count Bismarck to agree upon an armistice, we naturally look for proclamations, criticisms and comments. Accordingly, we have a lengthy proclamation from the Governor of Paris in which he recognizes the Republic more distinctly than on any former occasion and at the same time urges upon all citizens and soldiers the importance of union. The address of General Thomas to the National Guards is also full of patriotism and wholesome advice.

M. Thiers, after his report to the deputation at Tours, addressed a circular letter to the French ambassadors at the courts of the four neutral powers. He believed it to be a duty which he owed to the latter for their courtesy and assistance. Count Bismarck also addressed a letter to the ambassadors of the North German Confederation, giving his version of the several interviews he had with M. Thiers. And finally we have the letter of M. Jules Favre, addressed to the diplomatic agents of France in foreign countries, announcing the interruption of negotiations between the two belligerents. In this paper, as in the report of his own interviews with Count Bismarck, at Ferrières, he has shown, in no less degree, his ability and patriotism.

In the meantime the elections, which had been ordered, took place in a peaceful and orderly manner. In the first, which is known as a *plébiscite*, the government was triumphant. In the latter the results were not so favorable. Many of the better classes of citizens abstained from voting. None of the Imperialist and Royalist candidates received a plurality vote. The twenty wards elected Republican and Communistic mayors. Three of the wards, the 11th, the 19th and the 20th, elected Mottu, Delescluze and Ranvier. Flourens, Milliére and Le Français were elected adjuncts. All these were leaders in the attempt at revolution on the night of the 31st ult. The Communists have thus gained political recognition, a much more important matter in their estimation than the leadership of battalions.

We have said that the Mayor of Paris tendered his resignation, to take effect as soon as a succèssor could be found. The government has thought best to appoint one of its own number, and, consequently, Jules Ferry has taken the place of Etienne Arago. The latter is a true and honest republican, but without the firmness that is necessary in great emergencies. He had suggested to the

government that the functions of a central mayor are not compatible with the new situation, and he has accepted a position as director of the mint. Edmond Adam, Prefect of Police, has resigned. M. Cresson has taken his place. Dorian remains Minister of Public Works. The laboring classes in Paris have unbounded confidence in his ability and honesty, and hence he is retained in office. The resignation of Rochefort has been accepted without regrets.

Provisional mayors had been appointed for the several wards soon after the 4th of September, with their assistants or adjuncts, and it was not supposed that there would be a necessity for municipal elections. Some of these were Imperialists and Royalists, and as the Communists could see nothing good in these men, they were determined to hold elections and to oust them from office as soon as possible. It is to be hoped that these malcontents will now cease their agitation and act in harmony with the provisional government.

But the failure of the government to secure an armistice, through the agency of M. Thiers, has given rise to much more than comments, criticisms and proclamations. It has united the people in a way that nothing else could have done. Imperialists and Royalists associate with Republicans, as they never did before. They are even willing to act with the Communists in a supreme effort to repel the invasion. Besides this the feeling of hostility towards the Germans has become universal and bitter. I will not say that it is unrelenting and eternal, like that of the Romans and Carthaginians. This would be a very unfortunate result for both nations and for mankind. May we not hope that great good may result, not only to France, but to Germany. The greatest national disasters sometimes precede the greatest political reforms. In the darkness which is coming down upon beautiful Paris what can the people do but calmly submit? In the last

few days they exhibit a degree of solemnity very unusual.

Since the attempt at revolution on the 31st ult., Mr. Washburne has been very busy making arrangements for the departure of other groups of foreigners who are now unwilling to take the risks of a protracted siege. They are conducted out under a flag of truce, by the way of Fort Charenton and Creteil, between the Seine and the Marne.

The second effort on the part of the government to bring about a cessation of hostilities, and failure, has given to the siege a much more serious turn than had been anticipated. The frequently advertised intervention of the leading powers of Europe encouraged foreigners and many French people to hope for an armistice, but this hope has now well-nigh disappeared, though M. Thiers is continued minister plenipotentiary. The Germans have all along counted upon an insurrection in Paris to help them to terminate the war, but in this they may be disappointed. Cold weather and starvation may be much more effective for this purpose. On the 11th inst. we had our first snow, a rather unusual occurrence in Paris at this early date. Although it remained but a few hours, it staid long enough to convince us that without fire in the houses there may be great suffering and loss of life.

We have now had an experience of two months in the siege. Thus far it has been varied and interesting, but not free from occasional forebodings of evil. My friend, Dr. S., and I, have had frequent interviews with each other, meeting by agreement at one or other of the large hospitals, at church on Sunday, at the restaurants and at our respective places of lodging. We have continued to discuss the possibilities and probabilities of the situation, and have again concluded to remain in the city. It is reported that there will be no further arrangements made for the departure of foreigners as it interferes with the military operations of the Germans. But we are becoming recon-

ciled to the customs of the French people, and have resolved to live, as they generally live, in an economical way, and to deny ourselves all kinds of luxuries which can be obtained only at extravagant prices. We have thus far found plenty of excellent bread, roasted horse meat, soups, vegetables, chocolate, coffee and wine in good restaurants and at moderate prices. My friend, who is much more inclined to advocate the German side of all questions pertaining to the siege than I am, has maintained that there will be a capitulation before the holidays; this consideration and the fact that he prefers to remain in the city have also induced me to remain. The government, however, may consider it a patriotic duty to continue the siege until the people can endure it no longer. In this case an opportunity will have been given to the departments to repel the invasion, the people will have made great sacrifices, and they will be more likely to unite under some liberal form of government. At present there can be no doubt that the Government is actuated by the purest patriotism.

In these sketches we cannot undertake to give an extended account of the criticisms of the Paris press upon the present situation of affairs, which are sometimes bitter, unreasonable and childish, but there has recently appeared in the *Soir* an article which has been copied by many journals, a portion of which we may introduce. It is the product of a distinguished French writer, Edmond About, and on this account has many readers. We translate the following :

Yesterday morning all Paris waited with anxiety for the details on the refusal of an armistice, on the pretensions of Prussia, on the rupture or result of the negotiations. The *Journal Officiel* remained mute. To-day it is quite otherwise. The *Officiel* speaks much, it speaks well, it speaks eloquently, not to say anything. After having read and re-read the circular letter by M. Jules Favre I can only draw from it one conclusion : it is this, that M. Jules Favre is the only

man who is not able to serve us usefully in these sad circumstances—the only one who is not able, in any case, to sign a peace.

France wishes peace, Prussia wishes peace, all nations desire it, for peace is the normal condition of human society; war is never made but to terminate in peace.

In all countries, in all times, nations have gone to war, that is, have made enormous sacrifices of blood and money with the hope of conquering, of assuring by treaty, the fruit of victory and of enjoying peacefully the glory and profit remaining to the conqueror for a certain number of years.

The French have always been skilful players in this game, only they voluntarily deceive themselves; they exaggerate their advantages; they will scarcely acknowledge themselves beaten, and when they have lost they do not like to pay. There is no help for it, we are so constituted, and, as we are not a young nation, it is too late to remake ourselves.

M. Jules Favre is French—very French. In a day of patriotic emotions he published a phrase eminently French and it touched the hearts of all. We were already very sick; we had sustained terrible defeats and lost whole armies. M. Jules Favre, who desired peace and who had gone to the headquarters of the enemy in search of it, rebounded proudly at the affront of M. de Bismarck. He declared, in the face of Europe that, conquerors or conquered, we will not give up a foot of our land or a stone of our forts.

Nothing is more beautiful, nothing is more noble, and nothing is so illogical. To speak as he has done is to deny the rule of the game. To the conqueror belongs a lucrative and glorious peace; to the conquered belongs a painful peace.

Among the numerous rejoinders to this lucid statement we take the following from the *Moniteur* :

Intelligent, educated and ingenious man, this Monsieur About! How skilfully he places before us our situation and all the unhappy consequences of it! And it is necessary for us to know that the latter are so great and numerous that our chances for escape have nearly all disappeared.

And what is most alarming is this, that you cannot reply to a man who possesses such clearness of intellect. His argument crushes you. You say yourself he is right. Oh, no! he is not right! he is a hundred times wrong, this superior man! Because, with the light he possesses he ought to show us the road at the side of the abyss;

because, as a citizen, he has failed to warn the people who have done nothing to save their honor ; because, if he is one of the fortunate people of this world who always find abroad the reception due to extraordinary talents; he ought to remember that the enemy will make life unendurable to those who remain at home, and, finally, though endowed with rare faculties, he has declined for so long a time to raise the cry of alarm and to show us our peril. To-day, at the last moment, he ought to see that his reasoning is a stimulus to suicide, and that it is as impious for a nation as for a man to wait for death when an effort of the heart affords him a chance for his life. But courage is not purchased in colleges, and I believe (may God pardon me) that a brilliant intellect often controls the heart.

If it is well to exercise our reason, it is also well to listen to that instinct which God (or whatever else may please M. About) has given us, and which is included in these words: Do your duty. And this duty is nothing vague ; it is not relative ; it is well defined ; it is perhaps the only thing in this world that is absolute.

Scientific people tell you, a besieged city being given and certain means of attack and defense, you cannot save yourself by virtue of a principle which says, no besieged city, in any epoch, has been able to deliver itself unassisted.

As for myself, I will say that Paris has nothing in common with other cities, and there is a peradventure in our case. Moreover, we have not done our duty, which is to attack the Prussians immediately, with all the resolution which the horrors of the future can inspire in the French. I really fear that the government agrees with M. About, but it acts wisely in not saying so.

Regretting that I have not the honor of an acquaintance with M. About, to whom I address the present, I beg you, Mr. Editor, to accept the expression of my highest consideration. A constant reader,

DABERNAT.

Rue de Sèvres, 98.

The editor adds the following: " We ought, in truth, to say, that this letter of M. Dabernat reflects very faithfully and very eloquently the opinion of the majority."

Within the last few weeks a new art—*telegraphic photography*—has been brought to perfection. It is reported that up to this date 900 private dispatches have been received in Paris from the outside world, besides a large

number of official dispatches. Those who wish to communicate with their friends outside the German armies may send out letters by balloon and may receive answers in a few days by the faithful carrier-pigeons. Orders have been issued to send all dispatches to Tours, where they are arranged in columns and photographed. On the 14th inst. 116 were brought into Paris by one pigeon, and in four hours afterwards they were all delivered. In like manner, on the 17th inst., 226 were received, and in a few hours were distributed. The piece of delicate paper on which the 226 were photographed was an inch and a half long by an inch broad. It was sealed up carefully in the barrel of a small quill which was fastened to the large feathers of the tail of the bird. When placed in a magnifying instrument and a strong light applied the dispatches were seen in large letters on the screen. In this respect at least the siege has opened up a new field for the inventive talent of the French, as there is also involved in it the art of *microscopic photography*.

The regular daily distribution of provisions of every kind, meat, flour, bread, vegetables, etc., among the people and in the army, continues to be a most important work of the municipal government. The horned cattle, sheep and hogs disappeared very rapidly. A few thousand fat cattle and milk cows are reserved for the benefit of the sick, the aged and the thousands of children, the dear ones who will not remember what trials their parents and themselves are passing through. There were, as is reported, about 100,000 horses, mules and asses inside the French lines when the siege began, but these are diminishing very rapidly. For the manufacture of flour in sufficient quantities the railroad locomotives are used, several of them being joined together in order to gain the power necessary to turn the mills.

A member of the committee on public health makes the following statement in the *Moniteur* :

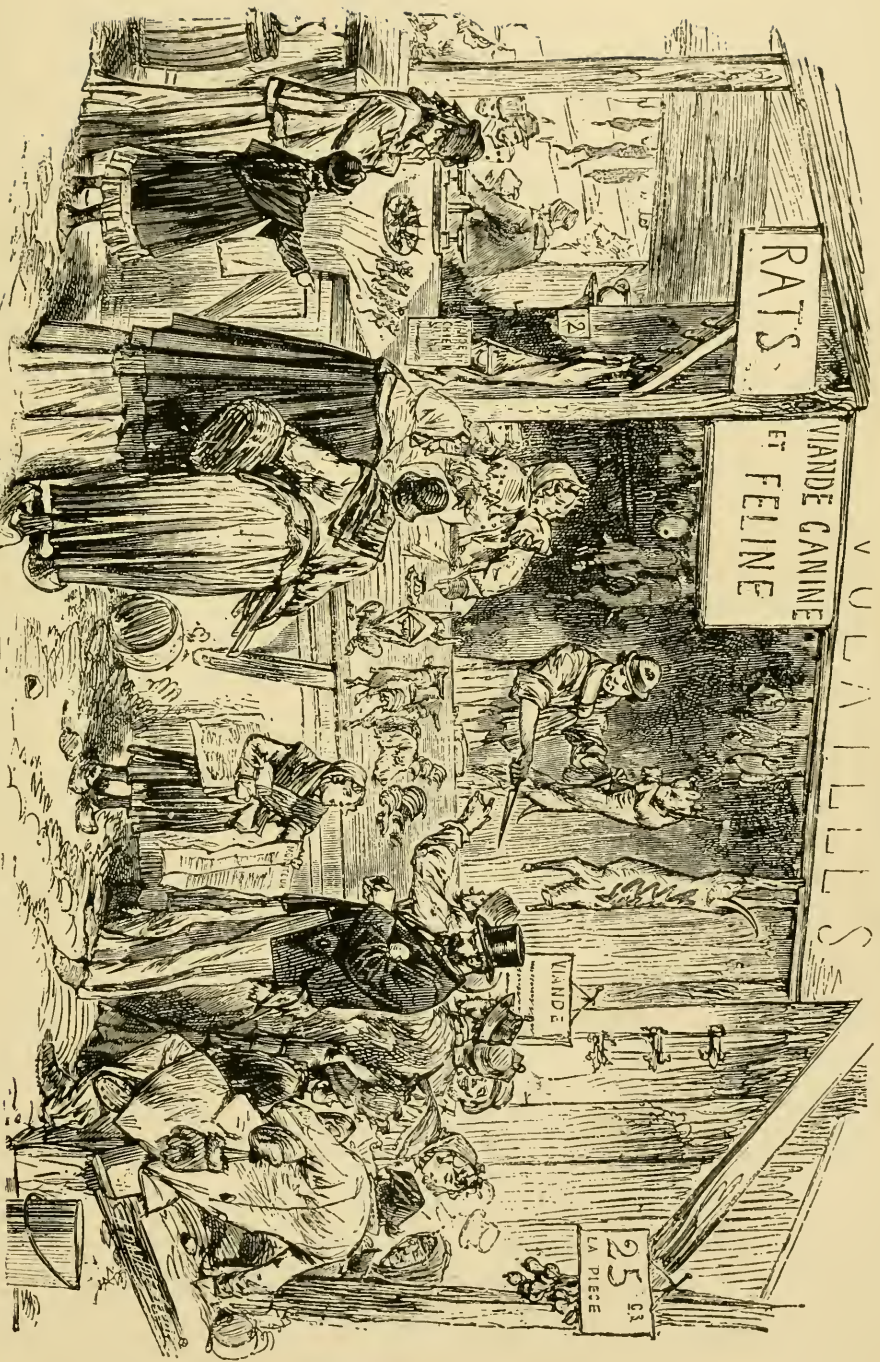
Beginning with the 15th of November and allowing 100 grams of fresh meat daily to each inhabitant, or the equivalent in salt meats or salt fish, there will be fresh beef or veal for 28 days ; horse meat for 45 days ; salt meats for 20 days ; salt fish for 12 days, making in all 105 days.

There will be sufficient flour for six months ; of rice, salt, oils of different kinds, coffee, tea, chocolate, etc., for five months ; of wine and spirituous liquors for ten months.

The Hippophagic Committee reports that there are yet inside the French lines about 70,000 horses, of which 40,000 may be slaughtered, and, reducing the allowance per diem for each inhabitant to fifty grams, the siege may be continued one hundred days from the 15th inst.

A few days ago (November 12th) a provision and feed store, at the top of Rue Rochecouart, presented an unusual appearance. The building itself is more like a temporary shed than anything else. All day long a promiscuous group of spectators stand before it, old men and women, boys and girls, wishing to see what is for sale and who are the purchasers. On the right of the stall are several large dogs neatly dressed, one hanging by the neck, others by the heels. An old man, too far advanced in years to carry a musket, has just purchased a small piece of one and is about to leave. Next to these are several large cats, also very neatly dressed, and the butcher's wife is making an effort to sell a pound or two of the meat to an aged woman who has ventured near enough to inquire the price. On the left of the stall there is a dozen or more of rats stretched upon a tray and a young woman, half veiled, is timidly approaching them with a little girl at her side. She wishes to inquire the price of the rats, and, if she has money enough, to purchase one. She is thinking more of the child than of herself, and perhaps of the little one left at home in the care of an older sister or brother while the father is on the ramparts or on the picket lines. Looking at these several kinds of meat one

RAT, CAT AND DOG MEAT MARKET.



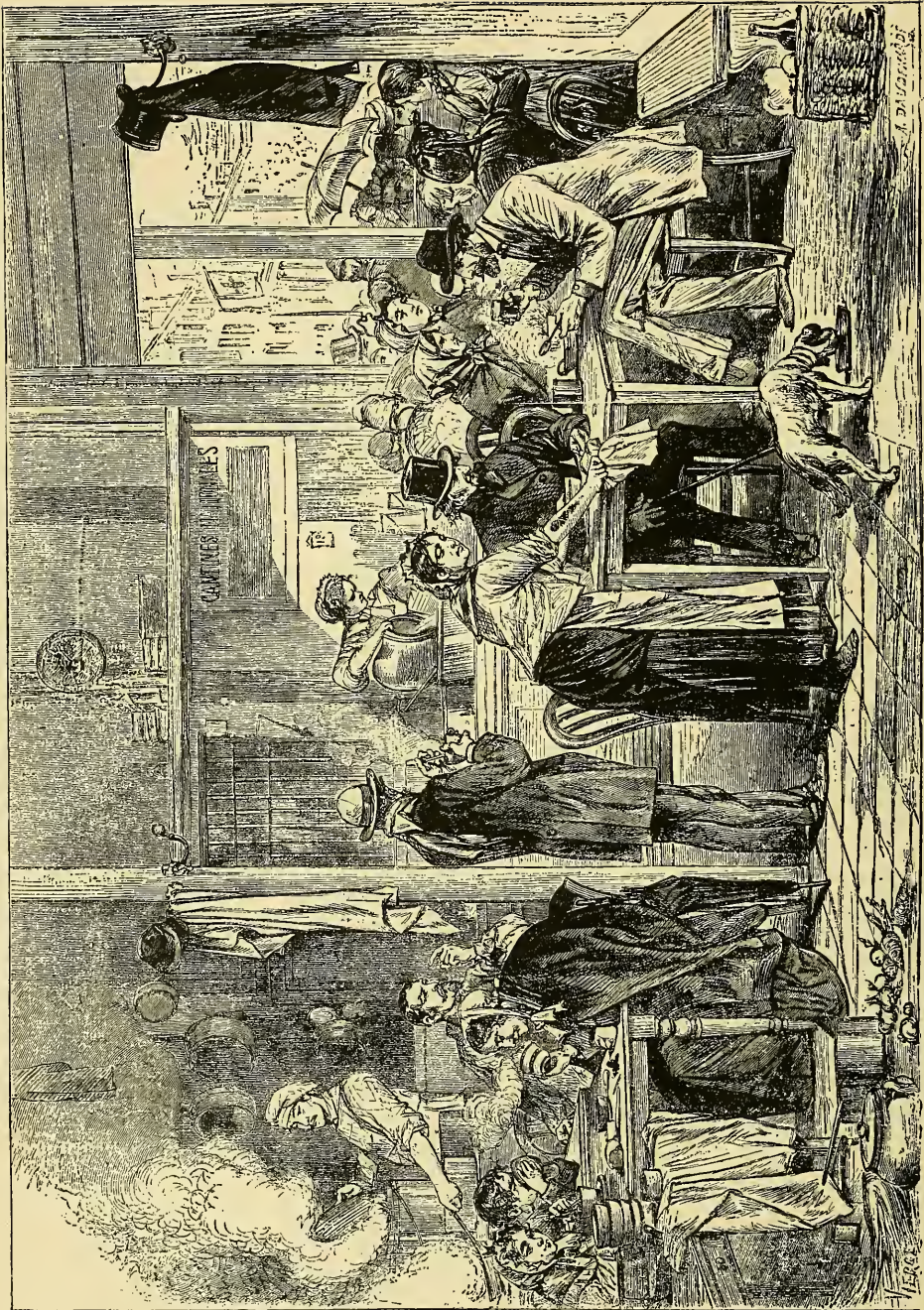
RATS

VIANDE CANINE
ET FELINE

VIANDE

25
LA PIECE

V U C A I L L E S



FIVE-CENT DINNERS.

A. D. ...

VERGÉ

can scarcely tell that they are not lamb, kid, rabbit or squirrel, but turning to the large cards on the front of the stall we see, in capitals, *Viande Canine et Féline*, and our word *Rats* printed also in capitals. In the foreground may be seen a little girl with handsome face, but in wooden shoes, selling the *Moniteur*,

According to the *Electeur Libre* the following are the prices of provisions now offered for sale :

Smoked ham, \$1.50 a pound ; Lyon sausages, \$3.00 a pound ; horse meat, 20 cents a pound ; ass or mule meat, 35 cents a pound ; a goose, \$5.00 ; a chicken, \$3.00 ; a pigeon, \$1.50 ; a turkey, \$11.00 ; a rabbit, \$3.75 ; a gold-fish, \$4.00 ; a dozen of eggs, 90 cents ; a head of cabbage, 30 cents ; a pound of fresh butter, \$9.00 ; a pound of salted butter, \$2.75.

Cantines municipales have been opened recently in all the wards. These are places in which soups may be obtained at very moderate prices, from two to four cents a dish, which answers as a substitute for a *table a'hôte* dinner. In each ward there are from two to eight such shops. They are all under the direction of the mayors, and many respectable but indigent persons now take their dinner in them.

Until recently many poor people have been permitted to go out into the fields and gardens to gather in such vegetables as potatoes, cabbage and radishes which were left in the ground, but so many have lost their lives in these hazardous adventures, going too near to the picket lines, that an order has been issued requiring some of the gates to be closed and the remaining ones to be well guarded. A large proportion of the population of Paris is now feeling the pressure of want.

During the month of October twenty new journals were added to the long list. The names of them are sufficient to indicate the drift of public sentiment : *La Défense*, *Les*

Mesures du Salut Public, La Vérité, L'Impartial, La Populaire, Le Tribun du Peuple, Le Rempart, Le Défense Nationale, La Sentinelle Armée, La Lettre, La Nouvelle République, La Dépêche-Ballon, Le Ballon-Poste.

On the 14th inst. very cheerful news reached Paris. The dispatch said, in brief, that a battle was fought at Coulmières and that the French were victorious; also, that the city of Orleans was retaken. As a result M. Jules Favre issued the following:

MY DEAR FELLOW CITIZENS: It is with unspeakable pleasure that I bring to your knowledge the good news which you read. Thanks to the valor of our soldiers, fortune has turned in our favor. Your courage will decide the case. We are going to shake hands with our brothers of the departments and with them to save our country. *Vive la République! Vive la France!*

The members of the government no longer conceal their republican sentiments. The departments have fully expressed themselves as to the kind of government that shall succeed the Empire. Jules Favre knows how to address the people. He is a natural orator, full of sympathy and patriotism. At the same time he possesses a remarkable degree of courage.

Four more balloons have sailed out of Paris, making in all twenty-five.

On the 8th inst. the *Gironde* rose from the Orleans railroad station, taking out its proprietors, M. Barry and M. Gambès, who are merchants in Bordeaux, but carry with them important messages to the deputation at Tours.

On the 12th inst., at 10 o'clock A. M., two large balloons, the *Niepce* and the *Daguerre*, each containing 2,045 cubic meters of gas, rose from the Orleans railroad station. Photographers went out with them, taking both photographic and microscopic instruments. The *Niepce* made a successful voyage, but the *Daguerre* fell within a few leagues of

Paris and was captured. The latter was too heavily freighted, having on board three men, 600 pounds of letters, besides instruments, pigeons and ballast. It fell not far from Ferrières. It may indeed, have received a ball from a sharpshooter.

On the 18th inst. the *General Uhrich* sailed from the Northern railroad station. It also fell within a few leagues of Paris in the department of the Seine-Inferieure. It is said that the passengers escaped, but this is very doubtful.

A permanent balloon has been installed by M. Nadar, at Point-du-Jour, for the purpose of making military observations in the direction of Versailles.

On the 8th inst. the principal ambulance hospital for wounded soldiers was transferred to the Grand Hôtel. It had occupied the Industrial Palace, on Champs Elysées, which is now used as a storehouse for arms, ammunition and army supplies. The hôtel has been rented for 500 francs a day (\$100.00). The society agrees to pay, in addition, two francs and a half a day for each soldier accommodated with room, bed, boarding, light and heat, and when the number of soldiers, wounded or sick, exceeds 250 the society agrees to pay, for each additional soldier accommodated, four francs and a half a day. The building is large enough to accommodate 1,000 persons. Wounded officers are generally admitted here, and the most distinguished surgeons in the city give their services gratis.

We have intimated that the chief participants in the attempt at revolution on the night of the 31st ult., at the Hôtel de Villa, were arrested and placed in prison. Some of them were released on condition that they would give security to appear at court. But the government appointed a commission to take charge of the 20th ward until Ranvier, who was elected mayor, and Flourens, Millière and Le Français, who were elected adjuncts, have had a hearing before the proper tribunals. The govern-

ment has moved timidly on this line, but it is necessary to hold this turbulent and dangerous element in check, especially in the northeast part of the city.

In these extraordinary and almost hopeless circumstances not only do property owners and rich people make great sacrifices, but the middle classes are willing to assist in every possible manner. To accomplish the objects within their reach—both patriotic and benevolent—they hold what are called *réunions*. These take place in the theatres, circus buildings, lyceums and school houses which can be obtained free of rent. As instances of this kind, a *réunion* was held on the 13th inst., Sunday afternoon, in the National Circus, the object of which was to pay for a cannon, to be called the *Beethoven*. At the same time a *réunion* took place in a municipal school building, to which were specially invited all the former residents of the department of Jura. And in the theatre of Port-Saint-Martin a grand dramatic soirée was held, the object being to raise money to purchase a cannon for the 24th battalion of the National Guards. And recently at a *réunion* of the members of the church, at Suresnes, a town of 4,000 inhabitants, it was agreed to take down the bell and make a cannon out of it. This town is on the left bank of the Seine, at the foot of Mont Valérien, west of the city.

Evidences accumulate every day that hard times are coming. Many of the restaurants and cafés are closed, and in those which are open in the evening coal oil lamps are used as means of illumination, forbidden in Paris under the Empire. Gas is becoming scarce, and two-thirds of the lamps in the streets are not lighted.

Not only has famine entered the city, but small-pox, that loathsome scourge of mankind. During the last five weeks the mortality by this frightful disease has rapidly risen from 150 to 400 a week, but we cannot dwell upon this subject at present. Free vaccination has been ordered

at the Academy of Medicine, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday of each week. Daily vaccinations have been ordered at all the hospitals, and rooms have been opened for this purpose at the headquarters of the mayors of the several wards. The central commission of public health urges all persons to be re-vaccinated.

The most extravagant sensational rumors continue to circulate in the newspapers. A respectable cattle dealer reports that he escaped from Versailles on the 15th inst. and reached Paris in the evening at 11 o'clock—that he saw the ex-Emperor, Napoleon III., in an open carriage with King William, at Versailles, and that he thought it his duty to risk his life in order to make the fact known to the people. “What will be the news to-morrow?” asks the *Univers*. “Perhaps an act of patriotism by M. Blanqui.”

CHAPTER VI.

PARIS, DECEMBER 6TH, 1870.

Paris in Former Years—The Communists—The Clubs—The First Great Sortie—The Second Army Crossing the Marne—The French Defeated—Important Items—Seven More Balloons—A Frightful Aerial Voyage—The Balloon Lands in Norway.

WILL the readers of these sketches indulge me if I once more ask them to take a bird's-eye view of the city of Paris? At the time of the invasion by the Romans it was limited to the larger of the two islands in the Seine which had been called *Ile aux vaches*—afterwards *Ile de la cité*. The Parisii who occupied the country built walls around the island close to the water's edge and thus made it a place of refuge. From the two gates which opened towards the north and the south two bridges extended to the opposite banks of the river, and at these points forts were erected. Under the government of the Cæsars the town was called Lutitia; but afterwards it took the name of Paris from its original occupants. Protected by a strong government it became a very important business point in the center of Gaul and its growth extended on both sides of the river.

Until Charles V. ascended the throne, in 1316, the fortifications of Paris were very insecure; but during his reign the city was entirely surrounded by new walls. In the course of time these were removed; boulevards took their place; the city was very much enlarged and new walls were erected outside. This was the condition of Paris in 1815, when the allied forces of Europe surrounded the city. Napoleon regretted very much that

there were no forts outside the walls, and therefore made no effort to defend the city.

In the meantime many suburban towns and villages were springing up within two or three miles of the walls. On the west were Auteuil, Passy and Batignolles; on the north were Montmartre, La Chapelle and La Villette; on the east were Belleville, Ménilmontant, Charonne and Bercy; and on the south were Austerlitz, Maison Blanche, Gentilly, Vaugirard and Grenelle. All these are now included in the city. The old walls were taken down, new ones were erected, another circle of boulevards was constructed, and the city once more doubled its area. Fifteen very substantial forts, to which we have referred, were commenced about the same time and have since been completed. It is these forts which keep the Germans at a distance and if others had been erected at still greater distances from the city the siege would not now be so easily maintained.

But it is to these numerous towns and villages that we ask the attention of the reader for a moment. They were called *faubourgs* before they were included in the city limits and this term is still applied to them. They enjoyed a certain amount of independence that they cannot now claim. They exercised the privileges of other towns and villages in the departments. They had their own churches, schools and places of amusement; they managed their municipal affairs to suit themselves. They were not in a position to disturb the peace of the city and hence there was no need for so much vigilance.

Their inhabitants belonged for the most part to the less intelligent classes; they were working people who engaged in the drudgery of the city and in the cultivation of the soil outside. In the course of time small traders, mechanics, artisans and manufacturers of cheap wares settled in these suburbs because they could live in a more eco-

nomical way and still engage in their several occupations or trades. But when these towns and villages were included in the city it was necessary for these restless people to submit to the regulations of a strong municipal government. French people do not cheerfully surrender what they conceive to be their rights; they are born with a love of independence and with a revolutionary element in their nature, and hence these districts of Paris have become the centers of discontent, agitation and strife, and some of them, like little volcanoes, keep the city in a constant state of dread and uncertainty. By order of the Prefect of Police, M de Kératry, their theatres were closed, which was possibly a mistake. Club rooms have taken their place, as the people must have some means of giving vent to their feelings. The most absurd theories of civil government are discussed in their meetings. Under the law of the city they must be regularly organized and their officers are held responsible for the behavior of the orators. The people have just intelligence enough to applaud the speakers when they advocate something that is impracticable or impossible.

At the bottom of their theories of civil government is communism, and upon this subject they cannot all agree. Some of them hold real estate and they are not willing that it should be divided equally among the people. They all claim to be greatly interested in the defense of the city, but not one of their leaders is willing to risk his life on the battle field. The *levée en masse* is one of their military absurdities which they keep constantly before their audiences. They try to make the people believe that 200,000 men, half armed, without organization and without discipline can drive back the Germans and save the city and the country. Another absurd notion which they discuss is that of a Universal republic. What they mean by this certainly no one understands.

For the propagation of these and other theories equally absurd they make use not only of the clubs but of the press. Most of the new journals that have been started are tinctured with communism. Some are bold and defiant, and their editors are apparently ready to publish anything that is sensational, without regard to its moral effect. Their patrons are to be pitied as much as censured. Papacy and politics, that is, the church and State united, the one as obstinate and intolerant as the other, have produced in them a species of insanity. Brought up under influences not found in other cities, it is not strange that they are a discontented, and, in a time like this, a dangerous class of people. The condition of most of them is that of hopeless poverty and ignorance. Their prejudices are also very strong. They have been living too near to royalty and wealth ; the contrast is too great. The magnificence of Paris, however much they may admire it, excites their envy, and the church wedded to a corrupt and faithless government has repelled them. We need not be surprised that many persons are in sympathy with this deluded class of French people. Generous natures cannot withhold their sympathy from the poor, the ignorant and the deluded. Such men as Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Edgar Quinet, Schœlcher and Victor Hugo—all Republicans and proscribed under the Empire—have defended them on many occasions, but they have never endorsed their absurd theories of civil government.

The outer parts of the city in which the Communists reside are now blended together. A stranger could not easily discover the original centers of population, so rapidly has the city grown since 1815. Circular boulevards mark the course of the old walls and separate the newer portions of the city from the older. Of this great belt of towns and villages the people of Belleville, La Villette and Menilmontant are the most excitable and demonstrative. These

districts lie on the northeast, and include the 19th, 20th, and 11th wards.

These deluded people, called by the French themselves Communists, Communalists and Babouists, have been giving the government and the more reliable and well-to-do classes much concern. They seem to have influence and votes enough to elect their municipal officers. In a recent election, in which all had an equal opportunity to vote, they elected their mayors and adjuncts in several wards. The arrest of a few of their leaders during the last month has inspired the people with confidence in the government. Delescluse, Ranvier, Felix Pyat, Tibaldi, Le Français, Blanqui and others who were at the Hôtel de Ville on the night of the 31st of October, were taken to Vincennes. Others were taken to the *Conciergerie*. Flourens is in Mazas, where he is safe enough. M. Cresson, who has taken the place of M. Arago, makes an excellent Prefect of Police.

Meetings of the red clubs (clubs rouges), to which we have already referred, are now held in all the wards of the city. They are unlike the clubs of London, which generally have literary or social objects in view. They seem to be a necessary institution in Paris in revolutionary times. The present clubs have grown out of the *réunions* which were authorized by the law of 1868. In them all sorts of questions could be discussed except political and religious questions. A *commissaire* of police was required to be present and also two secretaries. The Empire and the church could be praised but not criticised. A comparison between the Empire and a republican form of government could not be made to the disadvantage of the former except at the risk of a fine and imprisonment, nor could those appointed to office under the empire be criticised by name. But, when the 4th of September came and the Empire fell, certain features of the laws were disregarded. The people

claimed the right not only to condemn the Empire but to criticise the Republic. The *réunions* were converted into clubs and new ones were organized. Science, politics and religion, as well as the means of offense and defense, are now freely discussed. The provisional government has given entire liberty to the people to express their sentiments on all subjects that concern Paris and France.

Some of these clubs have permanent places of meeting; their halls are elaborately furnished; a better class of speakers is employed and a higher admittance fee is charged. Others have a portable character. They itinerate from one part of the city to another for the purpose, no doubt, of disseminating their views and making converts. An admittance fee of a few *sous*, or cents, is required to defray the expense of the hall. Women and children are equally admitted, and in this way they get their political and religious training, which is of the worst kind. The police are always present to preserve order.

A few evenings ago I was invited by a medical student from Rio Janeiro, South America, to visit with him one of these club-rooms in the Latin quarter, not far from the Sorbonne. I had met him several times in a reading-room which is still open in this neighborhood, where I have occasionally spent an hour or so in the afternoon since winter has set in. The room is large and made quite comfortable by wood fires in open stoves. We pay the moderate sum of two *sous* for each visit and take our chances for the newspapers and books that are there. My recent acquaintance has been pursuing his studies in the university and is well acquainted with the city and its institutions. The weather was cold and the hall was scarcely half-filled and only partially lighted. There were, nevertheless, men, women and children present, and a little barking dog which appeared to be disturbed by the glimmering of the coal oil lamps and the violent gesticulations of the orators.

The speeches were brief, emphatic and solemn, for at no time since the beginning of the siege has there been so much despondency and sorrow in Paris.

Since the investment of the city the booming of cannon has been reminding us of cruel war coming nearer to us every day. Indeed, we can scarcely think of anything else. The cannonading produces a decided effect upon nervous constitutions, and many persons are beginning to suffer from it. Insomnia has already overtaken me, and many others are affected in the same way. The thought of a bombardment or of an assault weighs heavily upon all. There have been intervals of silence for an hour or two, but the explosions of cannon often reach our ears more rapidly than we can count. We go out into the streets to ascertain, if possible, from what direction the sound comes, but we must often wait until the morning or evening journals appear, as the sound comes from all points in the horizon. The cannonading has, at times during the last three weeks, become violent and even alarming. We may say that it has been almost constant since the second failure of the belligerents to agree upon the conditions of peace. The Germans are evidently becoming impatient. Cold weather has set in and they do not carry tents with them as Americans did in the war of the rebellion. They are bringing forward their siege guns and are placing them where they will do the most effective work. They have been shelling the redoubts and some of the forts, and now they propose to bombard the city. They reason, no doubt, in this way, that if the thundering of cannon at a distance does not alarm the people and constrain the government to capitulate, they will try what effect a few shells thrown into the city will have. This is in accordance with the usages of war, and we cannot protest against it, however much we may feel like doing so. The work of bringing forward the long range Krupp guns is done for the

most part at night so that the engineers and workmen may not be disturbed by the French artillery.

On the other hand the French have been doing everything in their power to prevent these approaches to the city. Balloons have been raised during the day and electric lights have been thrown out during the night by the use of concave mirrors. Occasionally we hear the great gun, *Sainte Valérie*, on Fort Valérien, and at longer intervals *Marie Jeanne*, on the top of Montmartre, speaks loud. When these voices are heard all Paris trembles. But the cannonading has been chiefly on the southwest. The Germans have been planting their largest guns on the elevated points around Sèvres, Meudon, Clamart and Châtillon, and the French are shelling these points.

This brings us to notice very briefly the first serious effort made to force back the besieging armies. In military science it is called a *sortie*. The phrase *sortie générale* is used by the French to distinguish it from a reconnoissance in force. On the evening of the 28th ult., three proclamations were placed in the hands of the printers. Up to this date no one except General Trochu knew what was to be done, though it was known that the Second army was moving eastward. In his proclamation the Governor expresses himself as follows :

Citizens of Paris ; Soldiers of the National Guard and of the Army : The invasion intends to complete its work of conquest. It has introduced into Europe the right of force and it hopes to establish it in France. Europe submits to this outrage in silence ; but France wishes to fight and our brothers in the departments call upon us to make a supreme effort." After referring to the great sacrifices that have been made and must still be made, he closes with these words : " Putting our confidence in God let us march to the front for the deliverance of our country."

The Governor of Paris.
GENERAL TROCHU.

General Ducrot commences in the following manner :

Soldiers of the Second Army of Paris : The time has come to break through the circle of iron which has so long held us fast, and threatens to crush us sooner or later. Upon you is devolved the honor of engaging in this noble undertaking ; and that you will show yourselves worthy of it, I am quite sure. There will be difficulties, no doubt, at the beginning ; you will have serious obstacles to surmount, and it will be necessary to face them with calmness and resolution. The truth is this, reaching our advanced posts we will find implacable enemies who have become bold and confident by their many successes. A vigorous effort will then be made ; but it will not be beyond your strength. To prepare for the assault the foresight of him who commands you in chief has provided more than 400 cannon, two-thirds of which are of large calibre. No material object can resist these ; and besides there will be ready, more than 150,000 men, well armed, well equipped and abundantly supplied with ammunition ; and I may hope all animated by an irresistible *elan*. Conquerors in this first period of the fight your success will be assured ; for our enemies have sent to the borders of the Loire the larger part of their best *soldiers* and the heroic and successful efforts of our brothers in arms will retain them there. Courage, therefore, and confidence ! Consider that in this supreme effort we will fight for honor, for liberty and for the deliverance of our dear and unfortunate country." His concluding paragraph is a very remarkable one. "As for myself I am fully resolved, and I take an oath in your presence and before the entire nation that I will return to Paris victorious or dead. You will not see me retreat before the enemy, but you may see me fall. In this case you will not stop but avenge my death. Forward then ! Forward ! and may God protect us ! "

The General-in-Chief of the Second Army of Paris.

A. DUCROT.

The members of the government issued a third proclamation and addressed it to the citizens of Paris.

At eight o'clock in the evening, while the proclamations were in the hands of the printer, a violent cannonading was heard in an unexpected quarter ; at the same time red lights were seen on the top of the Triumphal arch in Champs Elysée which were regarded as a signal for an ad-

vance movement. The French batteries in the peninsula of Gennevilliers on the northwest opened fire upon the Germans. The cannonading was continued during the night and in the morning demonstrations of infantry were made at the bridges of Argenteuil and Bezons. In the meantime other demonstrations were made on the west. Artillery and infantry posted themselves on the heights of Boispréau, Buzanval and Malmaison. In like manner a movement was made in the direction of Bourget, on the northeast, all of which were afterwards ascertained to be only feints.

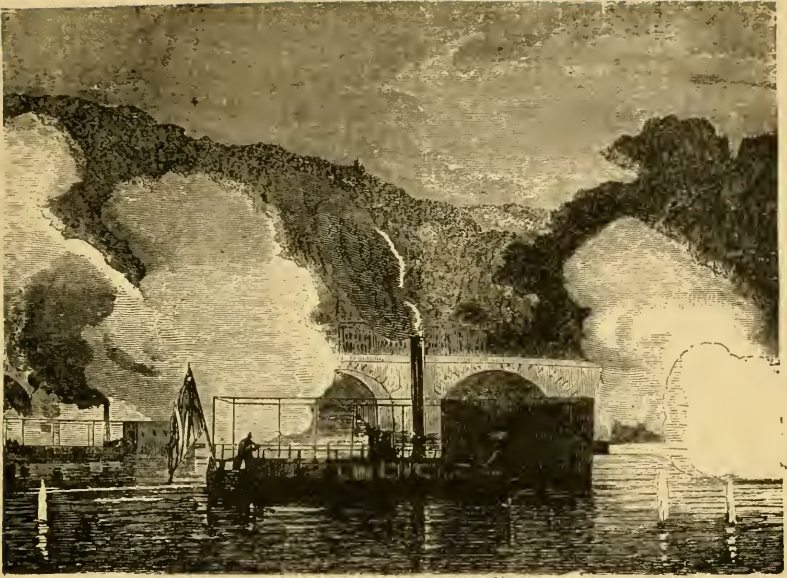
But the most important demonstrations were made on the opposite side of the city. Admiral Saisset, with a body of marines, advanced upon the east and took possession of the plateau of Avron. He was assisted by a detachment of mobilized guards. This was a bold movement which the Germans did not expect and it was successfully carried out. The marines and guards dragged their cannon to the top of the plateau during the night and in the morning swept the valley of the Marne for several miles. Avron is an elevated point of land on the right bank of the Marne. Under the protection of this fire, and that of forts Rosny and Nogent, the remainder of the 3d corps advanced and at ten o'clock was ready to cross the river on pontoon bridges. General Exea has command of this corps.

At the same time General Vinoy who has command of the Third army, with his headquarters at Villejuif, advanced a part of his forces on the left bank of the Seine. Admiral Pothuau, with a body of marines, supported by the 106th and the 116th battalions of mobilized guards, moved upon Choisy-le-Roi and Colonel Valentin, commanding a brigade of Maudhuy's division, moved upon the village of Hay. Heavy pieces of artillery, placed upon iron-clad railroad cars, were run out upon the Orleans road and an iron-clad gunboat, the Thomasset, moved up the Seine.

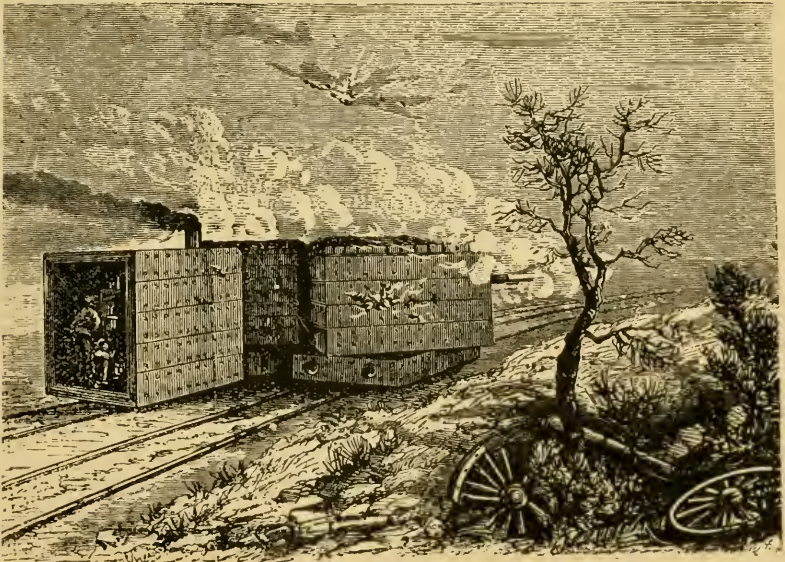
These unexpected advances on the part of the French surprised the Germans and they abandoned their first line of defenses. On the second line there was heavy fighting, but the Germans were soon reinforced and the French were obliged to retire. Several hundred were killed and wounded on each side.

While these demonstrations were being made on the right Generals Blanchard and Renault were to have crossed the Marne, at Joinville, on pontoon bridges and to have forced the Germans back between the rivers. General Exea was to have crossed at Brie-sur-Marne. A portion of one corps, already between the Seine and the Marne, was to have moved upon Montmesly and the remaining forces upon Champigny. Never were there so many incentives to a noble effort on the part of the French. Never was there so favorable an opportunity given to a military leader to exhibit his talent and heroism. We can imagine what the great Napoleon would have done in these circumstances with a large army ready to use the bayonet. He would have sacrificed 50,000 men if it had been needful for success. He would have defeated and forced back the enemy or perished in the attempt. At 8 o'clock, while the left and right were advancing upon the Germans, it was announced that the pontoon bridges were not in readiness at Joinville. A council was held and a proposition was made to change the plan of the sortie, but this was overruled by General Trochu. Orders were issued that Generals Exea and Vinoy should hold their positions, that the delay would only be a few hours, which, however, meant twenty-four. This gave the Germans an opportunity to study the plans of the French and to prepare for an attack the next day.

In the afternoon it became known in Paris that the Second army had not yet crossed the Marne, and in the evening there was considerable excitement on the boule-



GUN-BOATS



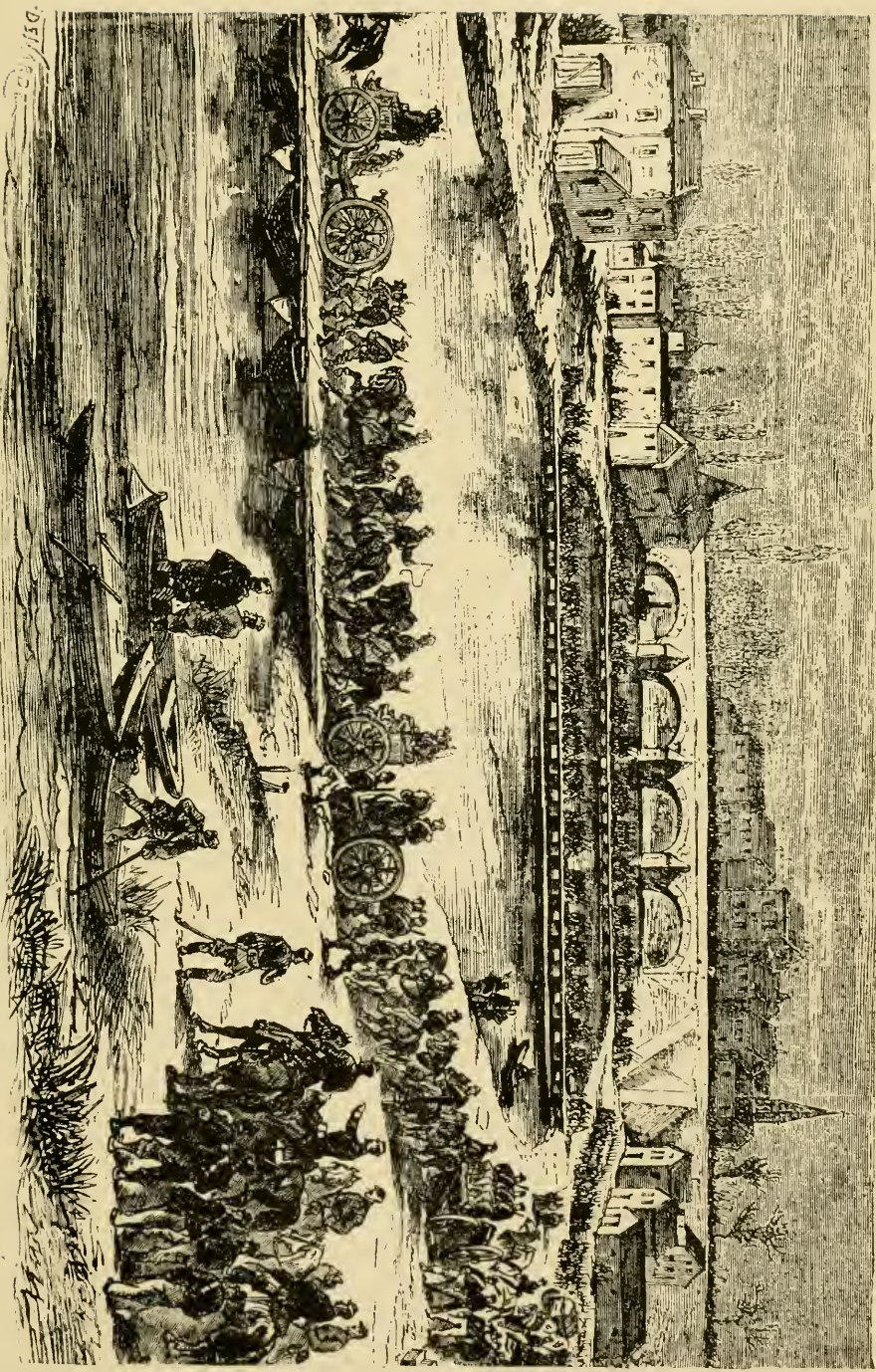
RAILROAD GUNS

wards, but the people were hopeful of a successful issue. The proclamations were read and very favorably commented upon by all the journals. Felix Pyat, the editor of the *Combat*, exceeded all others in praising what had been done and what was indicated. The people, too, were pleased to learn that General Ducrot had under his command 150,000 men, well armed, well equipped, and ready, with the aid of 400 pieces of artillery, to make a *trouée* or opening in the German lines. The plan and objects of the sortie were clearly indicated by the position of the army as well as by the proclamations. To join the army of the Loire under the command of General d'Aurelle and to cooperate with him had been discussed in the journals as an important matter, and now a supreme effort was to be made. The army was to move up the valley of the Seine in the direction of Fontainebleau.

There is a diversity of opinion as to the cause of the delay. It was stated at first that a sudden rise in the waters of the Marne had occurred, and that on account of the swiftness of the current the small tug boats could not be operated. Others affirm that there was no perceptible rise in the river and that the delay resulted from the inexperience and want of forethought of those who had control of the work. They had possibly never laid a pontoon bridge and had not even thought of the importance of exploring the Marne with a steam vedette. The whole day was occupied in laying the bridges, and the Germans, by their cavalry scouts on the left bank of the Marne, had opportunities of knowing all that was done.

In the afternoon several hundred of the dead and wounded were brought into Paris, and at the same time a few prisoners. Every preparation was made for an advance, as soon as the bridges were laid, but the people were kept in ignorance of the fact that the Second army had not yet crossed the river.

At the break of day, November 30th, all were ready to move. An illustrated journal represents the 1st and 2nd corps, commanded respectively by Generals Blanchard and Renault crossing the Marne at Joinville. The old stone bridge is full of infantry, and immediately above it are three pontoon bridges, weighed down by infantry and artillery, moving as rapidly as possible, divisions, brigades and regiments, all taking their places on the field of battle. Meanwhile General Exea, commanding the 3d corps, was crossing the Marne at Brie and at Neuilly, several miles above Joinville, and General Vinoy, with his forces on each side of the Seine, was preparing for an advance. These movements were effected under the protection of forts Charenton, Nogent and Rosny, and of the redoubts of Gravelle and Faisanderie. The left and center moved upon Villiers, Champigny and Coeuilly, and the right upon Creteil and Montmesly. There was heavy fighting all along the line, and it continued until late in the afternoon, but the French failed to surround the peninsula of St. Maur. Corps, division and brigade commanders advanced to the front, and a large proportion of them, as well as other commissioned officers, lost their lives or were seriously wounded. General Renault, commanding the 2nd corps, and General La Charrière, commanding a brigade, were mortally wounded. The French, it is said, slept on the ground they conquered, but the same may be said of the Germans. The wounded were brought into Paris in ambulance wagons and in the small steamboats which ply upon the rivers, and were taken to the hospitals. The archbishop opened the churches, and the hospitals are now quite full. A few wounded Germans were also brought in. The prisoners taken were placed in Roquette, where they will be perfectly safe. During the day the people pressed forward in crowds to the gates on the east, anxious to hear of the course of



DEL.
1850.

PUCROT CROSSING THE MARNE.

events and of their friends. We were not permitted to go outside the walls, and we could only hear the cannonading and see the smoke rising in the distance. In the evening there was great excitement on the boulevards, all apparently believing that on the next day the army would be successful.

The 1st of December came and everybody expected a forward movement. The people, until late in the day, were seen going out into the streets to ascertain if possible what was being done. Cannonading could be heard on the north, on the west and on the south ; but only occasionally could the cannon be heard on the east, and the question was frequently asked—Have the Germans retreated? Has the army advanced beyond hearing distance? The morning journals gave very little that was satisfactory and no one could tell what was being done. The cannonading could not be explained except on the principle of a make-believe, intended as much to satisfy the French as to deceive the Germans. The Governor, through his chief of staff, General Schmitz, and the Minister of the Interior, each in his way, addressed the people. The former said : “ Our troops remain this morning on the ground they conquered yesterday and occupied during the night. They are taking up the wounded that the enemy abandoned on the field of battle and are burying their dead. The transfer of the wounded is effected in an orderly manner. The army is full of spirit and resolution.” The evening journals disappointed the people ; for no one ventured to say what had been done during the day, except that the French had buried their dead, and had as religiously buried the dead of the enemy. The fact is General Trochu had asked for a suspension of arms for this purpose which was agreed to by General von Moltke.

The boulevarders, however, discussed the subject in all its phases until a late hour, some condemning the Governor

and others defending him. The absence of news was all that prevented the people from making violent demonstrations. The report that two villages on the northeast, Epinay and Drancy, were taken from the Germans, and that 70 prisoners were brought in, seemed to satisfy them. There were those, however, who understood the exact situation and knowing the skill of the Germans in massing their troops they feared that a terrible disaster would take place the next day. The situation was not unlike that of the French at Sedan. An officer in high position, in conversation with a newspaper correspondent, referring to the suspension of arms is reported to have used these words, "Here we never allow an occasion to escape for doing a stupid thing."

At early dawn a furious attack was made by the Saxons and Wurtembergers upon the 3d corps, commanded by General Exea. Half dressed and without breakfast the French defended themselves as best they could but were obliged to fall back. On the right there was a veritable stampede, but the clarion sounded and it was not long until the whole line across the peninsula of Joinville was engaged. The brigade, division and corps commanders, as well as General Ducrot, were soon on horseback. It was evident to all on the field, as it was feared by at least some in Paris, that a great disaster might occur. Certainly nothing but the promptness and courage of these recently organized divisions and corps prevented it. On the 30th of November the French advanced and the Germans fought behind entrenchments, barricades, walls, houses and in the park of Coeuilly, but on this occasion the Germans advanced and faced the cannon and mitrailleuses of the French. At several points the bayonet was used and all along the line there was heroic fighting. It seems to have been the intention of the Germans to drive the French into the rivers. A correspondent of the

Gaulois reports the conversation of a zouave captain who said : " I have been at Reichshofen and at Sedan, but I have seen nothing to be compared to the fighting on the plateau of Villiers." The struggle continued until late in afternoon, neither army being able, on account of the river to flank the other ; and being exhausted they were both willing to rest, gather up their wounded and bury their dead. A third night they slept on the ground upon which they had fought. But General Trochu, who was with his army, having no hope of ultimate success, and fearing a disaster if he remained much longer upon the peninsula, prepared for a retreat. During the night and the next day the army succeeded in recrossing the river and bringing with them most of their dead and wounded.

At one o'clock, between Villiers and Champigny, General Trochu addressed a dispatch to his chief of staff to be inserted in the evening journals. In it he states that fighting may continue all day and concludes with a high compliment to General Ducrot. In the evening he prepared the following :

The Governor to General Schmitz, for the Government.

I returned to my quarters in the fort at 5 o'clock, much fatigued and well satisfied. This second great battle is much more decisive than the preceding one. The enemy attacked us at the break of day with fresh troops and with reserves. We could only oppose them with the soldiers of the previous day, fatigued, imperfectly equipped and chilled by the cold nights of winter which they passed without blankets, for we were obliged to leave Paris without them. But the astonishing ardor of the troops has supplied everything. We fought three hours to maintain our positions and five hours to take those of the enemy which we hold. These are the outlines of the work of this glorious day. Many will not return to their fire-sides, but these heroes, much lamented, have made for the young republic of 1870 a brilliant page of history.

FORT NOGENT, 5.30 o'clock,

December 2d, 1870.

GENERAL TROCHU.

Until the morning of the 3d there was no indication of a retreat. On the contrary, orders were issued to reinforce General Ducrot, and these were not countermanded until the troops from the city had reached the Marne. The railroad from Place de la Bastille to Nogent was used to transport them during the night. The order to retreat was received with surprise. Even the soldiers, who had slept on the ground three nights without blankets, murmured as they recrossed the river and returned to their quarters in the neighborhood of Vincennes.

The next day a proclamation was addressed to the soldiers of the Second army by General Ducrot, a portion of which we translate :

SOLDIERS : After two days of heroic fighting I have caused you to recross the Marne because I was convinced that further efforts in this direction would be useless. Our enemies have had time to concentrate their forces and to prepare every means of attack. * * * But you should understand that the fighting is only suspended for a moment. We are going to resume it with resolution. Be therefore ready ; fill your caissons, your cartridge boxes and your haversacks, and especially elevate your courage to the height of sacrifices which the holy cause for which we ought to give our lives requires.

The news of the retreat was skilfully kept from the people until the morning of the 4th inst. Naturally enough, everybody was amazed when it was announced that the army had bivouaced in the Bois de Vincennes. It was a solemn day. Silence reigned. No more cannonading on the east ! Afterwards the criticisms began, all of which bear heavily upon General Trochu. No one seems to understand him. He is a sphinx. If the Governor has a political ambition he conceals it well ; if he is Imperialist or Bourbon no one is able to discover it. This much we can say of him, that he did not strangle the young republic at its birth as he might have done. He

has rather recognized it as the only government suited to France. But the criticisms bear more heavily upon him as a military leader. He had not courage, as it is said, to execute his own well-devised plan. It is admitted that he can organize an army, but he cannot lead it to victory. The right, the left and the center gave proof of their willingness to fight and to die for their country, on the 29th and 30th of November and on the 2d inst., and there are many, even officers of high rank, who believe that the army, on this occasion, needed only a bold and fearless leader. The order to leave the blankets in Paris when winter had already set in, the twenty-four hours delay of the center when the right and left had advanced, and the suspension of arms for another twenty-four hours for the purpose of burying the dead, would displace any leader who is not himself both Governor and President. A few journals committed to the policy of the General and his staff have ventured to say that it is fortunate for the army and for Paris that a *trouée* was not effected. However this may be, the members of the government, on the evening of the 2d inst., as if they understood that an order would be issued to retreat, prepared a letter of congratulation and addressed it to their colleague, the Governor. They also requested him to express to General Ducrot and to all the officers and soldiers recently engaged in battle, their high appreciation of their valiant services, and, in concluding, they distinctly recognized them as the deliverers of France, henceforth to be republican.

The official reports of the recent battles show a loss of 1,008 officers and men killed, and 5,022 wounded. Among those who were killed on the field or died soon afterwards were Generals Renault and Charrière, Colonel Prévault, Captain Desprez, Baron Saillard, Commandant Franchetti, Count Neverlée and Colonel Grancey, all of whom were much respected on account of their high social position

and courage. I was present at a surgical operation made upon the brave Franchetti by Doctor Neleton in the Grand Hôtel. The wound was serious, requiring an amputation at the hip joint. He was struck by a shell, on the 30th ult., leading his battalion in a cavalry charge. He had come from one of the departments to defend the capital and died, leaving a young wife and a large estate. The German loss was possibly as great as that of the French. The position of the armies on the peninsula did not allow of many prisoners on either side, though it is said that 1,000 were brought into Paris and placed in Roquette.

An illustrated journal represents sixty brothers of the *Doctrine Chrétienne* burying the dead at Poulangis, a village on the peninsula. The Germans brought them in from the fields through the snow in wagons. There were 485 buried at this place on the 6th inst.

Paris has always a sensation ; the last one appeared yesterday in the journals. We give it in full.

VERSAILLES, Dec. 5, 1870.

It may be useful to inform your Excellency, that the army of the Loire was defeated yesterday near Orleans, and that this city has been re-occupied by the German troops. If, however, your Excellency considers it proper to verify this statement by an officer, I will not fail to provide for him a safe-conduct to go and to come.

Accept, General, the expression of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be your very humble and obedient servant,

COUNT VON MOLTKE,
Chief of Staff.

The Governor responded :

PARIS, Dec. 6, 1870.

Your Excellency has thought that it might be useful to inform me that the army of the Loire was defeated near Orleans, and that the city has been re-occupied by the German troops. I have the

honor to acknowledge the reception of this communication the truth of which I do not consider it a duty to verify by the means which your Excellency indicates.

Accept, General, the expression of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be your very humble and obedient servant,

GENERAL TROCHU,
Governor of Paris.

This correspondence, read by everybody, is not likely to produce a disturbance. It has indeed a serious bearing, but the people will not go into an insurrection at the suggestion of General von Moltke, nor will the Government capitulate on account of the retaking of Orleans. The intelligent Frenchman, when asked what he thinks of the genuineness of the signatures, shrugs his shoulders and smiles; the masses of the people are dazed; they seem to be depressed and disheartened. The outlook for France has certainly never been so gloomy. Where is Chanzy? Where is Garibaldi? Where is Bourbaki? These are questions which are now asked with a degree of desperation. We will be greatly disappointed if France ever returns to imperialism or to bourbonism. Suspecting that General von Moltke has stated the truth, and that his signature is genuine, the people have resolved to drink the bitter cup even to the dregs. The approach of winter is another fact which cannot be eliminated. Snow has fallen and ice is beginning to form upon the river; wood and coal can only be obtained at extravagant prices. A large proportion of the people now live upon the charity of the city; 20,000 horses have been slaughtered. The hospitals are crowded and small-pox is prevailing; the weekly mortality is rising. The dead are buried in the afternoon.

Let us now gather up a few items which it may be interesting to present. On the 10th ult., the Hon. E. B. Washburne, at the request of M. Jules Favre, addressed a

letter to Count Bismarck in relation to a son of the Attorney General, M. de Raynal, of Paris. On the 19th the Count replied that the son was arrested "and was sent to Germany where he would be judged by a council of war." The Count then added: "I take advantage of this occasion to inform you that several balloons sent out lately from Paris have fallen into our hands and that the persons who ascended in them will be also judged by the laws of war." The *English Standard*, a copy of which has reached Paris, raises the question as to how far above (au dessus) the Prussian lines, King William thinks military law should be recognized!

November 21st Senor Galvez, the Minister of Peru, after much delay, and the refusal of an escort through the German lines, presented himself at the advanced post and insisted upon permission to leave the city. Two hours afterwards a permit came from Count Bismarck, and he was allowed to pass out.

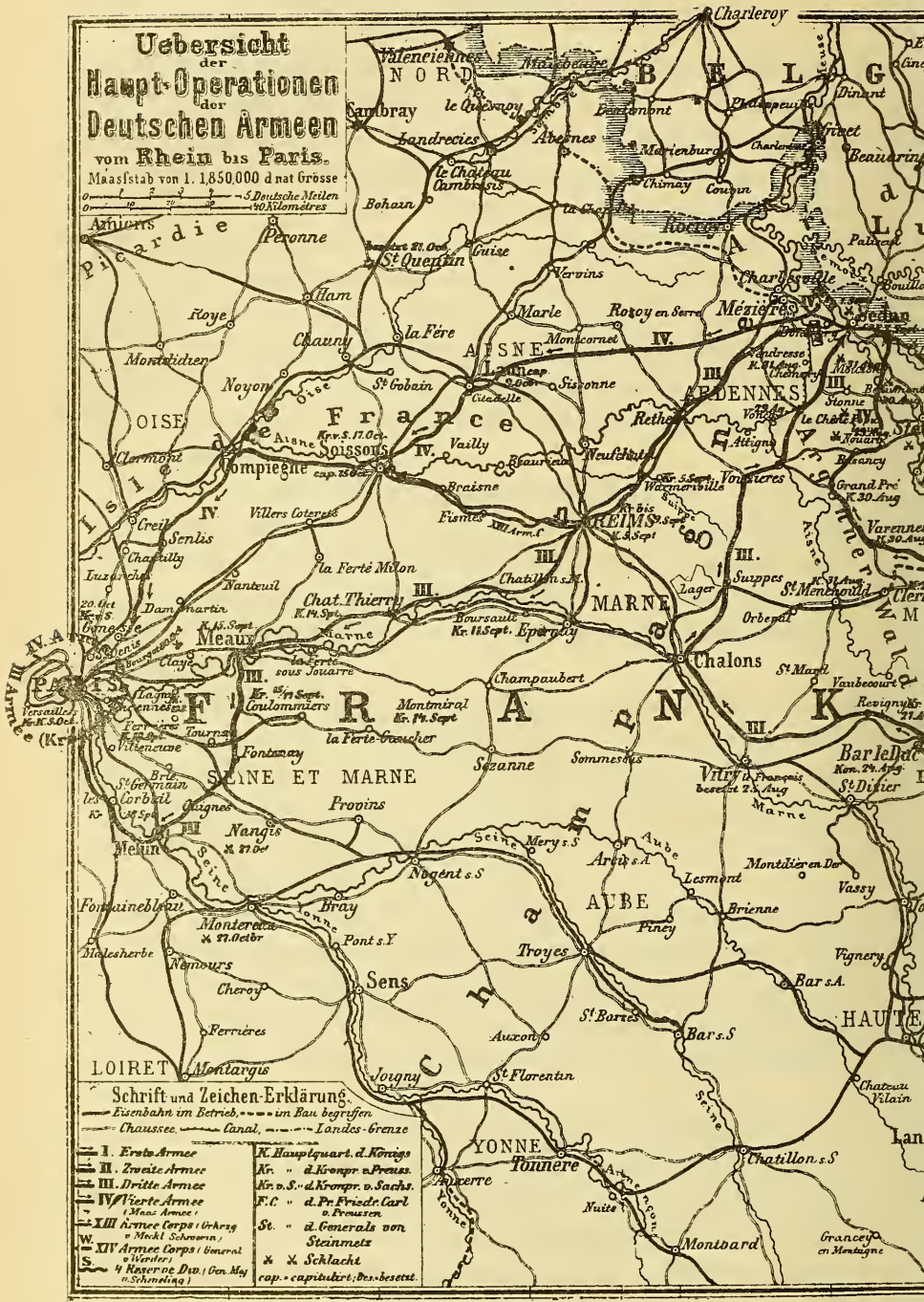
The *Figaro* of the 23d contains a lengthy account of a hazardous adventure by a quartermaster in the guise of a laborer with pick and shovel on his shoulder. He was absent fifty hours, but returned with valuable information. The Germans employ the poor of the country to work in their entrenchments.

Two pigeons arrived from Orleans; each brought about 500 private dispatches which were soon distributed. Up to this date (November 24th) twenty-six sheets of private dispatches have been brought into Paris, containing nearly 3,500 photographed messages. Thanks to the faithful pigeons.

An order has been issued forbidding the use of gas in the theatres and club rooms without regard to the character of the entertainment. On the evening of the 25th ult., at 7.30 o'clock, the Odéon was opened for the benefit of the wounded. Mesdames Agar and Marie Rose,

Übersicht der Haupt-Operationen der Deutschen Armeen vom Rhein bis Paris.

Maassstab von 1:1.850.000 d nat Grösse
0 10 20 Deutsche Meilen
0 10 20 Kilometres



Schrift und Zeichen-Erklärung

- I. Erste Armee
- II. Zweite Armee
- III. Dritte Armee
- IV. Vierte Armee
- V. (Maine) Armee
- VI. III Armee Corps (Untergr. v. Wacht Schwanau)
- VII. XIV Armee Corps (General v. Winter)
- VIII. 4 Reserve Div. (Gen. May u. Schelling)
- K. Hauptquart. d. Königs
- Kr. " d. Kronpr. u. Prinz.
- Kr. v. S. " d. Kronpr. v. Sachst.
- F.C. " d. Pr. Friedr. Carl v. Prussen
- St. " d. Generals von Steinmetz
- * * Schlacht
- cap. = capitulirt, besetzt.

— Eisenbahn im Betrieb, --- im Bau begriffen
 ——— Canal, - - - Landes-Grenze



Priola, Sarah Bernhardt, Camille André and Jeanne Bernhardt appeared.

The death-sentence pronounced upon six of the cowards in the engagement at Châtillon on the 19th of September was commuted to two years imprisonment. The decree was signed by Emmanuel Arago.

On the 24th ult., 1,720 milk cows were seized by the municipal government. There still remain 4,217, most of which will be kept for the sake of the aged, the sick and the children.

During the last month 15 additional newspapers were started and it is safe to say that most of them have revolutionary objects in view.

Mr. Richard Wallace, a wealthy subject of Great Britain, but a resident of Paris, has gained for himself the respect of all Frenchmen. He has made frequent donations to benevolent objects since the siege began and recently has added 200,000 francs for the benefit of the poor—more especially for the purchase of fuel.

Seven more balloons have ascended from Paris, making in all 32. On the 20th ult., at midnight, the *Archimède* rose from the Orleans railroad station. It sailed northward and landed safely in Holland.

On the 24th ult., at 11 o'clock at night, the *Egalité* rose from the workshops in Vaugirard with MM. de Fonvielle, Lunel, and Rouzé, of Havre, and two passengers. They landed safely in Belgium, near Louvain.

On the same night, at 11 o'clock and 40 minutes, the *Ville d'Orléans*, a large and beautiful balloon, containing 2,300 cubic meters of gas, rose from the Northern railroad station. Paul Rolier, a mariner, was aéronaut and M. L— was agent for the government. The latter, a *franc-tireur*, addressed a lengthy and graphic account of their extraordinary aerial voyage to his *Commandant* M. Pierre Deschamps, the outlines of which we may here reproduce.

As the word was given to cut loose—*lâchez tout*—the balloon shot

up and the earth disappeared. It was midnight. They had received from M. Rampont all the mail that was in the boxes, about 200 pounds, six pigeons, ten sacks of sand, government dispatches and provisions for 24 hours. They rose rapidly and in half an hour had reached 1,100 metres ; they were carried along by a moderate breeze in a north northeast direction. In half an hour they discovered that the balloon was descending and they threw overboard two sacks and a half of ballast. They soon rose to the height of 2,700 metres. They were above the clouds and the bright stars were around and above them, but they could not tell how rapidly they were sailing. Two o'clock, three o'clock came and they were still above the clouds. Gradually they descended until they entered a dense fog ; they could see nothing ; the earth was entirely concealed from them and they did not wish to rise again. They could hear what sounded to them like a train of cars on a railroad. At six o'clock the day began to break ; the balloon descended ; they looked around upon the horizon but they could discover no land. They looked downwards and they saw water. "*The sea! the sea! for us it is death!*" they said to each other. Having no instruments by which to determine their latitude or where they were going they agreed to send out one of their pigeons with this despatch : "*Six o'clock in the morning ; in the open sea ; nothing visible ; at the mercy of God.*" But they suddenly entered a dense fog, and taking pity on the poor bird they placed it back in the basket.

Fearing that they might touch the water they concluded to throw overboard several sacks of sand and soon after rose above the clouds. Hour after hour passed around, but no land appeared. It was apparent to them that they were sailing northward, as the thermometer indicated a lower degree of temperature.

At 11 o'clock they were again near the surface of the water and they discovered several miles distant a large ship and heard the fire of a cannon. The sailors had seen them. A half hour later a sloop passed along very close to them and made signals. They threw out their cable from the balloon, but what folly! They were now nearly upon the water and they concluded to sacrifice one of their mail bags which was picked up by a Norwegian vessel. The balloon rose once more to a considerable height as shown by their barometer, but at one o'clock it began to descend and entered a dense cloud so that they could scarcely see each other or their pigeons. Their clothing became wet and their eyebrows were covered with ice. Despair came upon them, and in the agony which they

thought it was not necessary to prolong they resolved to explode the balloon and speedily put an end to their sufferings. To wife and children and friends and to their unfortunate country they bade a solemn farewell. They struck the third match, but the dampness immediately extinguished it and they said to each other: "God does not wish to abandon us." It was an act of desperation which neither of them pretends to justify and for which they pray that God may forgive them. They were descending gradually as their barometer showed but always in the dense fog and possibly to rise no more. It was two o'clock and twenty minutes; they had passed over the sea and did not know it. Suddenly they discovered the tops of pine trees immediately below them. The aëronaut opened the valve, the gas escaped and in a moment they struck the snow. M. Rolier leaped with the guide rope in his hand; M. L—— also leaped from the basket but in his haste his feet became entangled in the ropes and he fell headforemost in the snow. The former was unable to hold the balloon and it escaped. The mail bags, government messages, the poor pigeons and provisions all gone! It was twenty-five minutes past two o'clock. Fifteen hours had elapsed from the time they left Paris. In the mountains, but they knew not where! Ice and snow knee deep, and without a morsel of food! They had escaped the perils of the air, and the water, and now they must perish of hunger and cold in an unknown mountainous country!

They were, however, brave men or they would not have volunteered to serve their country on so hazardous a mission. In leaping from the balloon the snow saved them, but it would not do to trust to it as a covering for the night. The sun was fast receding towards the western horizon and they must seek shelter. They chose the south side of the mountain for a descent, hoping, too, that they might find a path and a cabin in which to take refuge. After two hours of painful effort, now holding to the bushes and now plunging into the drifted snow, they at last reached a ravine and what appeared to be the track of a sled. There was nearby an unusually large spruce pine, whose limbs reached to the ground; and the aëronaut who had exerted himself in their horrible flight through the air begged leave to rest under it for a while. M. L—— agreed to it, but continued to look for a better shelter for the night. In half an hour he returned, having found an old dilapidated hut in which he believed they might spend the night, but his companion was fast asleep. To rouse him from his lethargy and to drag him to the hut seemed to be their only hope. In their descent from the

mountain they had seen three large wolves, but as fortune would have it, they were moving in another direction. There was not a moment to lose and it was with the greatest difficulty they reached the hut. With a bunch of musty hay that was there and branches of spruce which they gathered they made for themselves a bed, and, having blockaded the door as best they could, they lay down to sleep ; but a wakeful and chilly night was spent. Horrid dreams of aerial flights and plungings in the sea disturbed their rest. At early dawn they set out with the hope of finding other evidences of civilization. Hour after hour passed and they were beginning to fear that they would perish in the mountains, when, at 11 o'clock, with inexpressible joy, they came upon a woodman's cabin—a palace ! They were safe, though much exhausted. Nothing living could be seen about it ! They entered, but saw only smoking pieces of wood, cooking utensils, a pot of potatoes, a bottle of milk and bear skins which the occupants used as a covering for the night. They determined to wait until the woodmen returned ; they were hungry and they were tempted to eat some of the potatoes.

At twelve o'clock they saw two men, each leading a horse, approaching the cabin, and as they drew near both rose and saluted them after the style of the Russians. The salutation was returned, but the words—*Partis de Paris en ballon*—and many other expressions in French were not recognized. The woodmen stood perfectly stupefied, and it became evident that they did not understand a word of French. But a happy thought came to the Frenchmen ; that they would draw a balloon on a card in their presence ; and after making the word Paris in plain letters the woodmen caught the idea and exclaimed, *Ja, ballone, Paris!* The rude mountaineers, clothed in skins of bears and wolves, scarcely knew how sufficiently to exhibit their kindness. One began to kindle the fire and the other to prepare a dinner of which all partook with a keen relish. They had sausages, bread, potatoes and coffee. On the box which contained their small stock of groceries the Frenchmen saw the word *Christianja* and they believed they were in Norway. After they had dined they begged their hosts to accompany them to the first settlement where they might find some one who could interpret for them. This, of course, they could only do by making signs ; but it was not long until they were on their way—the Norwegians and their horses taking the lead.

An hour afterwards they reached the border of a beautiful lake surrounded by hills. It was here that the brave mountaineers kept their families and here they were again urged to partake of a second

dinner and to drink the health of the French people. The lake was not yet frozen over, the temperature being only eight degrees (Centigrade) below zero. After an hour or two of rest—being thoroughly warmed and refreshed—they embarked in a small boat for the opposite side of the lake, where resided, in a small village called Silgjor, Rev. Bije, pastor of the Canton, Dr. Thomesen, Attorney Walloë and M. Nielsen, a civil engineer, all speaking the French language. With these good people and their families they remained until a late hour, joining with them in a supper which M. Nielsen ordered for the company. They had to relate not only the story of their perilous voyage and miraculous escape, but the more important one of Paris besieged! To these liberty-loving Norwegians the story of Paris besieged was intensely interesting. Heroic Paris! with a stoicism unequalled, resisting the victorious Germans!

But it was necessary for the two Frenchmen to complete their mission, and to make a report as soon as possible to the deputation at Tours, even if their balloon, messages and pigeons were lost. They had landed upon Mont Lid, in Norway, in latitude sixty-two degrees and some minutes, one hundred and fifty miles north of Christiania and one thousand miles north of Paris.

At five and a half o'clock in the morning Pastor Bije and M. Nielsen accompanied them to the stage-coach and saw them well wrapped in Norwegian furs. Wishing them a *bon voyage*, the latter, representing the villagers, placed in their hands a small sum of money for the wounded of Paris. It was after midnight when they reached Cromberg, where they were also kindly entertained. They were now only a few hours distant by rail from Christiania. The French consul at Drammen was notified of their coming and at the breakfast table they received, with joy and tears, a dispatch from M. Omsted, stating that their balloon, mailbags and pigeons were all safe! At every station the good people congratulated them with loud *hourrahs* and *vive la belle France!* When they reached Drammen they were welcomed by the consul, the municipal officers and railroad men, and a great crowd who were assembled at the station. First of all, it was necessary to reach a hotel; and this was made the occasion of an extemporized triumphal entry. The two brave Frenchmen became at once the guests of the city, and after a change of clothing were presented to the people in grand style. In the evening they were invited to a banquet in the large dining hall at the railroad station, the bands providing the music—French and Norwegian—and the ladies the decorations. The entertainment was given in true Norwegian style. The guests who

had not yet recovered from the fatigue of their aërial voyage endured it until a late hour, knowing well that the demonstration was not made for their sake merely, but as an expression of sympathy for their unfortunate country and especially for heroic Paris. Toasts, speeches and the *Marseillaise* concluded the entertainment.

Early in the morning, November 28th, the aëronauts, in company with M. Omsted, set out for the capital. During the night the pigeons had arrived and the consul surprised his countrymen by an early call. He announced that the dear birds, the companions of their terrible flight in the storm, were safe and apparently unconscious of what had happened. Half a league from the city M. Kepp, the chancellor of the French consulate, met them on the railroad and invited them to stop with him as he believed it would be impossible for them to reach a hotel on account of the crowds in the streets. Their reception at Christiania was a repetition of that at Drammen only on a much larger scale—presentations, banquets and musical entertainments. M. Kepp insisted upon them remaining two days and in the meantime he exchanged dispatches with the deputation at Tours. On the evening before they left a concert was held in one of the theatres for the benefit of the wounded in Paris. The national airs of the French, the *Marseillaise* and the *Girondins*—formed an important part of the programme. At the request of the people the balloon was allowed to go on exhibition for the benefit also of the wounded of Paris. As a result the aëronauts were presented with a bill of exchange upon the Bank of England for 24,000 francs, as another expression of sympathy for the besieged Parisians. M. Kepp preferred that they should sail upon the North Star, an English vessel about to leave port. After a rough passage on the North Sea, of five days and four nights, the two Frenchmen and their pigeons reached London, and on the 8th of December they arrived at Tours. M. L——, the delineator of this very remarkable experience, has not failed to praise the good Norwegians who, though living in a cold climate, have warm and generous hearts.

On the 28th ult., eleven o'clock at night, the *Jacquard* rose from the Orleans railroad station and was carried by the wind in the direction of Normandy. A parachute, the invention of M. E. Godard, was attached to it for the purpose of diminishing the dangers of the descent. All the letters in the postoffice were taken out. An order came from the government to leave in haste and it took out

neither pigeons nor passengers. It is said to have landed on Belle Isle in the Atlantic Ocean.

On the 30th ult., at the same hour of the night, the *Jules Favre*, the second one of the name, rose from the Northern railroad station. It was carried westward by a strong wind and no doubt lost in the ocean.

On the 5th inst. two other balloons left Paris—the *Franklin* and the *Armée de Bretagne*; the former landed safely in France near Nantes; of the latter we have no other information.

The Government has been severely criticised for ordering the departure of balloons at night. M. Nadar maintains that all theories concerning aerial navigation must yield to the expressed opinions of the aëronauts themselves.

CHAPTER VII.

PARIS, DECEMBER 18TH, 1870.

A Brief Review of the Situation of the Armies—Five More Balloons Ascend—A Perilous Voyage—The Balloon Lands in Germany.

THE reader will be better able to appreciate the situation of affairs in Paris at this date—five months after the declaration of war and three months after the siege began—if we devote a few pages to the movements of the French and German armies and to their present positions. When the Republic was proclaimed the French had only two army corps which were not either surrounded or were prisoners of war. These were the 13th and 14th. The former was returning from Sedan and the latter was at Paris; both are now defending the city. MacMahon's army, when it moved northward from Chalons, consisted of five corps—the 1st, 5th, 7th, 12th and 13th commanded respectively by Ducrot, Faily, Felix Douay, Lebrun and Vinoy. The other French corps were at Metz, under the command of Marshal Bazaine. These were the 2d, 3d, 4th, 6th and the Imperial Guards, commanded respectively by Frossard, Decaen, Admirault, Canrobert and Bourbaki. In addition to these the French had numerous small detachments of troops on garrison duty, possibly 50,000 men, as at Strasbourg, Belfort, Verdun and Soissons. Except the 13th and 14th corps and two or three detachments all are now prisoners of war in Germany.

After the battle of Sedan the Third and Fourth German armies, commanded respectively by the Crown Prince of Prussia and the Crown Prince of Saxony, moved upon



GEN. AURELLE.



GEN. UHRICH



GEN. FAIDHERBE.



GEN. BOURBAKI.



GEN. CHANZY.

Paris. The former advanced upon the southeast and arranged his forces on the south and west. The 5th corps, commanded by General Kirchbach, took the lead, crossed the Seine at Choisy-le-Roi and occupied the segment of the circle between Sèvres and Bougival on the west. The 2d Bavarian corps followed, and then the 6th corps, commanded by General Tümpling, with his headquarters at Villeneuve-le-Roi. These took their positions on the south and were supported by the 1st Bavarian corps as a reserve. Versailles became the headquarters of the Crown Prince. Albert, the Crown Prince of Saxony, arranged his forces on the east and north with his headquarters, first at Grand Tremblay, afterwards at the village of Margency. The 4th Prussian corps took its position on the northwest, between Pierrefitte and Bougival, with headquarters at Soisy. The Prussian Guards, commanded by Prince Augustus, of Wurtemberg, followed with headquarters at Gonesse. Next in order is the 12th Royal Saxon corps on the east, with headquarters at Le Vert Galant, commanded by Prince George, brother of the Crown Prince of Saxony. Completing the circle we have a division of Wurtembergers, commanded by General Obernitz, with his headquarters at Le Pèple. With very little change these forces have thus far been able to resist the attacks of the French.

Of the Three French armies inside the great circle of iron we have already given some account.

After the fall of Strasbourg, which occurred on the 27th of September, General Werder was ordered to move his forces southward up the valley of the Rhine and to organize a new army.

One month afterwards, on the 27th of October, came the capitulation of Metz after a siege of ten weeks. On the circumference of the great irregular circle were placed the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 12th German corps,

under Frederick Charles and Steinmetz. According to the most reliable information Marshal Bazaine surrendered 170,000 soldiers of whom 15,000 were sick or wounded. These brave Frenchmen stacked their arms and marched out through the German lines, on as many radii of the circle as there were corps and there encamped. The Imperial Guard corps alone passed before the Prince and his staff.

Before the capitulation Marshal Bazaine issued an address to his badly demoralized army. In it he referred to other capitulations which have been made, and to the fact that the absence of provisions is always considered a sufficient reason for the surrender of a city. He thanked the officers and soldiers for their courage and heroism in the presence of a powerful enemy, and expressed the hope that the citadel which had never surrendered would not remain long in the possession of the Germans.

At the same time General Coffinières, the Governor of Metz, addressed a proclamation to the people. He referred, in like manner, to the necessity of submission to the Germans in order to save themselves from starvation.

Thus the last army of the Empire of Napoleon III. disappeared—3 marshals, 50 generals and 6,000 regimental officers. The marshals and generals were paroled; the regimental officers and men were shipped off to Germany as fast as the railroads could take them.

The First and Second German armies were thus united for the accomplishment of a great result. They were considerably reinforced by the Landwehr and others, and now, after a great victory, they were to be separated. General Steinmetz, on account of his advanced age, was relieved of his command, and part of his army was detailed for special duty; and Prince Frederick Charles moved southward into the center of France.

When the news of the capitulation was telegraphed to

the King of Prussia, at Versailles, he replied in a very affectionate manner. He congratulated his nephew, the Prince, on his brilliant achievement and informed him that he and his cousin, the Crown Prince, were elevated to the rank of Field Marshal. It was now the time for honors and promotions. Sedan, Strasbourg and Metz had prepared the way. There had never been so many brilliant victories won in so short a time. On the 26th of October General Von Moltke had reached his 70th birthday and the title of Count was conferred upon him. Many other honors were conferred by the King; and many promotions were made all the way down to the rank and file of the army.

After the fall of the Empire there were many conjectures as to the kind of government the majority of the voters in France would prefer. Foreigners generally did not appear to understand how the people could be so suddenly converted to republicanism. Indeed they did not wish to understand the French people, being themselves bound by the chains of monarchy. It was not to be expected that their natural enemies, the Germans, would speak well of the French, but why the English press should so persistently misrepresent them, I cannot understand. The Imperial government did not give the Bourbon princes an opportunity to distinguish themselves, and the Provisional government has not encouraged them. Indeed they are not popular in France. The oldest representative of the family, Count de Chambord, represents a style of politics which has but few adherents. Besides, the interview between M. Jules Favre and Count Bismarck developed this fact, that the King of Prussia preferred to treat with the ex-Emperor or some representative of his. Whether Marshal Bazaine, shut up in Metz, or Count Bismarck at Versailles, initiated the movement to restore the Empire, can only be conjectured, but it is certain that Gen-

eral Bourbaki was authorized to leave Metz and to visit the ex-Empress at Hastings, England. His mission, as it is alleged, was to inquire if she would consent to become Regent if Alsace and a portion of Lorraine were given to Prussia, but it is said that she positively declined. Whereupon General Bourbaki reported immediately at Tours and was soon after directed to organize a new army.

About the same time General Napoleon Boyer was provided with an escort out of Metz and through the German lines. His appearance at Versailles on the 14th of October created a sensation which, in some way or other, reached Paris and was renewed by Henri Rochefort, Gustave Flourens and Félix Pyat. His interview with Count Bismarck and his visit to London admit of no other explanation than this, that he was willing to serve the Bonapartists. The severe criticism of Marshal Bazaine by the three members of the Government at Tours—Crémieux, Glais-Bizoin and Gambetta—forced Baron Napoleon Boyer to vindicate himself and Bazaine. Gambetta, in his address to the people of France, charged both of them with treason. In a reply written at Brussels, October 31st, the Baron states that his mission led him to Versailles and to London, and he then concludes with these words: "We did not capitulate on account of honor, nor on account of duty, but on account of starvation."

There is no evidence that the Government in Paris, or any member of it, did anything else than denounce these attempts at negotiation by Bazaine, Bismarck, Bourbaki and Boyer, though there are some who suppose that General Trochu is only a republican from necessity or policy. It would be better, perhaps, to say that he has no political preferences, and that he is willing to give the people an opportunity to express themselves in an honest and honorable way.

There are some things connected with the war under

the Empire which the people of Paris cannot understand and which they may never understand. Why should Marshal Bazaine retain a large army in a city which had never surrendered, to eat up the supplies in two or three months when one-fourth the number could have defended it and might have continued the siege six or eight months? The Emperor ordered him to defend Metz, but he could have done this with 50,000 men and could have spared 120,000 for effective service in the open field. There is another problem which, at this date, is not easily solved. Why should the Emperor have ordered MacMahon, with five corps at Châlons, to move northward in the direction of Sedan? He could have fought the Germans at Reims, or at Soissons or at some point still further from their base of operations. There were really no indications of an insurrection in Paris, except in the imagination of the Empress-Regent who, at that time, was commander-in-chief. Count Palikao, the new minister of war, was merely a creature at her bidding. After all her pretensions she cared more for the Empire than for France, her adopted country. She might have remained at St. Cloud where she would have been perfectly safe. Had an insurrection taken place in Paris, neither she nor the Emperor could have been blamed for it. General Trochu had command of the fortifications and the troops in and around the city and the Communists had no arms. Every movement of the Emperor and of the Empress-Regent appears to have contributed to the downfall of the Empire, though they did not intend such a result. How much of loyalty to France may be seen in these acts by some, and of treason by others, are matters which need not concern us. The Empire was an abnormal growth; it was the product of a corrupt *plébiscite* which the Emperor himself invented—a spurious kind of universal suffrage which gathered around him a large number of office-seekers and sycophants.

But to return from this digression, let us take Paris as the center of an immense irregular semi-circle, and let us suppose that the contending forces are closely watching the movements of each other on the periphery. We may even draw, in imagination, the lines upon which the pickets are standing guard from the Rhine on the east, through Muhlhausen, Belfort, Vesoul, Gray, Dijon, Avallon, Gien, Blois, Le Mans, Alençon, Rouen, Amiens, Arras, and Cambrai on the north. It will serve our purpose better if we represent the periphery in three separate parts or segments—the first extending to the Loire, the second to the Seine and the third to the Belgian line, making in all about 600 miles. All the cities in the north-eastern portion of France and within this immense semi-circle are now either in possession of the Germans or are surrounded by them.

We have said that General von Werder, after the capitulation of Strasbourg was ordered to move southward, to take command of the troops that were sent forward as well as the reinforcements, and out of these to organize a new army. The 14th army corps which was under his command became the nucleus. The government at Versailles had unbounded confidence in him as he had managed the siege of Strasbourg so successfully. Whilst several divisions advanced on the east of the Vosges General Degenfeld crossed this low range of hills and advanced upon the west. On the 6th of October he came in conflict with the French at Epinal, under the command of General Dupré. Although the latter had apparently the advantage of position he was forced to retreat after ten hours of hard fighting as is reported. Several hundred were killed or wounded on each side. A few days previous to this, on the 1st and 2d of October, the 4th Prussian reserve division, under the command of General Schmeling, crossed the Rhine at Neuenberg, about ten miles below

Basle in Switzerland. The result was that Muhlhausen, Colmar and several other French towns and villages fell into the hands of the Germans, but not without heroic fighting and serious loss. Two of these made a noble effort at self-defense. The governor of Schlettstadt being asked upon what conditions he wished to surrender, replied, "My conditions will be the cannon." The bombardment of the forts and the town began immediately, and on the 24th of October, after the French cannon were disabled by a concentrated fire, a capitulation was agreed upon. Neu-Breisach was also bombarded. It is situated near the river and Fort Mortier which protects it is built on an elevated point not far from the water. The Germans, without delay, besieged the town, and from the Baden side of the river bombarded the fort. On the 8th and 10th of November the forts and town surrendered. The inhabitants, like those of Strasbourg, suffered much. Their dwellings, for the most part, were left in ruins and many of the survivors were reduced to poverty. Meanwhile Verdun, after a siege of two months and fifty-two hours of bombardment, surrendered. At this capitulation the loss to the French was considerable—10,000 well-armed soldiers and 140 pieces of cannon. At the same time Belfort was surrounded by the forces under the command of General Tresckow. This fortified town has long been regarded as a most important strategic point between the Vosges and the Jura Mountains. Small battles were fought daily by the advanced forces, but General Werder continued to receive reinforcements and to organize the new army, until, on the 1st of December, his lines extended from Neuenberg on the Rhine to Briare on the east bank of the Loire. Facing the south were the forces of Generals Beyer, Degenfeld, Keller and Prince William. They had fought on the east and on the west of the Vosges and were ready to advance. Several battles had taken place on

the banks of the Oignon, at the villages of Rioz and Stutz in which the French were defeated. But the most important achievement was the capture of Dijon, a city of 40,000 inhabitants. General Beyer required of the municipality 500,000 francs as an indemnity and rations for 20,000 soldiers during the continuance of the war.

On the other hand, the French, at the time of the proclamation of the Republic, were in an almost helpless condition. They had no military organization corresponding with the *Landwehr* of the German states, and consequently the departments were not prepared for self-defense. Moreover there was no law authorizing the existence of such an organization and MM. Crémieux and Glais-Bézoin, deputies of the provisional government, seemed powerless. The people did not comprehend the policy of the ambitious King of Prussia. It was only after the interview of M. Favre, at Ferrières, and the fruitless effort of M. Thiers that they began to realize the deplorable condition of their country. The Empire had placed small groups of soldiers in the forts and walled cities in the departments, but they were otherwise without the means of defense. General Dupré, with a small reserve force, was soon under the necessity of falling back.

General Brosselles had been engaged in the organization of a reserve corps at Lyons, which became the nucleus of the Army of Lyons, now known as the Army of the East. Patriotic efforts were, indeed, made in the departments to organize battalions and regiments; the prefects encouraged old and young to take up arms, and in the absence of a government to fight as guerillas. But on the 12th of October when M. Gambetta took charge of the organization of armies as Minister of War *ad interim*, a new life was infused into the people and they felt that a deliverer had come. His eloquence electrified all who heard him, and his spirited proclamations and orders gave

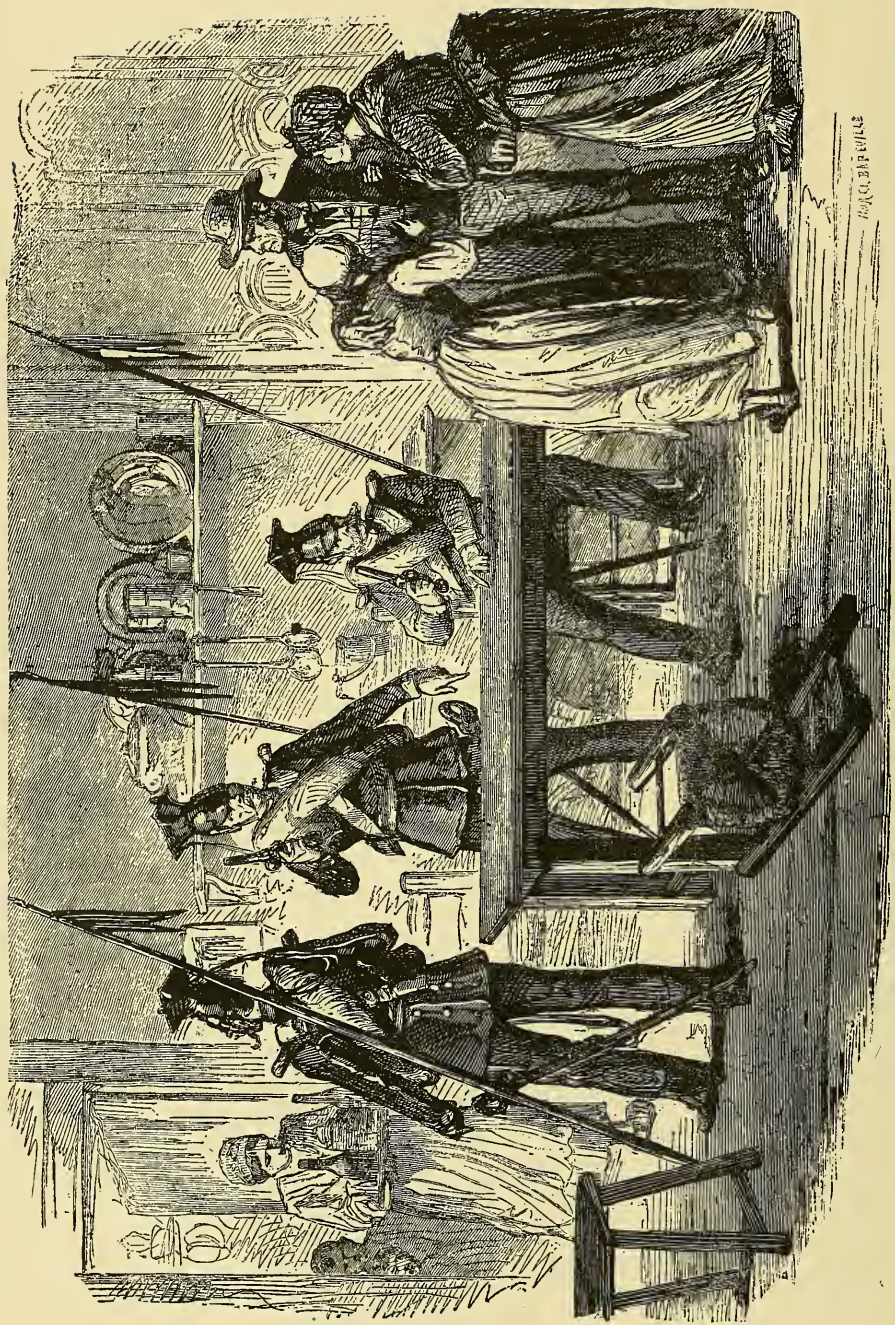
them confidence. At the same time General Garibaldi and his sons arrived at Marseilles, bringing with them a handful of volunteers; their appearance in the field was regarded as an indication of ultimate victory. Very naturally the people assumed, that an army of 170,000 Frenchmen could not be retained in Metz, even if they were surrounded and they hastened to join the armies of the Republic. They could not believe that Marshal Bazaine would not also proclaim the Republic. His ignorance of the Germans, his devotion to the Emperor, his exalted pride and sottishness appear to have rendered him incapable of comprehending the situation. During the last week of October a culmination of disasters threatened to engulf the new Republic. These were the plottings of Bazaine, the surrender of Metz, the taking of Bourget, the attempts at sedition in Paris and the advance of the Germans in the east.

During the month of November the French were commanded by General Cambriels on the right at Besancon, General Cremer in the center at Dôle and General Garibaldi on the left at Autun.

We pass now to the second segment of the great semicircle. Soon after the investment of Paris the Crown Prince of Prussia gave up a portion of his army. The 1st Bavarian corps commanded by the youthful General Von der Tann, supported by the 22d Prussian division and a division of cavalry, commanded by Prince Albrecht, advanced upon Orleans. The forces of the French at this point were commanded by General Motterouge. The Germans were confident that they would soon defeat and scatter the *gardes mobiles* and the *francs-tireurs*. After making several attempts to defend themselves at Artenay and at points nearer Orleans, the French retreated, some across the Loire and others westward along the right bank. The municipal officers surrendered the city and the

next day, October 13th, General Von der Tann issued a proclamation to the people. At the same time the 22d Prussian division moved westward upon Châteaudun, bombarded the town and completely destroyed it ; the inhabitants refused to surrender. The same division moved northward upon Châtres and still further on to Dreux.

In the meantime M. Gambetta arrived at Tours and began the organization of armies. General Motterouge was succeeded by General Aurelle de Paladines in the command of the Army of the Loire. Gambetta infused a new life into the people. Large bodies of recruits were soon assembled at Bourges, Tours, Blois, Vendôme, Le Mans and Le Ferté. These constituted, at this time, the Army of the Loire and the Army of the West. General Von der Tann was frequently informed of the presence of the extemporized forces of the French on the south and west, but he stood firm until the 9th of November when the French advanced with infantry, cavalry and artillery. The result was the battle of Coulmiers in which the French were victorious. General Von der Tann hastily retreated from Orleans and General Aurelle took possession. In this engagement, which was continued from early morning until night, Admiral Jaurequéberry and Generals Borel and Martin de Pallières distinguished themselves. Fighting took place in the morning at Marchenoir, then at Bacon and afterwards at Coulmiers. It was an unexpected affair and the defeat of the Germans was as humiliating to them as victory to the French was a source of exultation. The exaggeration of the losses on each side, in killed and wounded, is so great that we cannot venture upon a statement. The picket lines were placed twenty-five miles nearer Paris and the French occupied the heroic town of Châteaudun, the greater part of which lies in ruins. General Von der Tann retreated to Artenay, on the road leading from Orleans to Paris, and there waited for reinforce-



H. C. B. V. 1842

THE UHLANS.

ments. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg came to his assistance.

At this time the Army of the Loire extended from Briare on the right, to Châteaudun on the left. The 18th corps occupied Gien, Nevers, Pithivières and Montargis; the 17th occupied Châteaudun and the towns immediately on the southwest. The Army of the West consisted of extemporized regiments, under the command of M. de Kératry, who had sailed out of Paris on the 14th of October. Opposing him were the cavalry of Prince Albrecht and later on the 13th corps, commanded by the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg. On this portion of the semi-circle the French did not hesitate to attack the Germans and at Châteauneuf the bayonet was used.

Meanwhile the surrender of Metz took place and five columns of Germans set out for the interior of France. On the 3d of November Prince Frederick Charles took command of three of these. The 9th corps advanced on the right, the 3d in the center and the 10th on the left, all of them taking the best macadamized roads leading southward. They moved at an average rate of twelve miles a day. The cavalry took the lead, the infantry, artillery and commissary wagons followed. They pressed on and crossed the headwaters of the Marne at Joinville, St. Dizier and Vitry—a magnificent body of men. On the 10th the Prince, following the 3d corps and surrounded by his numerous staff, entered Troyes. This old historic city of 45,000 inhabitants on the banks of the Seine is the capital of the department of the Aube. There were yet five days of marching for the left wing and ten days for the right before any serious resistance was offered. The Franctireurs and Mobile Guards had frequent skirmishes with the Uhlans and Hussars of the Germans, but the former were always overpowered by the latter. On the 20th the three corps were in communication with the forces of Von der

Tann and the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg. In the meantime, November 17th, the Germans on the extreme right advanced upon the Army of the West and after the battle of Houdan occupied the cities of Dreux and Châtres. Following up their victory they soon after engaged the French at Digny, Nogent and several other places. Keratry's extemporized forces were thus compelled to retire by the well-disciplined troops of the Grand Duke, and the great semi-circle at this point was much extended. Prince Frederick Charles, as field marshal, now took command of the German forces south and west of Paris and arranged them in the following order: The 10th corps, commanded by General Voigt-Rhetz, was placed on the left, and next to it stood the 3d corps. In the center stood the 1st Bavarian corps and then the 9th Prussian, and on the right was the 13th, under the command of the Grand Duke. The Second Army, thus reinforced, formed a battle line not easily broken and at this date must challenge the admiration of the world.

Opposed to these on the right of the French were the 18th and 20th corps; they defended the line east of Orleans extending as far as Montargis and Châtillon and formed their right and right center. The 15th and 16th corps stood upon the left; the former was occupying the heights of Cercotte and the latter was defending Châteaudun. A newly formed corps, the 21st, was held in reserve. The headquarters of General Aurelle were at Orleans and those of the Prince at Pithiviers.

As soon as the Prince Field Marshal came into communication with Von der Tann and the Grand Duke a series of movements were commenced which must here be given in brief. The Grand Duke, occupying the extreme right, was ordered to attack the French under Kératry. The result was the battles of Houdan, Dreux, Marville, Châteauneuf, Digny and Ardelles to which we have referred.

In these engagements the French were forced back with heavy losses on both sides. The Army of the West fought, on several occasions, with the bayonet and with the butt end of their guns. Kératry's troops were demoralized and could not recover until it was too late to assist General Aurelle and his army. At the same time a movement was made on the extreme left. General Voigts-Rhetz was ordered to advance upon the right of the French. The result of this movement was the battle of Beaune or Ladon, in which there were probably 2,000 killed and wounded on each side. This occurred on the 28th of November. Then followed immediately a movement in the center, the Prince taking the lead on horseback. The 3d and 9th corps were assisted by the 1st Bavarian, commanded by the Grand Duke, on the right and the 10th corps, by Voigts-Rhetz, on the left. On the main road leading from Orleans to Paris the strength of both armies was concentrated. The 9th corps, commanded by General Manstein, moved in the direction of Arteny. The cavalry of the 1st Bavarian made a reconnoissance in force in the direction of Châtres and reported. The 17th French corps resisted the advances of the 9th German. On the 3d of December there was fighting all along the line and General Wittich took possession of Arteny. The French retreated to Chevilly and prepared for a vigorous resistance. The Prince Field Marshal bivouaced at the former place surrounded by his army. The 3d corps occupied the road leading to Fontainebleau, the 9th the road leading to Paris and the 1st Bavarian the road leading to Châtres. Chevilly was the key to the forest of Orleans and to the city. Early in the morning the fighting was renewed, the Heights of Cercottes were taken by the 9th corps, the Grand Duke assisted on the right and the 3d corps on the left. On both sides there was great heroism displayed and very many lost their lives. In the evening the German

forces pressed upon three sides of the city—north, east and west. The Field Marshal bivouaced in the village of Cercottes and at noon, on the 5th of December, made his triumphal entry into the proud capital of the department of Loiret. General Aurelle had retreated during the night. Orleans is situated on the left bank of the Loire, 58 miles south of Paris, in the midst of a rich and beautiful country. It has now been twice evacuated and twice captured. So great is the tendency to exaggeration on both sides that it is difficult to estimate the losses in these numerous engagements since the arrival of the Prince Marshal, but there can scarcely be less than 10,000 in killed and wounded on each side. General Aurelle immediately tendered his resignation. Among his corps, division and brigade commanders who distinguished themselves we may name Chanzy, Jauréquiberry, Martin de Pallières, Sonis and Friant.

The great bend in the river made it necessary to divide the Army of the Loire. To General Bourbaki, who had command of the Army of the North, has been given the eastern part. It consists of the 15th, 18th and 20th corps with headquarters for the present at Bourges. To General Chanzy has been given the 16th, 17th and 21st corps, with headquarters at Vendôme; he is supported by the Army of the West. In the meantime the government at Tours was transferred to Bordeaux.

We pass now to the third segment of the great semi-circle. Soon after the surrender of Metz a part of the First German army was assigned to special duty, as we have said, and the remaining two corps—the 1st and the 8th—were ordered to move westward on diverging lines. The former, under the command of General Benteim, advanced rapidly on the right, passing through Montmédy, Sedan and Mézières. The latter, commanded by General Goeben, advanced on the left in the direction of Verdun,

Reims and Soissons. On the 20th of November their cavalry reached the valley of the Oise without serious opposition.

Until Marshal Bazaine surrendered his army there had been very little done in the way of organization for defense in the departments of the north. A few days before this shocking event occurred, General Bourbaki was sent out of Metz with the hope of ending the war and restoring the Empire. A treaty of peace was to be made with the imprisoned Emperor; the Imperial family was to return to Paris, and Bazaine, Bourbaki and Boyer, in command of a large army, were to defend the throne. The ambitious King of Prussia was to add only Alsace to his already large possessions. This, in brief, was the programme which General Bourbaki presented to the ex-Empress. The General, it is known, has been in command of the Imperial Guards and his sister has been the chief lady-in-waiting in the Imperial family, and yet he could not induce the ex-Empress to accept the proposition. She plainly informed him that she spoke in behalf of the Emperor and of the Prince Imperial. She knew very well that with republican armies in the field this programme would lead to a civil war. In the meantime the surrender took place and the General hastened to Tours and tendered his services. He was not a paroled prisoner of war, though the Germans have threatened to regard him as such. The deputation immediately sent him to organize an army in the north with his headquarters at Lille. Until the 2d of December very little was known of what he had done, when a soldier of his army, after repeatedly risking his life, reached the city with the following message :

AMIENS, *November 30th.*

My troops are ready to march ; I have with me artillery and cavalry. I will follow your instructions. There are no Prussians at Amiens, Beauvais, Chantilly and Gisors.

BOURBAKI.

Soon after the evacuation of Orleans, by General Aurelle, General Bourbaki was transferred to the Army of the East and General Faidherbe took command of the Army of the North. The latter consists of two extemporized corps which have been making an effort to check the advance of the Germans. General Faidherbe has possibly 50,000 raw recruits under his command, but of their organization very little is known in Paris at this time.

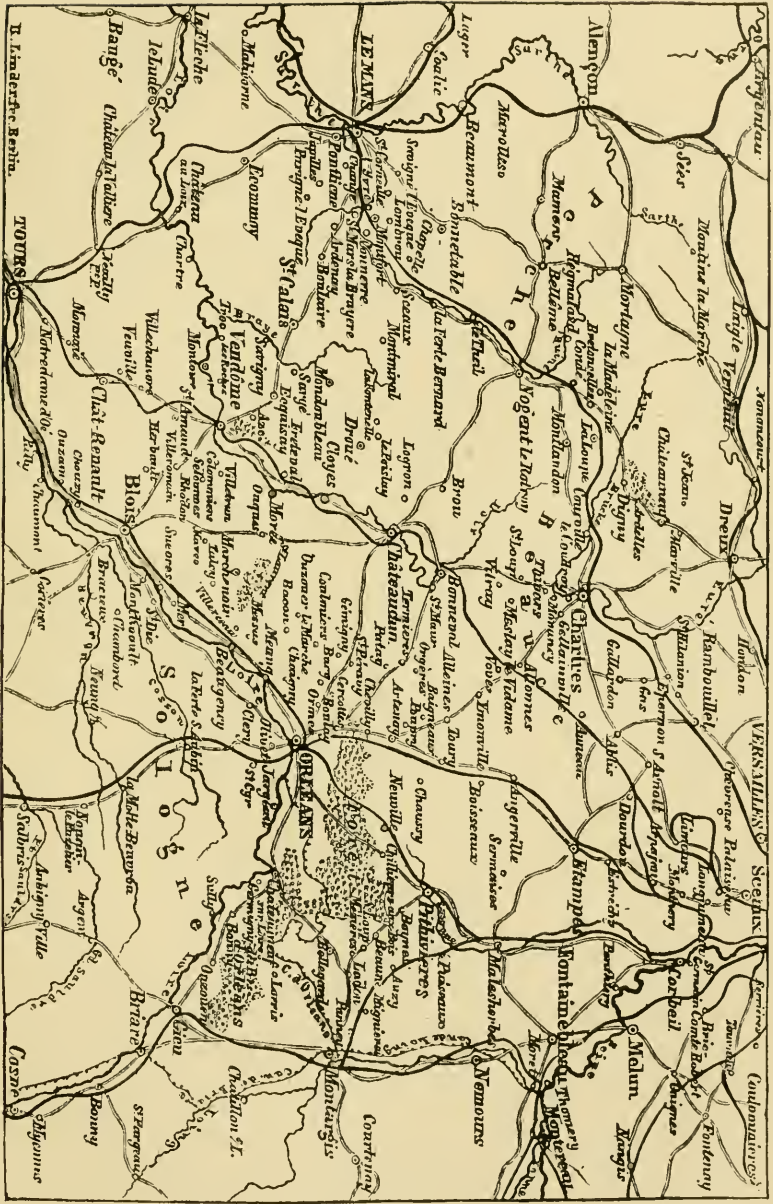
Two pigeons reached Paris recently bringing dispatches. One was addressed to the Governor and the other to the Editor of the *Figaro*. They give frightful accounts of the condition of the departments—"Fields devastated! Famine and distress everywhere!" If the pigeons could speak they would, no doubt, say they had not been farther than Ferrières. The Germans cannot frighten the Parisians with dispatches of this kind.

Five more balloons have sailed out of Paris, making in all 37. The *Denis-Papin* rose from the Orleans railroad station on the 7th inst., at 1 o'clock in the night. A sailor by the name of Domalain was aëronaut. He took with him three passengers, mail-bags, pigeons and government dispatches; they were safely landed.

On the 11th inst. the *General Renault* rose from the Northern railroad station with M. Joinery as aëronaut and two passengers. One of their twelve pigeons returned on the 17th inst., with a dispatch in cypher for M. Favre.

On the 15th inst. the *Ville de Paris* sailed out of Paris, a brief account of which, as it appears in the *Gaulois*, by M. Delamarne, may be interesting to the reader :

Wednesday, 14th inst., at 4 o'clock in the evening, I received orders to hold myself in readiness for the next day. At midnight I reached the Northern railroad station to assist in filling the balloon which was also to carry two others, strangers to me, MM. Morel and Billebaut. There was some difficulty in inflating the balloon,



MAP OF THE SOUTH-WEST

and it was nearly five o'clock when we could say, *Lâchez tout ! Vive la République !* We suddenly rose to the height of 800 metres and we discovered that instead of a north-northeast direction we were going full northeast, which would take us into the country of the enemy. As we crossed the lines of the Prussians two shots were fired at us which we could hear very distinctly. I asked one of my companions to draw up the lantern which was hung under our basket and I threw out one of our bags of sand. We immediately rose to the height of 1,300 metres and sailed at this height until half past 5 o'clock. A rainbow accompanied us part of the time, caused, as we supposed, by the light of the moon and the moisture of the atmosphere ; at other times we were in clouds which seemed to move as fast as we did. At 6 o'clock my companions imagined that they saw an encampment. At 7 o'clock they said they heard the sound of the bugle and that the music was French. I said to them, Are you very sure ? I will descend if you wish, but you must take the responsibility. We delayed for a favorable opportunity when a lively fusilade was heard. Billebaut believed that the shots were by *francs-tireurs*. I told him if *francs-tireurs* were shooting there must be fighting and it would be unsafe to descend. So we continued on in our course another half hour when we perceived a fort in the distance with three towers, surrounded by a large ditch filled with water. I believed it was the citadel of Mézières but I feared that the Prussians occupied it. A forest now appeared before us and we concluded to make our descent in it, thinking it might be a safe place to land and that we might escape into Belgium.

Whilst we were in this mood, deliberating what it was best to do, there appeared before us, and beneath us, a mountainous district covered with snow and what seemed to be glaciers. We were completely bewildered. Were we in Switzerland ? And if so, would it be prudent to descend ? The thought of landing in that benign country, free to all proscribeds, dissipated for a time my anxieties. It was now 10 o'clock, we had passed over this mountainous, snow-covered region when suddenly our companion, Billebaut, overwhelmed with joy, cried out : The land ! I opened the valve and we descended within 50 metres of the earth. I cut the twine which held the guide rope and the anchor. Several times the basket struck the ground and we discovered that we were going too rapidly to make any further efforts to land. Two country men saw us but they were frightened and ran. We called to them but they would not stop. We were fearful of being knocked senseless as we crossed

the ridges ; on several occasions the mailbags saved us. There was but one thing to do in our perilous situation, and, without consulting my companions who were holding on to the ropes to save themselves, I threw overboard a sack of sand. The balloon rose 100 metres or more above the earth and in this manner we sailed along, wondering if it would not be better to put a match to the balloon and blow it up ; but we now approached the edge of a forest where the wind was less violent. In the meantime several countrymen were hastening towards us as rapidly as they could, and among them two guards of the forest with guns. Where are we ? I asked them, *Duché de Nassau*, they responded ! They knew we were from Paris. One of them seized the guide rope dragging on the ground, but he could not hold us. The balloon rose above the forest but the basket dragged over the tops of the trees. For a few moments we were lodged among the branches and the men took hold of the guide rope and the anchor. M. Billebaut, thinking, perhaps, that we were in a helpless condition, caught hold of the limbs of a tree and climbed out of the basket. But M. Morel and I were unwilling to surrender without making another effort, and while he was pitching a bag of sand overboard I was busy cutting the rope. The guards of the forest, who discovered what we were doing, fired two shots at us, but neither of them, thank heaven, took effect. Meanwhile the small basket in which the pigeons were kept was upset and they all escaped. We had no time to attach a message to any of them. Our balloon rose rapidly in consequence of the loss of nearly half of the weight which it had carried—one passenger, a sack of sand, the anchor, pigeons and not less than 100 pounds of rope.

We now set out on a new voyage, hoping to find a country in which we would be more hospitably received. The balloon rose rapidly and the earth appeared like a large black ball beneath us. Our respiration became painful, our ears were gurgling under the pressure of blood which we believed was escaping from them ; the veins in our necks were so much swollen that we feared, at every moment, a stroke of apoplexy. The effect of the rarefaction of the atmosphere was so great that I could feel it a long time after our descent. The balloon, in its almost perpendicular ascent, dilated and assumed its original form. This was caused by the expansion of the gas which was now escaping through the appendix. After sailing along for an hour or more we discovered that the balloon was descending ; I threw overboard our last sack of sand. In half an hour, knowing that we would soon reach the earth, I cut open the large sacks of letters and scattered them to the winds. We were

now at the edge of the forest of Sinn, not far from Wetzler, and we concluded to drop down immediately, and, if possible, to conceal ourselves in the woods. But the inhabitants of the country saw us descending and it was not long until we were surrounded and made prisoners.

DELAMARNE.

The German and French newspapers give a few additional items of information concerning this perilous voyage. The prisoners were taken to Herborn, then to Coblenz, afterwards to St. Germain, and M. Delamarne, taking advantage of a very dark night, escaped from the guards and entered Paris on the 13th of January. The two passengers remained prisoners—the one was a civil engineer and the other an officer of the French army.

On the 17th inst. two other balloons sailed out of Paris—the *Parmentier* at 1 o'clock at night and the *Gutenberg* a half hour later. A dispatch was soon afterwards received, announcing the safe landing of both in Normandy. The latter carried MM. d'Almeida and Lévy who were authorized to establish a new system of telegraphic correspondence.

CHAPTER VIII.

PARIS, DECEMBER 26TH, 1870.

The Second Great Sortie—The Cold Weather Interfered—A Sad Christmas—A Young Elephant and Two Camels Killed and Eaten—A Midnight Collation—Five More Balloons Ascend.

BEFORE entering upon a brief description of the second *sortie générale* which also resulted in a failure, we may state that General Thomas, on the 10th inst., announced that he had reorganized eighty battalions of National Guards and that they had volunteered to serve outside the walls. Upon this announcement others hastened to join them, and on the 12th inst. 27 regiments were formed, each containing four battalions.

At the same time, a council of the government which convened in the Louvre, created three divisions and six brigadier generals; important changes were made in the army, or rather in the three armies, which are now in and around the city.

The cross of the Legion of Honor was conferred upon Generals Vinoy, Exéa, Frebault and others less known but possibly equally deserving. All this was taken as evidence that another sortie of the organized forces of Paris was soon to be made.

The failure of the first great effort to force back the Germans and to make a *trouée* has led some to doubt the sincerity and courage of the Governor and others to doubt his loyalty. He seems to have very little confidence in his armies, and possibly he has as little in himself. Had he acted upon the suggestion of some of his military *con-*

frères, on the first occasion, when it was announced that the pontoon bridges were not in readiness, he might have been successful. While the bridges were being laid he might have ordered General Ducrot with 150,000 men to strike another point in the circle where it was least expected, upon the north or upon the west.

It is conceded that there never were circumstances, not even in Metz, which so imperiously demand an exhibition of great talents. There are now, inside the circle of iron which surrounds us, about 350,000 well-armed men and undoubtedly many of them are willing to purchase victory with their lives. A thorough concealment of plans and rapid movements of the columns will be necessary. But what has General Trochu recently done? On the 18th inst. he directed the following to be published in the morning journals :

Take Notice : That at noon to-morrow, December 19th, all the gates will be closed.

By order of the Governor.

GENERAL SCHMITZ,
Chief of Staff.

Was it necessary to make such an announcement? There are many who were surprised at it and have since abandoned all hope. It gave the sympathizers and spies a few hours at least to carry the newspapers outside the walls and the Germans two or three days to prepare for an attack. On the 19th all was quiet in the city and the people wondered what was to be done; nor was there anything unusual observed on the 20th until night came when there was great activity. The buglers assembled the battalions; the home guards accompanied the mobilized guards as far as the gates. The armies moved northward, eastward and westward; they advanced upon a full half circle extending from the right bank of the Marne on the east to

the left bank of the Seine on the west. Pontoon bridges were not required.

The morning journals of the 21st contained the following statement.

“ DECEMBER 20TH, 11 *o'clock p. m.*

“ The Governor set out this evening to put himself at the head of the army, as important military operations will be commenced to-morrow at the break of day. The movements of the troops have been operated with the greatest regularity and there are more than 100 battalions of mobilized National Guards outside of Paris.”

This announcement gave rise to a high state of feeling and there was much comment upon the situation of affairs. The people made an effort to persuade themselves that there would be no more blunders committed. Every newspaper had something to say; and, although the weather was unusually cold for Paris, the hope was expressed that the hour for decisive action had come.

I had made my usual hospital visit and had learned from my friend Dr. B—— that the fighting would be north of the Marne and the Seine, so I set out in company with my American friends to see what was to be seen and to hear what was to be heard. We went as far as the railroad inside the walls, and from it we could see two or three miles in the direction of forts Vincennes, Nogent and Rosny. But the fighting was, at least, double this distance from the walls, and, of course we could see nothing of it. We could only hear the booming of cannon in the distance. The ambulance wagons and the little steamers which ply upon the rivers, were bringing in the wounded until a late hour of night. The evening journals printed the following :

“ DECEMBER 21ST, 2 *o'clock p. m.*

“ An advance movement was made this morning on a grand scale from Mont Valérien to Nogent. The fighting

began and was continued at all points with chances favorable for us. One hundred Prussians, taken at Bourget, were brought into St. Denis. The Governor is at the head of the troops."

By order of the Chief of Staff.

GENERAL SCHMITZ.

Of the movements of the French troops, on the 21st inst., we can only give a brief account. The Third army, under the command of General Vinoy, advanced eastward up the north side of the Marne and at 10 o'clock occupied the plateau of Avron. Of the generals who commanded under him we may mention, Hughes, Malroy, Blaise, Salmon and Favé. Their divisions and brigades advanced in the directions of Neuilly-sur-Marne, Ville-Evrard, Maison Blanche and Chelles. The advanced columns soon discovered a strong force, well entrenched, with numerous concealed batteries. The fighting continued until night, but without seriously disturbing the Germans. During the afternoon there were many indications of dissatisfaction and cowardice; and the next day several officers were arrested and have since been court-martialed.

The afternoon was very cold and General Blaise, in attempting to rally his troops and to take Ville-Evrard, was mortally wounded and died during the night. General Favé, commanding the artillery of the Third army, was also severely wounded. The Germans had the advantage of the French; the former occupied the villages and towns during the night, while the latter were obliged to sleep in the open field. The cold continued the next day and the French found it necessary to retreat.

This effort on the right wing of the French was merely intended to retain the Germans at this point of the semi-circle and they, no doubt, so understood it. At 7 o'clock in the evening a hand-to-hand engagement took place in

Ville-Evrard, the French wishing to occupy the village. It was an unfortunate affair on both sides and many lost their lives, in the confusion, by the fire of their comrades. In this night scramble Brigadier General Blaise imprudently exposed himself. He was a brave man, and in a fit of desperation, no doubt, rode to the head of his brigade to encourage his officers and men. On the 23d inst. the Government published a series of resolutions in recognition of his gallant services and ordered the expenses of the funeral to be borne by the State.

On the extreme left and under the protection of Fort Valérien was the corps commanded by General Noël. His center was at Buzenval and Longboyau, his left at Montretout and his right touched upon the great bend in the Seine. The fighting here commenced at 7 o'clock in the morning. Like the effort upon the extreme right it was only intended to hold the Germans at a distance from the main point of attack.

The Second army, under the command of General Ducrot, occupied the center. During the night of the 20th and 21st his army moved out in three columns, upon the three principal roads leading northward and eastward which pass through St. Denis, Bourget and Bondy. Express men, orderlies, *aides de camp*, couriers, ambulance wagons filled with surgeons, brothers of the *Doctrine Chrétienne* and wagons loaded with stretchers and mattresses, followed in the rear. At the same time floating batteries descended the Seine from St. Denis and bombarded Epinay, Orgemont and Enghien which were occupied by the Germans. The honor of a very vigorous attack upon Stains belongs, it is said, to the 10th, 12th, 13th and 14th battalions of the *gardes mobiles* of the Seine, and to the 62d battalion of the mobilized National Guards of St. Denis, under the command of Colonel Dautremont. After taking Dugny and Bourget the French artillery

directed its fire upon the second line of defense at Pont Iblon and Blanc Ménil. Bourget was taken, house by house and with heavy losses. The marines, usually put forward, suffered most of all. Out of 600 who took the lead 279, nearly one-half, are said to have been either killed or wounded. The 134th and 138th regiments also sustained heavy losses. Eastward from Bourget are the villages of Drancy and Groslay, where the French used their best artillery, but without gaining any advantage. Night came and the booming of cannon could still be heard.

We translate the following newspaper paragraph :

“ Crowds assembled upon the heights of Montmartre and likewise upon the boulevard leading to the park of Chaumont. Upon these elevated points, thousands of curious people, in spite of the cold and the dampness, spent the whole day. The first of the wounded were taken to Vilette. They preserved a courageous attitude. ‘ The news ! the news ! ’ cried the multitude. ‘ All goes well,’ responded the wounded. They related what they had seen, and they spoke with confidence which inspired the people with hope and courage. In the morning the atmosphere was hazy, the sky was covered, as if there would be snow. At 1 o’clock there were open places in the sky through which the pale rays of the sun descended, but towards night the cold became more severe. The mercury in the thermometer fell five degrees below zero. Centegrade.”

December 22d came and the people of Paris knew, as yet, very little of what had been done, but no one supposed that the fighting would not be immediately renewed. The morning journals indulged the hope of ultimate victory, though all agreed that the severe weather was unfavorable. In the afternoon the Vice President gave the following to the *Journal Officiel* :

“ Three o'clock p. m. :—The work of yesterday is only the beginning of a series of operations. It has not given us a definite result, for this was scarcely possible. But it has served to establish two important facts, the excellent bearing of our extemporized battalions, engaged for the first time, who have shown themselves worthy of their comrades of the army and of the mobiles, and the superiority of our artillery which has completely covered the fire of the enemy. If we had not been *opposed by the state of the atmosphere*, there is no doubt that the village of Bourget would have remained in our hands. At this moment the Governor of Paris is in consultation with the corps commanders concerning ulterior operations.”

JULES FAVRE.

The *Vérité* gives an account of the council of war immediately before taking the field. We take from it a few sentences as follows :

“ The last council of war presided over by General Trochu, day before yesterday, was very important. The commander-in-chief revealed his plan to the generals and admirals assembled at his headquarters. The plan received the unanimous endorsement of the assembly. It is said that the President captivated his audience. Step by step Trochu defined the military and political situation with a breadth of view and with an eloquence which produced a profound impression. It is a great triumph for a general-in-chief to have the officers placed under his orders unanimously endorse his views of a campaign.”

On the 22d the French rested upon their arms with the hope, as it is said, that the Germans would be provoked to attack them in an open field fight. This idea was included, no doubt, in the plan of the sortie, but General Von Moltke is too skilful a field marshal to allow his soldiers to be slaughtered in this manner. He believes rather

in the starvation plan of subduing his enemies. Napoleon, it is said, believed in large armies and rapid movements and Moltke has not only adopted the principles of the great leader of campaigns, but he has brought the science of war to a higher degree of perfection than any strategist who has preceded him. General Trochu was disappointed in not being able to induce the Germans to advance upon Paris, and consequently has ordered a retreat all around the semi-circle.

On the 23d renewed efforts were made to throw up intrenchments, but the ground was frozen so hard that it was abandoned, and at this date there is but little hope that another sortie will be undertaken. The *Journal Officiel* has given a discouraging view of the situation, on account of the cold weather which continues. The losses of the French on this occasion cannot be easily ascertained, but they are probably not less than 5,000 in killed, wounded and missing.

This is the hundredth day of the siege of Paris. Snow covers the earth and ice the rivers. The mercury has fallen below zero in the Centegrade thermometer—the only kind used in France and no doubt the best. Many soldiers have been brought into Paris from the picket lines and from the recent battle-fields with frozen hands and feet, and some have died as a consequence. The mortality in the city is very great. Starvation threatens the poor. Nearly one-fourth of the people live upon army rations and another fourth is supported by public charity. In many houses there is no fire except for culinary purposes.

Yesterday was Christmas—a day of festivity for the outside world, but not so for the people of Paris. What a sad Christmas it was! The fond recollections of former years only added to the heaviness of the heart. Preparations for the visits of Santa Claus, Christmas trees weighed down with fruits, gilded picture books, photographs and

albums, happy greetings of friends and families and lastly tables loaded with rich viands—all these the people of Paris had to forego. Any attempt at a cheerful observance of the day seemed like a mockery.

I rose at 5 o'clock in the morning, having slept none during the night. Indeed I have not slept any since the last week of November, now fully three weeks. Nature's sweet restorer quietly left me at that date and has not yet returned; notwithstanding the fact that the best means known to the medical profession have been tried. Rest and a hopeful disposition may take the place of sleep.

I had arranged to visit the church of St. Roch on Rue St. Honoré, not far from my lodging place, at an early hour. Thousands were going and coming and the church was crowded. The service consisted chiefly in the celebration of the eucharist. Several clergymen were busily engaged inside the chancel. The communicants stepped forward to the railing, crossed themselves and stood for a moment until their turn came. The officiating priests, occupying each a portion of the semi-circle, placed upon the tongues of the communicants a wafer-like substance called bread, which had been consecrated by the bishop; at the same time they repeated words in the Latin language which I could not distinctly hear. This is certainly a most expeditious method of celebrating what Protestant people call the Lord's Supper. I observed, too, that there was no wine given to the communicants which is an evidence of great economy. In the Roman church the bishops and priests are said to drink the wine, first for themselves and afterwards for the people. In this manner it is maintained that the injunction, "Drink ye all of it," is fulfilled.

Many of the churches are now occupied as hospitals; and this accounts for the unusually large number of communicants at St. Roch and also at the Madeleine which I afterwards visited. One cannot do more, on such occa-

sions, than notice what is upon the surface. The contrast between the officiating ministers and the people is here most apparent. The law of the church requires the former to be scrupulously exact in the style of their dress, whilst the latter are allowed, and even encouraged, to appear in the sanctuary without regard to personal appearance—soldiers and civilians, masters and servants, the rich and the poor—all crowded together. It occurred to me that in these services we have a striking exhibition of imperialism in the church. On the one hand we have the grand and gorgeous appearance of the church officials so different from all that we know of the early Christians and of the Master himself. On the other hand we have the motley crowd, servile and credulous enough to believe that the wafer, after a process of consecration, is the real body of the crucified Christ, so sacred that it must not be touched by their unsanctified and polluting hands.

At 7 o'clock I was in the restaurant on Rue St. Honoré where I have been accustomed to call for a bowl of chocolate (*chocolat au lait*) and two or three white rolls which can yet be obtained for a *sou* apiece, making in all six cents, though I am beginning to suspect that the milk is not genuine. At this place we have an opportunity of sitting half an hour or more very comfortably and of reading a morning journal.

As already stated, I have visited one or other of the numerous hospitals every day. On this occasion I made a Christmas call upon a few recent acquaintances at the American Ambulance—a name which is applied to the extemporized hospital, under the patronage of a few American families, with whom also a few English residents are associated. Mr. Washburne is, of course, at the head of this good work and Dr. John Swinburn, of Albany, N. Y., who had much experience as surgeon in our late civil war, has charge of it. About 200 of the wounded, French and

German, have thus far been placed under his care ; and it is proper to state that he has been recently complimented very highly by the Sanitary Commission for his work. To the French surgeons the American plan of a field hospital in the winter is a novelty.

A level piece of ground is first selected, large enough for one, two, three or four canvas tents. These may be each twenty or thirty feet long and sixteen feet broad. A trench is dug as long as the tent and deep enough to contain a stove-pipe. At one end a stove is set deep in the ground and at the other a chimney is erected. A floor of loose boards is laid a few inches above the ground so that the heated atmosphere under the floor may ascend. Two rows of mattresses are laid upon the boards and blankets are used for coverings. Twenty or more wounded or sick soldiers may thus be comfortably housed, their feet nearly touching each other in the center of the tent. Into this kind of extemporized hospital an abundance of pure air is admitted, and the results are much more satisfactory than in any other kind of hospital. By the use of wood in the stoves a uniform temperature can be maintained at a very moderate expense and without vitiating the atmosphere. The sanitary commission furnishes the medicines and defrays all the necessary expenses. Several vacant lots were secured for the purpose not far from the Triumphal arch on Place de l'Etoile. This is a sphere in which the English-speaking residents of Paris may exhibit their charity and good will.

After a second meal, called in France *déjeuner*, in England and in other English-speaking countries a luncheon, I set out on my afternoon excursion with the view of calling upon a few American friends whom I had engaged to meet. North of the Triumphal Arch is the Russian church, the interior of which I desired to see, but the Russians have very generally left the city and it was closed.

It is a modest but handsome structure of mediæval architecture. Near by stands the beautiful statue of the Empress Josephine, the sight of which fully compensated for the disappointment. The boulevards, Courcelles and Batignolles, led me to the cemetery of Montmartre. This is one of the three large cemeteries in Paris. There were many groups of mourners already assembled around the open graves of the dead, listening to the last words of consolation and eulogy. In the other two large cemeteries, the Père Lachaise on the east and Montparnasse on the south, there are also many interments every afternoon. The mortality in the city has now reached 3,000 a week. The classes which give the highest mortality rate include the extremes of life, those under five years of age and those above sixty. For the week ending November 20th 412 deaths were reported from small-pox. These are always buried in the stillness of the night and without ceremony.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon I joined my friends—the Rev. W——, Dr. S—— and brother—all of us Pennsylvanians, and after salutations and happy Christmas greetings, which could only be pronounced in a serio-comic manner, and a free exchange of opinions as to a speedy closing up of the war, we started in search of a restaurant in which we might be accommodated with a good dinner. We were all agreed in this, that we would not indulge in any extravagance. Our money was not to be spent in a lavish manner since it is impossible to foresee what a day may bring forth. Each has his favorite dining place, as we reside in different quarters of the city, so we concluded to patronize a new one not far from the Palais Royal. Our suspicions were realized; neither money nor entreaties could induce our *garçon* to promise us anything that an American desires for a Christmas dinner. It was—*Pas de dindon*—*Pas de poulet*—*Pas de céleri*—*Pas de canneberge!*

Instead of these we had roasted horse meat, a small dish of potatoes, excellent wheat-bread and plenty of wine. Those who had sufficient foresight and had house-room, in which to conceal a moderate quantity of everything that is useful to the caterer, sat down to better Christmas dinners than those who have been dependent upon the restaurants. But what may we say of the hundreds of thousands who stood yesterday in line—the coldest day of the season—waiting their turn patiently for a modicum of horse-soup, issued by the charity of the city? Had they no bread with which to complete their Christmas dinner? Yes, at other places they could each obtain a small piece sufficient merely to keep starvation from the door. In every ward, long rows of men, women and children are seen every afternoon waiting their turn for a small quantity of soup. In these groups I have seen some well-dressed men who have spent their last franc and, being unable to enter the ranks, or to dig in the trenches, are now compelled to ask for something to eat. The greater part of them belong to the laboring classes, whose occupation for the time has ceased to yield them a pittance with which to purchase a loaf of bread or a pound of meat. They cannot even enjoy the luxury of a piece of the dog, the cat or the rat now sold in the markets at extravagant prices.

In the memorable sieges of Troy, Babylon, Carthage and Jerusalem the people suffered much and many lost their lives, but the temperature of the atmosphere was at least moderate; there was neither snow nor ice. In Paris we have hunger, and pestilence, and cold weather, and a constant dread of a bombardment. We have had several very pleasant days since the 1st of December, but those who are natives of Paris declare that the weather has never been so cold and damp. Yesterday morning the mercury in the thermometer fell to eleven and two-tenth degrees



BOUCHERIE MUNICIPALE.

below zero, and we have not yet reached the middle of winter. In the Fahrenheit thermometer this would be about 24 degrees below freezing point.

Here we may gather up a few items which have been omitted. On the 8th inst. Flourens was re-arrested and this time placed in Mazas to await his trial before a military court. The charges preferred against him are disobedience and cowardice.

On the 18th inst. the flesh of a young elephant and that of two camels was offered for sale at the chief market in the Faubourg St. Honoré. The camels were purchased at the Zoological Garden for 1,500 francs, and it is stated, that the meat was sold at retail prices for 4,000 francs. The government gives the butchers full liberty to speculate in the meat of the elephant, the camel, the dog, the cat and the rat ; hence the extravagant prices. The laws of the city forbid the sale of any article under a false name and for so doing a heavy fine is imposed. The dog must be called dog and the rat must be called rat.

On the same day a lot of small fishes was offered for sale in the Halles Centrales to the highest bidder ; among these were a few carp which were sold for \$1.20 apiece.

December 18th the Paris mint began the coinage of gold and silver with the words *République Française* and the head of the Goddess of Liberty impressed upon the pieces. Political sentiment has required this change. M. Arago, the director of the mint, who had been prominent in the Republic of 1848 and was recently Mayor of Paris, favored it, and, besides, the people are unwilling to preserve and perpetuate the memory of the ex-Emperor.

At a meeting of the mayors of the twenty wards, on the 23d inst., it was agreed to distribute 500,000 francs for the support of the poor. To the 19th ward 66,000 francs were voted, on account of the large number who are objects of charity. The greater part of the money is given for the

purpose of sustaining the municipal eating houses and the places at which soup is obtained gratis every afternoon. There are now nearly 500,000 persons registered who are indigent and need help. This is nearly one-fourth of the population of Paris ; and although 500,000 francs is a large sum, it scarcely allows more than a franc to each person. In a few days another half-million will have to be voted, if a capitulation is not agreed upon.

On the 24th inst. the following appeared in the journals :
To Mr. RICHARD WALLACE :

DEAR SIR :—" The noble use which you make of your fortune in favor of our dear country affects us very sensibly. Permit a few citizens of Paris who certainly represent all, to thank you for the sympathy you exhibit for our brothers, wounded or unfortunate. The history of the siege of Paris will perpetuate the memory of the generous Richard Wallace."

The following account of a midnight collation appears in the journals :

" A dozen officers assembled a little before midnight on Christmas eve. The place of rendezvous was in the office of the mayoralty of Nanterre. The night was dark and the lamp of the guard was the only light which could cast a suspicion upon our group. Our rallying-word was Bismarck ! At a quarter before twelve we were ready and we set out for the house which screened our banquet. This was the *menu* :

REVEILLON DU 24 DECEMBRE 1870.

(Avant-poste de Nanterre.)

HORS-D'OEUVRES.

Sardines—*Sans Sergents*.

Pas de beurre.

Pas de radis.

ENTRÉES.

Filet de cheval aussi cuit que possible.

Pas de poisson.

SORTIES.

S'adresser au général Trochu.

ROTIS.

Cuissots de rats à la crapaudine.

Côtelettes de chien, sauce verte.

Entrecôtes de chat à la bordelaise.

LÉGUMES.

On en avait jadis.

ENTREMETS.

Bombes—*du Mont-Valérien.*

DESSERT.

Tout ce qu' on peut désirer en imagination.

Il y aura beaucoup de café.

The same illustrated journal gives a wood-cut of a group of *mobiles* flaying and quartering the carcass of a horse which had been struck with a cannon ball.

Five more balloons have sailed out of Paris which make in all 42. The first, called the *Davy*, ascended on the morning of the 18th inst., at 5 o'clock. It landed fortunately near Beaune. A Bavarian soldier, who is said to have followed it was captured by the country people.

On the 20th inst., at 2 o'clock in the morning, the *General Chanzy* rose from the Northern railroad station. The wind was very violent, and nothing at this date, concerning its fortune, has appeared.

Whenever a balloon ascension is to take place M. Rampont, at the Hôtel des Postes, hastens to send off a few trial balloons for the purpose of ascertaining the course of the wind. When the direction is unfavorable the departure is postponed; on the contrary when it is favorable, orders are sent immediately to the station at which the ascension is to take place. However, in spite of the rough weather, the cold and the snow, on the night of the 21st of December, the Godard brothers, according to orders, cut loose the *Lavoisier*. The aéronaut was M. Dedret, a mariner, who took with him all the letters in the post-

office. He fortunately landed at Beaufort (Maine-et-Loire) near the army of General Chanzy.

On the 23d inst. the *Délivrance*, a *ballon-poste*, set out at 1 o'clock in the morning, from the Northern railroad station. The aëronaut was M. Gauchet. He made a successful voyage with M. Reboul who took with him little globes intended to facilitate correspondence, by water. M. Deronard added a small basket in which were four pigeons—the last of the fifty which he had at the beginning of the siege.

A brief notice is given of another balloon which rose from the workshops of the Godard brothers on the 24th inst., at 2 o'clock in the morning. It was called the *Rouget de Lisle*, a very large one, containing 3,000 cubic meters of gas. It was freighted with business men who were obliged to leave the city, but of its landing we have no information.

CHAPTER IX.

PARIS, JANUARY 2ND, 1871.

The Bombardment of the Forts and of Mont Avron—The Mayors Dissatisfied—A Census Taken—A Deep Snow—Hard Times—The Scarcity of Provisions—High Prices—The Elephants Eaten—Dogs, Cats and Rats Killed—Large Trees Cut Down—Three More Balloons—Ærial Navigation.

ANOTHER week has passed and with it another year. The situation of affairs in Paris is not improving. What anxieties! What sleepless nights! What suffering, both mental and physical! It is difficult to conceive of a brave people in circumstances more trying.

First of all, there is an incessant booming of cannon—on the north, on the east and on the south. The explosions seem to be much nearer and more violent than heretofore. What is the meaning of it? Are the Germans making an effort to frighten the people into a capitulation? Or are they merely shooting away the old year? In either case, what folly! But may they not be preparing to bombard the city? Ah! yes, this is really what they are doing. They are bringing forward their siege guns, whose sweep, it is said, reaches a mile or more beyond that of the largest French guns on the forts.

Bourget, on the northeast, has been retaken and hundreds of shells are falling every day around the forts on the north. General Vinoy has been forced to abandon the plateau of Avron on the east and the shells are reaching forts Noisy, Rosny and Nogent, and on the south a terrific

bombardment of forts Issy, Vanves and Montrouge is going on. Of course the French are responding from these forts with all the vigor that is possible ; and it may be that more than half of the cannonading is on their side.

Apparently the King of Prussia gave the Parisians a period of time for reflection which was to expire with Christmas ; for on the next day preparations were made for an advance upon the city. On the 27th ult., at 7 o'clock in the morning, the bombardment of Mont-Avron commenced. The siege guns were placed in a semi-circle, as at Sebastopol and at Charlestown, and the bombardment continued two days. According to the French accounts it was furious. In the afternoon of the 28th General Trochu appeared on Mont-Avron, and being convinced that the place was untenable, ordered General Hugues to remove his cannon. The next day the 12th Saxon corps occupied it.

As now appears the Germans had 80 pieces of artillery placed on eligible points—at Raincy, Maison-Rouge, Gagny, Montfermeil, Maison-Blanche and Noisy-le-Grand. The French claim that the German siege guns could not be discovered on account of the snow and the fog rising from it ; whilst the elevation which they occupied could be easily seen. These allegations may be true, but the concentrated fire of siege guns cannot be easily resisted. A French journal states that not less than 5,000 shells were thrown by the Germans on the 27th ult., and that many of them were of large size. On the 29th, 30th and 31st the bombardment of the forts on the east was continued without, however, producing any serious damage. The French infantry withdrew and took up their quarters between the forts and the walls, in the towns and villages which have thus far not been rendered uninhabitable.

Admiral Pothuau and General Beaufort, both division commanders, have sent in very encouraging reports, con-

cerning the behavior of their troops. Admiral Saisset and General Ribourt have likewise reported very favorably.

The Governor, on the 30th ult., issued a proclamation to the people and to the several branches of the army, contradicting the report that the members of the government are not in accord with each other. It has produced a very favorable impression. General Trochu, if he is not a great military leader, is at least a very skilful writer.

At a council of war, held on the 31st., at which most of the prominent generals were present, including Vinoy, Ducrot, Roncière, Bellemare, Thomas, Tripier and Guyot, it was agreed that, in the future, the important movements of the armies should be referred to the corps and division generals, as well as to Admirals Pothuau and Saisset.

We have several times referred to the Communists—their meetings, their club-rooms and their folly. M. Jules Ferry, a member of the Government and Mayor of Paris, keeps a close watch upon them. They still insist that the municipal government should be united with the Government of National Defense. Prior to the 6th of November the mayors and adjuncts assembled in the early part of the afternoon in the City Hall; but after that date they met at 4 o'clock. The conduct of some of them, however, became outrageous, and the Government discontinued their meetings. Protests were of course made against this act of the Government, and M. Ferry, the president of the council, was entreated to call a meeting on the 28th ult. But as M. Favre desired an interview with the mayors, as Minister of the Interior, the meeting was deferred until the next day and an invitation was extended to the mayors alone. When the hour came M. Ferry was surprised to see the adjuncts present; but after a conference with M. Clemenceau, took no notice of it and called the meeting to order. The mayor of the 19th ward, M. Delescluse, took the floor, and without any notice being given pre-

ferred charges against General Trochu and the other members of the Government of National Defense. In support of these charges he began an abusive speech which was listened to very impatiently. M. Vacherot, also a mayor, followed him and refuted the charges one after another. M. Clemenceau and several of the adjuncts sustained the propositions of M. Delescluse, maintaining especially the right of the municipal government to assist in the defense of Paris. When all the mayors and adjuncts had an opportunity to speak M. Favre took the floor and in a very able manner reviewed the history of the siege. He stated that General Trochu was not altogether exempt from blame; that he was a true and loyal Frenchman, however—that he was friendly to the Republic and would guarantee its triumph.

The minister's speech was received with great applause, as at the close of it he said that there was a rumor current (though he had no official information on the subject) that the army of the Loire, after being defeated by Prince Frederick Charles and Von der Tann, was not more than twelve leagues from Paris.

The mayors were about to disperse when M. Delescluze, who is irrepressible, took the floor, and with great energy attempted to refute the arguments of the Minister of Foreign affairs. But M. Vacherot, who is an able speaker, replied in a very forcible manner and silenced the noted *communard*.

Before the adjournment M. Favre announced that another meeting of the mayors would be called in a few days.

Louis Blanc, who is a moderate communist, has criticised the direction of the armies of Paris in a very courteous manner. Many journals have reproduced his article.

Edgar Quinet, who writes every day, is a much more prudent contributor. He resided for nearly twenty years

at Veytaux, Switzerland, as a proscrip̄t ; but he now seems to be happy. He writes not only for Paris but for the departments. The balloons take out the newspapers nearly every day, but unfortunately they bring none back.

Occasionally a French journal reaches Paris and sometimes a foreign one. These give us some idea of what is going on in the busy world outside. Yesterday a copy of the *Moniteur Prussien* made its appearance in the city. It is published every day at Versailles for the entertainment of the German soldiers. The following was translated into the French from it :

“ One of the amusements of the Parisians (they have many such) is that of giving names to their marine pieces of long range. They call one of them *Joséphine*, another *Marie-Jeanne* and the last was baptized *Valérie*. They indulge in many jokes concerning them, such as *Joséphine* is sick, *Clémentine* has a bad cough, *Marie-Jeanne* is angry, what a bad character she is—always crying !”

A census was taken during the month of December and a report of the number of inhabitants in each of the twenty wards has just appeared in the journals. The 16th ward contains the smallest number—44,034 ; and the 11th ward the largest number—183,723. For the whole city the census gives 2,005,709. The army, the *garde mobile* and the seamen are not included in these figures. In round numbers there are about 2,200,000 souls inside the German lines.

At this date, the beginning of a new year, we may give a brief account of the mortality in Paris and of the diseases which have prevailed since the proclamation of the Republic. Commencing with the first week after the 4th of September, we find the mortality a little below 1,000 (981). Since this time it has gradually risen above 3,000 a week (3,280). The disease which has given the people and the medical profession most concern is small-pox.

The mortality from it during the first week was 116 ; from this it has risen to 454 a week. The other three diseases which have prevailed—bronchitis, pneumonia and typhoid fever—have run on nearly parallel lines. Starting with a loss respectively of about 45 a week, the reports now show a mortality by each disease of 250 a week. The other diseases which show a considerable increase in the death-rate, as compared with the statistics of last year are diarrhea and dysentery. The loss from the former has not risen above 100 a week, nor has that of the latter risen above 45 a week. The aggregate loss of 3,280 during the last week and the present sanitary conditions, especially the want of a sufficient quantity of wholesome food, plainly indicate a still greater mortality.

We have several times referred to the slaughter of horses, mules and asses—to the registration, inspection and uses made of them. The number slain every day is now about 600 ; the government claims absolute control over them, even to the use of their blood and bones ; three-fourths of the people are dependent upon them for existence.

Several weeks ago I laid in a small stock of provisions which I thought might be useful to me in some unforeseen emergency, and lately I was induced to apply for a coupon card which will secure, at regular prices, a nice piece of horse-meat, if I choose to attend market. Thus far there has been no necessity for using it, but this has not prevented me from attending market when convenient. Under the Empire, as well as under the Republic, I have been interested in the great central market of the city called the *Halles Centrales*. But recently I witnessed, in the market of St. Honoré, not far from my place of lodging, a scene which I am free to say made a deep impression upon my mind. You must imagine a building large enough for five or six thousand purchasers. Snow had

fallen during the night and in the morning it was shoveled up in great heaps so that the people could more easily enter. The butchers were all busy at work cutting up the quarters of the horses lying upon the benches, and the people were passing along under the protection and direction of the police and making their purchases. Each one presented a coupon card which indicated the number of portions that might be received. Although I was in the crowd, I had not made up my mind to purchase anything (indeed there was very little for sale except horse-meat), so I pushed on in the direction of a large pile of what seemed to be the legs of animals, and I discovered that I was not mistaken. The butchers had removed them from the body at the usual place of excision, six inches above the knee, or the hock, and had allowed the hide to remain. The legs had been boiled or steamed so that the hair and the hoofs were easily removed, and they looked very clean and white. Some of the butchers were sawing them into pieces, five or six inches long, whilst others were splitting the bones and feet into still smaller pieces and were selling them to the poorer classes who have not yet spent all their money. If we did not know that an intense love of country leads a brave people to make great sacrifices, and that starvation leads to cannibalism, we would feel indignant towards a government which justifies such economy. A schedule of prices has been arranged for every part of the horse, so that there is no room for imposition, and, as far as any one can discover, none but sound animals are slaughtered. Chemistry teaches that the elements of nutrition are abundant in the bones, even of horses, though the soup made from them may not be as palatable as that made from the bones and flesh of other animals.

The destitution of Paris, at this date, may be more accurately expressed, if we abbreviate a report which has been recently given to the public. It pertains only to the

charity of the 9th ward, and merely to one branch of it—the municipal kitchens. There are eight of these in the ward which, according to the late census, has 102,215 inhabitants. Soup made from the boiled bones of the slain horses, and small pieces of bread, are here distributed to the poor. From the 15th of October to the close of the month, there were 7,800 portions distributed; and during the month of November there were 351,000 portions distributed. At present there are, on an average, 18,000 portions distributed every day. The expenses per month are now 90,000 francs, most of which is contributed by the wealthy inhabitants of the ward. Coupon cards must be presented, which are renewed every week. The people must stand in line, these cold winter days, and wait their turn, under the direction of the police. If we now multiply these figures twenty times we will have the aggregate of this branch of charity in the city at this date. Passing from one ward to another, in my afternoon excursions, I have had many opportunities of witnessing these pitiable scenes. In these groups are the aged and the young, male and female, who, alike, are constrained to ask for and accept a charity which, in ordinary circumstances, they would despise.

As an illustration of the desperate condition of the poor, of which many might be given, we translate the following:

“ At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, December 27th, a half-starved horse fell in one of the streets of the faubourg La Villette, and the driver, after calling to his assistance a few city loungers, was unable to raise him upon his feet. A butcher came and proposed to purchase him for the municipal slaughter house. Immediately he received the *coup de grâce* and the butcher went in search of a cart. He had scarcely turned his back when the crowd raised a *hurrah* and precipitated themselves upon the horse. Every one wished a piece of him. Men, women and chil-

dren gathered around the carcass like a group of savages with knives in their hands. In less than twenty minutes there remained nothing of the animal but the hide and bones."

Instances of this kind of desperation are becoming numerous. Those who have for sale provisions of any kind must place them in the care of the police, and those who have made purchases in the markets take the risk, in some parts of the city, of losing them before they reach home. It cannot be doubted that a large percentage of the people are now suffering from hunger, obliged, as they have been, during the last month, to live upon soup and the small amount of bread furnished by the municipality.

The well-to-do classes of the people fare much better. They have money, and there are still three sources from which they can replenish their cellars and their pantries. We may abridge what has recently appeared in a daily journal :

'Provisions of all kinds are now very scarce and the prices of articles, not regulated by the government, are beyond the reach of all but those who have plenty of money. Potatoes are not to be obtained at any price. Small heads of cabbage are sold at \$1.20 apiece. Lard is very scarce at \$1.40 a pound. Ham has been sold at \$2.00 a pound. Blood pudding (horse meat) is execrable at 25 cents a pound. Fresh butter is very scarce at \$7.00 to \$8.00 a pound. Eggs are sold at 20 cents a piece. A turkey was sold at \$25.00; a goose at \$17.00; a chicken at \$5.00; a pigeon at \$1.60; a hare at \$13.00; a rabbit at \$5.00 and a duck at \$6.00. These are the prices of articles offered for sale on the one hundred and third day of the siege of Paris. We will preserve them as a precious *souvenir* when we shall be delivered from the iron grasp of the Prussians.'

The rich have also access to the Jardin de Plantes where

there are many quadrupeds and birds, natives of other countries. Concerning these we translate the following :

“ Many animals of the Zoological Gardens have already been eaten and digested by the Parisians. A butcher, on boulevard Haussmann, who has taken up the specialty of providing exotic meats for consumption, has recently crowned his work by the purchase of three elephants. It is said that he paid 27,000 francs for them. In a few days the meat of the elephant will be much talked about.”

Since the 28th ult. the newspapers have been filled with criticisms concerning the slaughter of foreign animals and concerning the best methods of preparing their flesh for the table. The sacrifice of the two large elephants—*Castor* and *Pollux*—has certainly been the event of the week. An illustrated journal represents the butchers shooting them in the eyes with explosive balls. It is not likely, however, that such balls were used, though it was necessary to shoot them in the eyes. “The elephants have really become the lions of the day.”

M. Dumontreil gives also an account of the slaughter of elks, antelopes and kangaroos and a large bird not unlike the ostrich, called the cassawary, a native of Asia of which a large number may be easily spared. Should the siege be continued all the foreign quadrupeds and bipeds will, no doubt, be slaughtered and eaten. The government places no restrictions upon the slaughter of exotic animals except that of a special license to engage in the business. The flesh of some of them sells at extravagant prices. The epicureans of Paris have now an opportunity, as they never had before, to indulge their tastes for novelties. They no longer address each other in the ordinary—*Comment cela va-t-il?* How goes it? But *Qu'as-tu mangé ce matin?* What had you to eat this morning?

But there are other species of animals much better known to the people, the flesh of which can only be ob-

tained by those who have money. I refer to the dogs, the cats and the rats of the city. It is now a full month since these quadrupeds began to be utilized. Two reasons have been given why they should be sacrificed. The first is that they may stop eating and the second is that the Parisians may have a greater variety of meats on their tables. Sanitarians assure the people that in these ways these domestic animals will be most useful in the continuance of the siege.

The traffic in the flesh of these animals has given rise to a third specialty among the butchers. To engage in it a special permit is, of course, necessary. The government exercises its power for the purpose of preventing fraud. Each kind of meat must be labeled, but it may be sold at any price. In every ward there are several shops in which these meats may be purchased, and there is possibly nothing witnessed in Paris at this time more amusing than the behavior of the purchasers and bystanders in front of the shops. The dogs, the cats and the rats are hung up by the neck or the legs according to the fancy of the merchant. A pound of the dog or the cat is sold for twenty, thirty or forty cents, and a plump rat for half a dollar.

A few days ago two shopkeepers sold as venison the quarters of a large dog, but were soon after arrested and sentenced to six days' imprisonment and a fine of \$5.00 each.

Fortunately, for the Parisian world, good wheat bread is yet abundant. Flour and wood are distributed regularly to the bakers and they, in turn, supply the people of the several wards with the "staff of life." The price of bread is yet very reasonable; to every family a coupon card is issued and this must always be presented.

At the beginning of the siege two classes of persons were specially provided for—the sick in the hospitals and the children. For the benefit of the former a few thousand

fat cattle were reserved, but these have been diminishing until a small number remain, and for the benefit of the latter a few thousand milk cows were reserved. Children under five years of age cannot easily pass through the winter season without fresh milk. Even with this wise provision the mortality in this helpless class is very great.

But what has added most to the severity of the situation is doubtless the low temperature of the atmosphere. The mercury in the thermometer began to fall on the 21st ult. and has continued low until the present. There is very little fire in the houses on account of the scarcity and high price of fuel. Thousands of men have been detailed during the last week to cut down the large trees in the parks, gardens and boulevards. The Champ Elysées has already lost many of its stately elm and maple trees. They are taken out by the roots and every branch and chip is gathered up and converted into fuel.

During the last week three more balloons sailed out of Paris, making in all 45. They took out large bales of newspapers and letters for the government.

On the 27th ult. the *Tourville* rose from the Orleans railroad station at 4 o'clock in the morning and moved in a southwestern direction. The aëronaut was a mariner named Montet.

On the 29 ult. the *Bayard* rose from the same station and at the same hour of the morning. The aëronaut was a sailor named Reginensi. He landed safely in the department of Vendée, not far from the Atlantic Ocean.

On the 31st ult. the *Armée de la Loire*, a large postal balloon, sailed out of Paris. It likewise took a southwestern direction and landed safely near Le Mans.

Soon after the commencement of the siege the inventive talent of the French was engaged in the construction of balloons which promised not only to carry the agents of the government and mailbags out of Paris but to return

with them. Companies were organized, subscriptions were solicited, workshops were established and experiments were made—all for the purpose of demonstrating the possibility of aërial navigation. We have frequently seen the outlines of these aërial machines on exhibition upon the boulevards with invitations appended to become contributors. There have already been large sums of money spent with the hope of overcoming the numerous difficulties in the way. Two kinds of these machines have been devised—one to be inflated and elevated by the ordinary gas of the city, and the other by hot air.

It is not proposed to sail against the wind, but to move with it and merely modify the course of the balloon. The company organized by the Montgolfier brothers adopted the hot-air system of aërial navigation, and, on the 31st ult., announced that there would be a delay of a few days, as the lading was not yet complete. Packages of newspapers, letters, etc., are requested to be left at No. 50 Boulevard Haussmann. It is also stated that there is room yet for one passenger. The hot-air system, it is supposed, will give the best results; but as no one has ever made a voyage in a balloon of this kind there is considerable doubt as to the feasibility of the enterprise. The French were the first aëronauts, as well as the first photographers, and they are unwilling to admit that a flying machine cannot be made. Since the siege they have brought the art of microscopic photography to such perfection, that they imagine they can not only fly out of Paris but fly back again. Observing the course of the winds, as shown on the maps, they propose, after sailing out of Paris, to enter the current which leads in the direction of the besieged city. In the great semi-circle, on the south and west, there are points which might be selected, as at Nevers, Tours, Le Mans, Alençon and Rouen, from which a return-ascension might be made. There is no necessity, as it is alleged, of

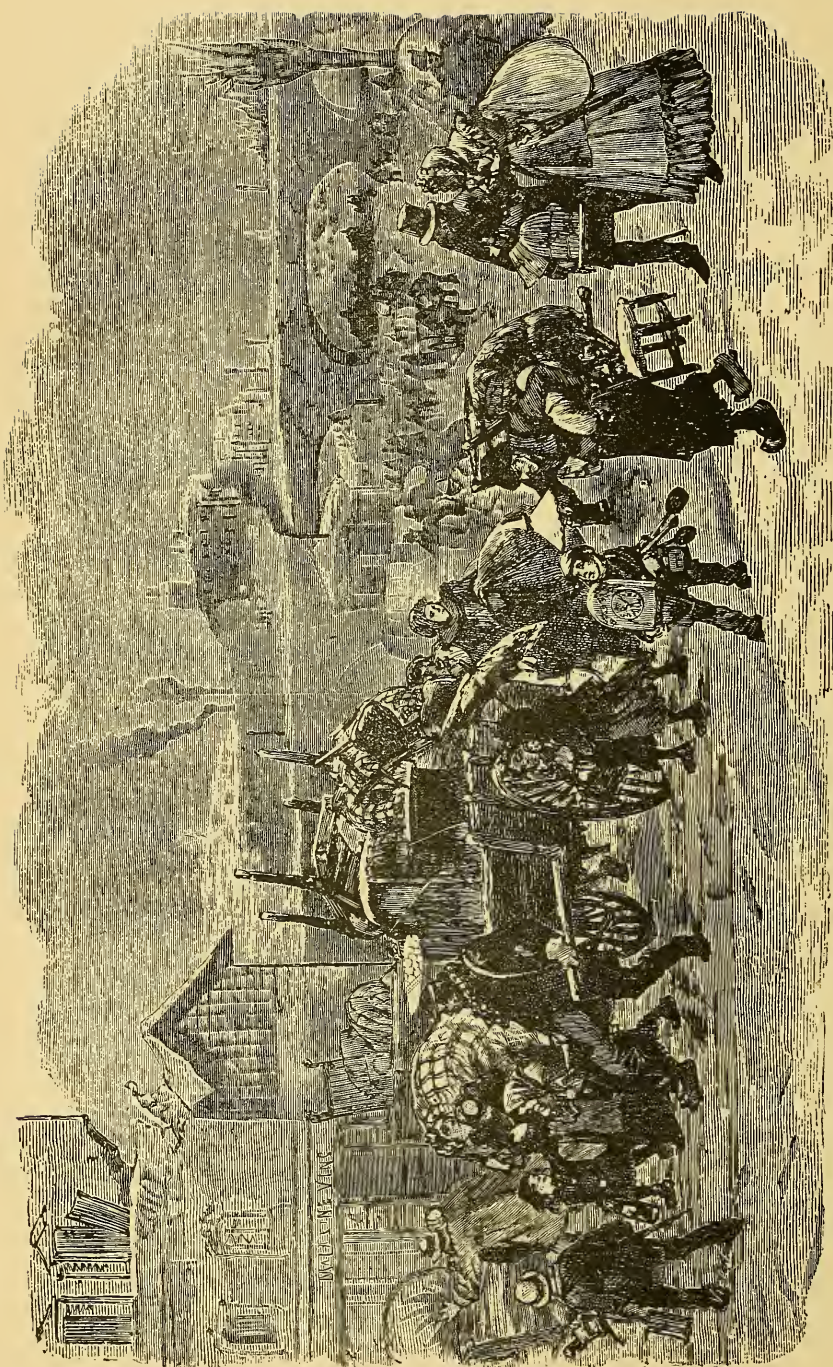
rising more than a mile above the surface of the earth, so that on a clear day the armies, towns and villages may be easily recognized. It will be a great victory for the French if, through the siege of Paris, we shall have become familiar with aërial navigation.

Thus far the Parisian population has been dependent upon the secret service and the pigeons for information from the outside world. The difficulties are numerous; chief of which are the distance, which has been considerably increased, and the cold weather. The Government has been in great need of information from the deputation at Bordeaux, and the army was obliged to advance without it. Before the river was frozen over the body of a man was discovered floating in the river. It was immediately drawn to the shore and recognized as a well-known scout in the employ of the Government. While fording the river he was shot in the body and not being able to help himself was drowned. This branch of the service has been very useful to the siege, but the vigilance of the Germans cannot always be eluded. The Mayor of Paris has received the following which is another evidence of the liberality of the millionaires of the city :

PARIS, *December 31, 1870.*

DEAR SIR :—In view of the cold of the season, so severe and persistent, we have thought that the best way to aid those needing assistance, would be by a distribution of warm clothing. I have consequently the honor of addressing you, as much in my own as in the name of my brothers, and nephew James Nathaniel Rothschild, concerning goods to the amount of 200,000 francs which we offer for the use of men, women and children. We beg you to kindly distribute these among the people of the twenty wards of Paris, in proportion to the number of persons needing assistance through the bureaus of charity in each ward.

A. DE ROTHSCHILD.



THE BOMBARDMENT OF PARIS.

CHAPTER X.

PARIS, JANUARY 10TH, 1871.

The Bombardment of Paris—One-third of the City Shelled—Fifty-four Persons Killed and Eighty-eight Wounded—The Scarcity of Provisions—Five Hundred Cords of Wood Cut Every Day—Twenty-one Days Without News—Three More Balloons Ascend—The Music and Poetry of the Siege.

WHAT a heritage of trial and suffering the old year has dropped into the lap of France! Fourteen armies have appeared in the field; two of them have been made prisoners of war and twelve remain. Another act in the great drama has been reached. To the bombardment of the forts has been added the bombardment of the city. God have mercy upon us! At this moment the shells are falling near the center of Paris. We hear them coming, piercing the frosty atmosphere—whiz-z! whiz-z! whiz-z! but we cannot tell where they will strike, what damage they will do, or how many lives will be lost. They fall here and there and everywhere on the south side of the city. Hundreds of houses have been demolished, and the people are escaping from the ruins. Thousands are hastening northward where they are safe from the shells of their enemies. It is a miracle that more of the people are not killed. The poor are especially to be pitied. They carry with them, through the deep snow which has fallen, their children and their bedding. They are crowding into the basement stories of the theatres, the churches and other public buildings where they are safe from the cold and the shells.

Thus far the bombardment of the city has been chiefly at night. Why these hours should be selected, no one can tell ; besides there has been no formal notice given to the government or to the people. Protests have already been signed by members of the government and by the medical gentlemen who have charge of the hospitals.

During the afternoon of the 5th inst. a few shells were thrown into that quarter of the city called Auteuil ; they fell on each side of the great avenue leading in the direction of Versailles. A *café*, a convent and several dwelling houses near Point du Jour were struck ; and many fell during the night in other quarters as Montrouge, Observatoire, Luxembourg, Val-de-Grâce, Panthéon, Montparnasse, Plaisance and Grenelle. The next day five persons were reported killed and five wounded.

On the 6th inst. the same quarters were shelled, and in addition Notre-Dame-des-Champs, St. Lambert and Javel. An illustrated journal represents a battalion of National Guards drilling on the avenue Observatoire, when a shell threatened to fall in their midst. They all dropped to the ground ; the shell passed over them, struck the pavement on the opposite side and killed two women. During the night a large number of shells were thrown and on the next day ten victims were reported.

We translate the following : “ The projectiles began to fall in the interior of Paris at 7 o'clock in the evening (January 5th). The batteries at Châtillon directed their fire upon the Panthéon and those at Meudon, upon the quarter of Grenelle. In front of the Hôtel des Invalides and the military school a hundred or more fell ; many also fell near the Observatory, the Luxembourg garden, in the boulevard Saint-Michel and in the streets Fleurus, Madame and Bac, and some fell in the quarters of the Panthéon, Grenelle and Auteuil.

“ More than thirty projectiles of large size were directed

towards the Hospital de la Pitié. One woman was killed in a ward and the remaining patients had to be removed to the basement. Val-de-Grâce was also bombarded. The enemy seem to take the domes of the hospitals of Paris as the objects at which they aim. From seven to nine and a half o'clock in the evening 120 shots of the cannon were counted per hour. Much property was damaged and fifteen persons were struck, of whom ten were killed."

During the night of the 8th inst. a very large number of projectiles were thrown into the city. The watchmen on the Observatory, on the Panthéon and on the Hôtel des Invalides, can easily see every flash of the cannon on the south, and they counted, as is reported, 900 shots from 9 o'clock in the evening to 5 o'clock in the morning. Shells were thrown into the 5th, 6th, 7th, 14th and 15th wards; 52 persons were struck during the night; 22 were killed outright and 30 were wounded, of whom one-fourth may die.

On the following night the bombardment was continued with nearly the same results. More than 300 shells fell in the quarters that we have named. In the neighborhood of the Panthéon 50 are said to have fallen in the course of two hours; 48 victims are reported this morning; 12 killed and 36 wounded.

Most of the inhabitants have fled from the quarters adjoining the walls, but they cannot all change their residence. Shells have fallen near the center of the city. The people hope that the bombardment will not be continued. Some of the daily journals keep an accurate account of all who are killed and wounded—giving the names of the persons, the names of the streets and the numbers of the houses.

The shells which are thrown into the city do not all explode, nor are they all equally large. Some are 20 inches long and 9 inches in diameter. During the first two or

three days a lively trade was carried on by the boys of the city. Taking all the risks they spent their time hunting pieces of shells which they sold to the highest bidder.

Curiosity has led many persons to visit those quarters in which most damage has been done. The 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th wards have especially suffered, as they join the walls on the south ; but there has been much damage done in the 5th, 6th and 7th, in which are the Jardin des Plantes, the Panthéon, the Luxembourg Palace and the Hôtel des Invalides. The bombardment is kept up during the day ; and wherever a shell falls there is always a group of men, women and children assembled to express their sympathy and to denounce the Germans. I translate the following which has just appeared in the *Journal Officiel*.

“Our hospitals crowded with the sick and wounded, our field ambulances, our schools, museums, libraries, prisons, the church of St. Sulpice, that of the Sorbonne and of Val-de-Grâce and a number of private residences have all been struck. Men and women have been killed in the streets ; some have been killed in their beds, and children have been killed in the arms of their mothers. In a school on Rue Vaugirard four children were killed and five were wounded by the explosion of a single shell.

“The Luxembourg museum, which contains the chief works of living artists, and the garden in which field hospitals are constructed, received twenty shells in a few hours. The famous green houses of the museum which had no rival in the world have been destroyed. At Val-de-Grâce, during the night, two wounded persons, one of whom was a National Guard, were killed in bed. This hospital, which is easily recognized at a distance of several leagues, by its dome, bears the traces of the bombardment in its courts, in its wards for the sick and in its church whose cornice has been carried away.

“No warning has preceded this fierce attack. Paris

finds itself, all at once, transformed into a battle-field ; and we declare with pride that the women are showing as much intrepidity as the men. Everybody is filled with rage and no one is alarmed.

“ Such are the acts of the Prussian army and of its King present in its midst. The Government of National Defense makes these statements for the benefit of France, Europe and history.”

We may also translate the official announcement of the bombardment :

“ THURSDAY EVENING, *January 5th*

“ The bombardment of Paris has commenced. The enemy, not content with firing upon our forts, hurls projectiles upon our houses, menaces our firesides and our families. Its violence will redouble the courage of the people who are resolved to fight and to conquer. The defenders of our forts, covered by an incessant fire, lose none of their self-possession and know how to inflict upon their assailants a terrible retaliation.

“ The people of Paris accept valiantly this new trial. The enemy thinks to intimidate us, but our courage will only be the more strengthened. We will show ourselves worthy of the Army of the North which is marching to our assistance. *Vive la France ! Vive la République !*”

(Signed by the members of the government.)

An illustrated journal represents the interior of a dormitory of St. Nicolas, the day after a shell had exploded in it. Several hundred orphan children are here cared for and educated ; and during the night of the 8th inst. four of them were killed in their beds and five others were seriously injured. The shell entered through the roof and ceiling and exploded among the beds. This occurrence has produced a profound impression upon the people. The minister of Foreign Affairs attended the funeral and

made a touching address over the dead bodies of these innocent ones. Some of the daily journals have given it in full.

Thus far 54 non-combatants—men, women and children—have lost their lives in the bombardment of the city, and 88 have been wounded, of whom one-fourth will possibly die. What will be on the morrow we know not. The future of France is always in the balance ; at least the people believe this and hence their adage : “ The unexpected always happens.”

But the outlines of the scene before us must be filled up. To the bombardment of the city must be added that of the forts which seems to be increasing in violence every day. It would be impossible for me to give, with any degree of accuracy, the number of projectiles the belligerents have thrown at each other since the siege began. No doubt hundreds of thousands have been thrown. The explosions have often succeeded each other so rapidly that it has been difficult to count them, and this I have found to be especially true at night. The *Liberté* has made an estimate which may be given in brief. It relates only to a period of twelve hours, beginning at 6 o'clock in the evening of the 5th inst. and closing with 6 o'clock in the morning ; and besides it includes only the cannonading on the south side of the city. It is known that the Germans have placed their siege guns at three principal points. At Meudon there are not less than 60 pieces, and at Châtillon and Bagneux an equal number. Most of the explosions at these points can be seen as well as heard from the city, and 22,000 were counted by the French during these twelve hours. This gives one shot for every two seconds. If we now give the French credit for an equal number of shots on their side we have 44,000 reports of cannon which reached our ears during this period, besides the explosions of shells in the city which are not difficult to recognize by their crashing sound.

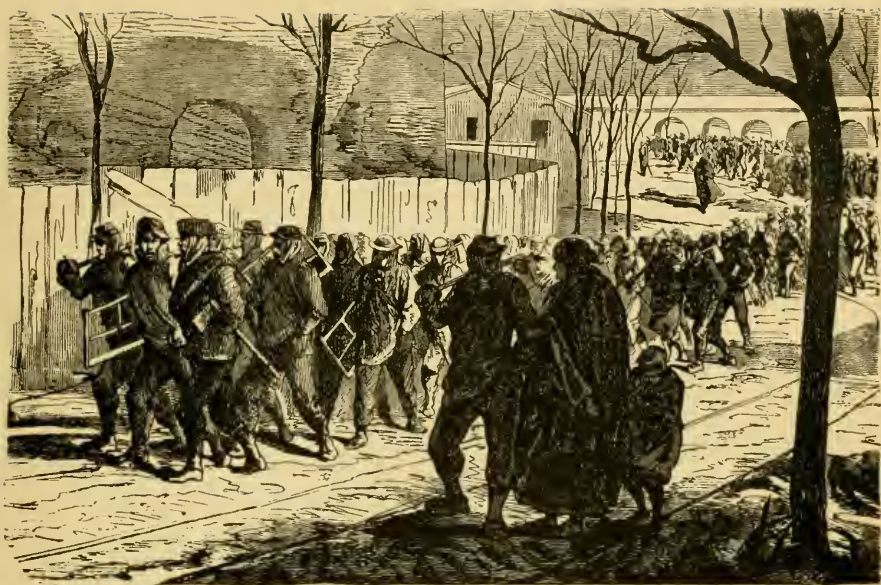
On the side of the French are forts Issy, Vanves, Mont-rouge and Bicêtre, with Fort Valérien on the right and Fort Ivry on the left. Inside are the walls and upon them are the heavy guns of the French. Outside are the German batteries hurling projectiles upon the forts, upon the walls and into the city. This is war in the Nineteenth Century—*bellum atrox!* A recent report says that one of the casemates of Fort Vanves has given way; another report is that Fort Issy has been silenced, but these may possibly be classed among the rumors which gain currency and the next day are contradicted. The Parisians claim that they are ready any day for a fierce hand-to-hand encounter.

Although the greater part of the cannonading, during the last eight days, has been on the south, a large number of shells and solid shot have been thrown upon the east. It is reported that on the 4th inst. about 1,200 projectiles were thrown in the direction of forts Nogent, Rosny and Noisy. These forts are so distant from the walls that the missiles of destruction fall short of the city. The town of Montreuil which lies half way between Fort Rosny and the walls has suffered very much. Other towns and villages on the east have likewise suffered from the bombardment as Fontenay, Vincennes, Rosny, Romainville, Bondy and Bobiny. How many of their inhabitants can live under these showers of shot and shell we are unable to conceive, but it is certain that some remain to take care of their property—to save it from the thieves and fire.

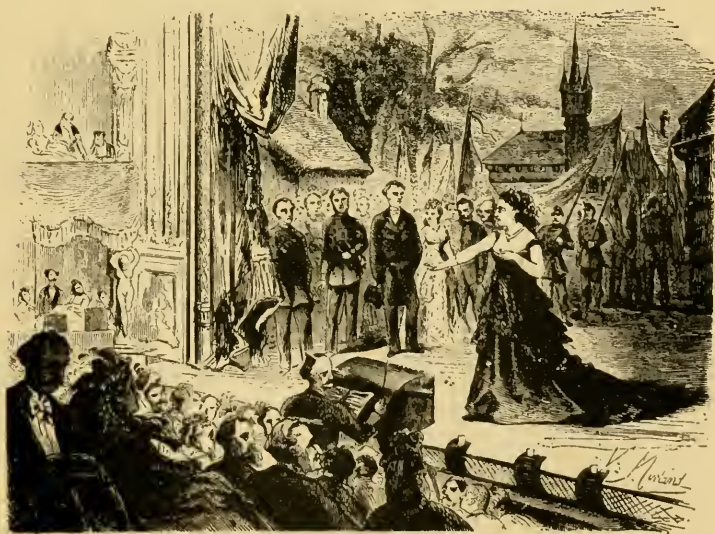
There are, however, other considerations which give to the siege, at this date, a degree of poignancy not easily endured. Some of them are matters of fact; others are only to be regarded as possible events, nevertheless they are painful subjects to meditate upon. The scarcity of provisions already referred to is a matter which we all realize, and if the siege is continued much longer starvation must follow. As a result there would be great danger of

an insurrection with the loss of many lives and much property. It is well understood, at least by the medical profession, that hunger begets a kind of insanity which can only be controlled or cured by an abundance of wholesome food, and this, of course, cannot be obtained until the close of the siege. Thousands of men, women and children have eaten no meat during the last three months, except that of the horse, the mule or the ass, whilst many others have been obliged to live upon soup made of the boiled bones of the same animals. They have not had money enough to purchase even a piece of the dog, the cat or the rat for a change. Good wheat bread has thus far been sold in all the wards, but that which is given as a gratuity is not so good; men cannot live upon bread alone, we soon tire of it, even if a modicum of soup is added. Besides there is a belief that the rich are living upon the delicacies which they had stored away in their cellars or are still able to procure. All this brings to mind the bread riots in Bourbon times.

On the part of the government every effort is being made that is possible, to supply the people with meat, bread and soup. An order was issued on the 4th inst. informing the owners of horses, mules and asses, that if the animals are not delivered twenty-four hours after they are drawn by lot, and notice has been given, they will be confiscated without indemnity. Another meeting of the mayors and adjuncts of the several wards was recently held in the Hôtel de Ville, M. Jules Ferry presiding. The principal subjects discussed were the distribution of flour in proportion to the number of inhabitants in the wards, and the question of providing lodgings for those who have been obliged to change their residence. The bombardment of the city has given rise to inequalities which must now be adjusted. The census taken a few weeks ago can no longer be relied upon. Some of the bakers have not



WOOD-CHOPPERS



MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENTS.

been able to supply the people with bread, on account of the crowded condition of some of the wards upon the north, and on account of the want of flour and of wood. There have usually been about 10,000 horses employed in the drayage service of the city; the government has ordered 4,000 to be reserved. The omnibus service, which is one of the noticeable activities of Paris in ordinary times, has diminished very much. The large dappled-gray stallions, so much admired by all who are interested in the *genus equus* are gradually disappearing. We see groups of them, every day, marching to the abattoirs with red, white and blue ribbons plaited in their manes and tails.

Next to the scarcity of provisions for the table is the scarcity of fuel. The coal is reserved by the government for manufacturing purposes and for the production of gas. Hundreds of men are detailed to fell the large trees in the boulevards, in the Bois de Boulogne and in the park of Vincennes. These brigades of wood choppers furnish 500 or 600 cords of wood every day, and it is said that 22 large establishments have been opened in as many places in the city at which wood may be obtained under the direction and supervision of the municipal government. The bakers must have not only flour delivered to them every day, but the green wood must be dried and likewise delivered.

The prevalence of disease and the rapidly increasing mortality seem to have less effect upon the people than might be supposed. The entire population of Paris appears to be willing to make any sacrifice, if only victory may be obtained. There were 400 more deaths last week than the week previous. All the old hospitals are crowded and many new ones have been extemporized.

The Communists are still a source of great concern to the members of the government; and were it not that M. Jules Ferry is Mayor of Paris, there would certainly be trouble. The mayors of the wards and the adjuncts—

some of them at least—are in sympathy with this dangerous class of men. The latter continue to hold meetings and to denounce the Government, especially the military authorities, using coal oil lamps, the gas of the city being denied them. Fortunately for Paris the Government has a firm hold upon the army and for this we must give credit to General Trochu. The men who are next to him in command will not allow the Government of National Defense to be overturned. On the 6th inst., the day after the bombardment of the city began, a lengthy proclamation to the people of Paris appeared upon the walls and in some of the journals. Nothing has been placarded since the Republic was proclaimed, with more of the demon of revolution in it. It closes with these words: "A General Requisition—Gratuitous Rationing of Provisions—Attack the Enemy *en masse*—The policy, the strategy, the administration of the 4th of September continued are judged! Give place to the People! Give place to the Commune!" Then follow the names of 140 signers, claiming to be delegates from the 20 wards. Not one of them has any reputation as a statesman or as a military leader. The result is that 21 of them have been arrested and are either imprisoned or required to enter bail for their appearance at court.

The placard begins in the usual bombastic style of the French, with generalities which are partly true and partly false. But when we have read it through we are reminded of the council held by the mice in the fable in which it was agreed, after much discussion, to place a bell upon the cat. The Communists think that by a *levée en masse* they might surround the Germans. We translate a single paragraph of this revolutionary address:

"The Government of the 4th of September has taken upon itself the defense of the nation. Has it accomplished its mission? No! We have 500,000 fighting men; the

Prussians encircle us with 200,000. Upon whom is the responsibility if not upon those who govern us? They think only of negotiating a peace instead of founding cannon and manufacturing arms. They refuse a *levée en masse*. They give places to Bonapartists and thrust Republicans into prisons. They only decided to act against the Prussians after two months—the day after the 31st of October. By their slowness, their indecision, their inertia, they have led us to the edge of the abyss. They have not known how either to govern or to fight when they had in their hands all the resources, provisions and men.”

After reading this lengthy and abusive address, well calculated to incite an insurrection, the Governor thought it his duty to issue the following :

“ *To the citizens of Paris :*

“ At the moment when the enemy redoubles his efforts at intimidation, an effort is made to mislead the people of Paris by deception and calumny—made to array our sufferings and our sacrifices against the defense of the city. Nothing will induce us to lay down our arms. The Governor of Paris will not capitulate.

“ The Governor of Paris,

“ GENERAL TROCHU.

“ PARIS, *January 6, 1871.*

But that which has given to the siege—more, perhaps, than anything else—a painful character, is the almost entire absence of news from the outside world. Twenty-one days have elapsed without the arrival of a pigeon! The low temperature chilled them and they turned back; in some cases they sought shelter on the way. Yesterday, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the glad news began to circulate that a pigeon had reached Paris. The dear bird brought with it 1,400 microscopic dispatches which are being transcribed and delivered.

During these weeks of severe trial the Government has depended entirely upon the secret service of the army for information. There are still Frenchmen who are willing to risk their lives crossing the lines during the night. None of the shepherd dogs taken out in the balloons have returned, nor have any glass globes been found floating in the river. These methods of transmitting information from the departments have failed, as well as that by aerial navigation.

The pigeon that reached Paris on the 8th inst. was on the way at least fifteen days. It brought the following dispatch which will give the reader some idea of the situation of affairs in the departments.

Gambetta to General Trochu.

“LYONS, *December 23d.*

“I received, yesterday morning, through M. d’Almeida, your dispatch written December 16th. The estimate which you have made of the army of the Loire and of the elements of which it is composed is perfectly just, and it finds a new confirmation in the facts which are being accomplished every day. The Prussians, without experiencing anything like a defeat, appear, nevertheless, to be demoralized. They begin to show a great lassitude and many of them are losing their lives. At several points in the circle which they occupy, they meet with a vigorous resistance. Belfort has a supply of provisions for eight months. The entire line is well guarded from Montbéliard to Dôle by the forces at Besançon; from Dôle to Autun, by those under General Garibaldi; Morvan, Nivernais and Bourges are also well protected. On the other hand Bourbaki’s army is in excellent condition. It is effecting a movement at this moment which will, no doubt, produce the best results.

“Chanzy, thanks to his admirable tenacity, has caused the Prussians to slacken their hold, and since the 16th inst.

he is engaged in reforming his troops, fatigued by so many honorable battles. As soon as his troops have been rested, re-equipped and supplied with ammunition, which will take but a few days, you may be sure Chanzy will again take the offensive. Havre is entirely free ; the Prussians have likewise abandoned Rouen after having pillaged it ; they have carried their booty to Amiens—a direction which the forces of Manteuffel appear to have taken to bar the passage of the troops of Faidherbe. We are augmenting our forces every day. As our numbers increase, the mobilized National Guards shoot with greater steadiness and courage, and in a short time they will become excellent soldiers. The country, like ourselves, is resolved to fight to the bitter end. It feels every day the disadvantage that the Prussians bring upon themselves by their occupation ; and that, by resistance to the last, France will come out of this accursed war grander and more glorious.

With fraternal greetings,

LÉON GAMBETTA.”

In the meantime three more balloons sailed out of Paris, making in all 47. At 5 o'clock on the morning of the 4th inst. the *Newton* ascended. It landed in the German lines, but the aëronaut had time to escape with the dispatches to Montague.

On the 9th inst. the *Duquesne*— a *ballon-poste*— ascended at fifteen minutes past 3 o'clock in the morning from the Orleans railroad station. It was a large one, holding 2,000 cubic metres of gas. It is said to have landed near Reims, in a department occupied by the Germans, but the dispatches were saved.

M. Dorian, the Minister of Public Works, consented to have attached to this balloon an apparatus intended to control its movements. Admiral Labrousse is the inventor. The apparatus is said to have been approved by the Academy of Sciences and to have answered a useful pur-

pose. It is one of the numerous devices intended to assist the aëronaut in his return to Paris.

This morning at half-past three o'clock the *Gambetta* rose from the Northern railroad station. It sailed southward and landed, as is reported, near Clamecy.

Service on the circular railroad inside the walls has been discontinued on account of the bombardment, and for the same reason the small steamboats have ceased to run between the bridge of Point-du-Jour and that of Alma, one of the boats having been struck by a shell.

Of the music and poetry of the siege a volume might be written. France has no lack of beautiful specimens of the fine arts. Whatever form of government the people may choose they have music and poetry to suit. The revolutions of former years concentrated in patriotic songs the thought and feeling of the nation, and some of these may never be excelled. The *Marseillaise* of Rouget de Lisle is entitled to the first place. Its author was not only a musician and *compositeur*, but a poet. After a dinner, given by the mayor of Strasbourg, April, 1792, and a war speech which was delivered on the occasion, he seized his violin, and under the inspiration of the moment, composed and sang his world-renowned "War-song of the Army of the Rhine." The next day he revised parts of it and in the evening sang it in the theatre to the great delight of the audience. Soon afterwards it was taken to Marseilles where it was sung in the streets by the Federalists and received its present name. In 1793 it was printed and sent out on its mission. Unfortunately the author's name was added and Rouget de Lisle—the man of genius—was immediately arrested and placed in prison; the *Marseillaise* was suppressed. It was regarded as a dangerous piece of music. But this man of genius could not remain long in prison; the Reign of Terror came to an end; Robespierre was guillotined and Rouget de Lisle was liberated. Nor

could his immortal work remain suppressed. The people demanded it ; they were charmed with the music and the words :

Tremblez, tyrans ! et vous perfides,
L'opprobre de tous les partis ;
Tremblez ! vos projets parricides
Vont enfin recevoir leur prix

The first Napoleon made great use of it in his campaigns ; and it is believed by many that his success depended upon this inimitable war-song. A German writer states that it cost his country 50,000 lives. Again and again it was suppressed, but the edicts have been as often disregarded. The late Emperor and his *Sergents de ville* could not restrain the people when the cry was raised—*A Berlin ! A Berlin !*—and soon after every theatre, street and boulevard in Paris resounded with the music of the *Marseillaise*. An announcement was made, on the 20th of July, that it would be sung as an interlude in the evening ; but it was sung before the curtain was raised, between the acts and at the close, the whole audience rising and joining in the chorus. A subscription of 14,000 francs in favor of the wounded was the result. Mmes. Sasse, Laurent and Galli-Marie, and Mlles. Hisson, Agar, Claudia and Térésa and MM. Faure, Capoul, Caron, Soto, Matt and Rives sang it often to crowded houses, as well as in the streets, standing in open carriages—the people joining in the refrain :

Aux armes, citoyens !
Formez vos bataillons,
Marchons ! Marchons ! qu'un sang impur,
Abreuve nos sillons.

But the revolution of 1792 gave birth to another war-song which has become very popular in Paris. It is called

the *Chant du Départ*, or Departing Hymn. It was written for the Fifth Anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. Chénier wrote the words and Mehul the music. It was executed for the first time at the opera, September 29, 1794. Napoleon finding that it raised the courage of his soldiers preserved it among the national airs, and it was used by the army until the end of the Consulate. Like the *Marseillaise* it was interdicted by the late Emperor. The words "The Republic calls us" in the refrain were especially objectionable.

Le République nous appelle,
Sachons vaincre ou sachons périr.
Un Français doit vivre pour elle,
Pour elle un Français doit mourir.

La Parisienne has also been sung very much. It was the favorite song of the revolution of 1830. Its politics can only be inferred; it is, however, intensely patriotic. The following is the refrain :

En avant ! Marchons contre leurs canons.
A travers le fer le feu des bataillons
Courons à la victoire !
Courons à la victoire !

Another war-song, the *Chant des Girondins*, is much admired. It has been played and sung every day since the proclamation of the Republic, especially by the republican battalions. In 1847 Alexander Dumas and M. Auguste Maquet composed a drama in which it was necessary to represent the Girondists, during the Reign of Terror, singing the *Marseillaise* just before the execution. At this time, however, the masterpiece of Rouget de Lisle was interdicted and the authors were obliged to invent a substitute in which the spirit and much of the sentiment of the *Marseillaise* were preserved. M. Varney is said to have arranged the music, and the drama was played very

frequently to large audiences in the Théâtre-Historique in Paris. In the revolution which followed the next year the *Girondins* became the favorite song of the people. The following are the words of the refrain several times repeated.

Mourir pour la patrie,
C'est le sort le plus beau,
Le plus digne d'envie.

But besides these songs of former revolutions there are a few others which may, at least, be mentioned—songs of circumstances which, in a stricter sense, are the music and poetry of the siege. Some of these pieces are patriotic; but they contain, for the most part, a considerable amount of ridicule, sarcasm and humor and yet they are sung in the theatres, concerts, clubs, cafés and in the streets. Each battalion has apparently its favorite local songs, whilst all join in singing the recognized republican airs. The French people are extremely fond of caricature and woe to the man or woman who falls under its power.

The first of these songs, we mention, is *Le Sire de Fich-ton-Khan*—a name which is scarcely suggestive of anything. It is, however, the *sobriquet* of scorn, as applied by the Parisians, to the ex-Emperor. A lithograph, which embellishes the title page of the song represents the conquered at Sedan, with a feather in his chapeau, having the air of one who has triumphed. Upon his breast is fastened the foot of a fawn, emblematic of precipitate flight. At his side is a velocipede, the head of a stag and a package of trifles—all allegorical and easily understood.

M. Paul Burani composed the verses of this, at present, popular song which is written in Chinese orthography and M. Antonin Louis, the music. It was first sung in the Ambigu and afterwards in the Cirque National; but before it reached the stage it was extemporized in the clubs and by the battalions in the streets. Soon after the *cafés*-

concerts took up the *Sire de Fich-ton-Khan* and alternated it with other satirical pieces, as the *General Lasoupe-et-Leboeuf* and the *Prefet-mal-Petri*. These pieces which caricature the late Emperor and some of his stupid generals and marshals are much enjoyed and often *encored*.

But the continuation of the war gave rise to other specimens of art ; and the new-formed battalions chanted them on the streets. The refrain of one of these is sufficient to indicate its bearing.

Bismark, si tu continues,
De tous tes Prussiens, il n'en restera guère,
Bismark, si tu continues,
De tous tes Prussiens, il n'en restera plus.

Another, in the same half-serious and half-humorous style, may be referred to. This time it is General Trochu who is caricatured. One of his weaknesses is writing too much. In the month of September he made his will and placed it in the hands of a notary public M. Ducloux. He afterwards referred to it (of course he had no need to do so) and at the same time stated that he had his plan and would not deviate from it. This gave rise to a series of very droll verses set to a familiar air : *On va lui percer le flanc*. Since the 1st of December all Paris has been humming these stanzas. We need only give the refrain which follows them.

C'est dans le plan de Trochu
Plan, plan, plan, plan, plan,
Mon Dieu ! quel beau plan,
Grâce à lui rien n'est perdu !

We turn now from the music of the army to that of the stage. Two months of excitement in the French capital passed without any restraint in this direction by the government. In the meantime the Parisians had exhausted

themselves shouting and singing. But the disaster of Sedan came on and M. de Kératry, Prefect of Police, thought it best, on the 10th of September, to close the theatres ; but his order related only to the regular plays. Concerts and entertainments of various kinds were held in the samé buildings and the proceeds were devoted to patriotic and charitable objects. The first talent was employed and pieces of the highest art were recited. Large audiences assembled to hear the numerous selections read, spoken or sung.

The selections from Victor Hugo's *Châtiments* have especially elicited praise. One of his pieces, the *Patria*, is very greatly admired. Without any difficulty the music of Beethoven has been adjusted to the strophes. When Mme. Ugalde, who sings with wonderful effect, reaches the lines

C'est l'ange de nuit,
Rois, il vous suit, etc.,

the enthusiasm of the audience is indescribable. The sentiment is patriotic, christian and humanitarian ; besides the poetry is said to be perfect. We give the refrain which follows the last stanzas :

C'est l'ange de Dieu,
Dans le ciel bleu,
Son aile immense
Couvre avec fierté
L'humanité,
Son nom est France
Ou liberté !

Under the direction of M. Padeloup and Abbé Duquesnay a series of entertainments was arranged and is still continued. The people cannot live without some kind of diversion ; and besides an opportunity has thus been given to the affluent to assist in the relief of the poor

and the suffering. The Théâtre-Français, the Grand Opera, the Porte St. Martin and many other places have been opened for these varied exhibitions. Attorneys-at-law have made speeches ; elocutionists have recited selections from Victor Hugo and other noted writers ; patriotic and amusing songs have been sung not only in the French language, but in the Italian, the Spanish and the English.

Conferences have been held for the consideration of subjects of a more serious nature, and in these, two Protestant clergymen, M. de Préssensé and M. Coquerel, distinguished as pulpit orators, have been prominent. Music of an appropriate kind has also been introduced into these meetings.

Entertainments have likewise been given in most of the churches. The *Requiem de Cherubini* was first executed in the Madeleine by a society of the Conservatoire, and more recently it has been repeated in other prominent churches. The money raised in this manner has been consecrated to the ambulances or field hospitals for the wounded.

The *personnel* of the opera have also given what may be called religious entertainments. These have generally been held Sunday evening. The proceeds of the first one, on the 6th of November, was devoted to the relief of the victims of the heroic defense of Châteaudun, and in like manner the proceeds of the others have been given for equally laudable purposes.

The poetry of the siege has thus far been associated with the music, and to what has already been said we need only add a few words. That of Victor Hugo claims the first place. The Guernsey poet, as he is sometimes called, on account of his having spent the greater part of the last eighteen years of his life on that island, stands preëminent. By the edict of the late Emperor he was exiled from France ; but he chose a residence midway between the

two leading civilizations of Europe, that from it, looking westward, his poetic soul might inhale the pure atmosphere of liberty from the new world. Here he composed his *Châtiments* and his *Napoléon le Petit*, the first editions of which were soon snatched up and devoured. The former was at first read with closed doors ; now it is recited in all the theatres. It has been characterized as the work of a furious Titan. His sarcasm has no mercy in it for the perjured President of the Second Republic. In this work he has shown himself a prophet ; at least he has shown how easily the traitor of the 2d of December could become the coward of Sedan. When the distinguished poet became an exile, he took an oath that he would not place his foot upon the sacred soil of France as long as it was polluted with the presence of Napoleon III. Being in Brussels, and hearing of the surrender of the Emperor, he seized his pen and wrote a full column of verses of which we select one.

J'irai, je rentrerai dans ta muraille sainte
 O Paris !
 Je te rapporterai l'âme jamais éteinte
 Des proscrits.

In this connection we may give the first stanza of what has been called his famous *Jamais*, written eighteen years ago :

Tant qu'il te souillera, qu'on cède ou qu'on persiste,
 O France ! France aimée et qu'on pleure toujours,
 Je ne reverrai pas ta terre douce et triste,
 Tombeau de mes aïeux et nid de mes amours.

Many beautiful pieces of poetry have been written by soldiers and by civilians—pieces of circumstance—which might be referred to, if the limits of this chapter permitted. We ask the indulgence of the reader who may not be familiar with the French language, to another selection.

It contains an intimation that the Bourbons may soon take charge of the Republic and that the country has already enough of *Trochu* :

Le vent souffle place de Grève
Et des hommes d'État enlève
Les beaux serments.
Serments et feuilles ! Tourbillone,
Valse de mort ; Le vent d'automne
Vient d'Orléans.

Comme une cocotte phthisique,
Voici mourir la République
Parti fichu !
La pauvre dame, dans la lutte,
Dégringolant de chute en chute
Avait—*Trop-chu.*

CHAPTER XI.

PARIS, JANUARY 18TH, 1871.

The Bombardment Continues—Many Lives Lost and Much Property Destroyed—Protests—Liberality of Richard Wallace—Personal Experience—The Mortality Increases—The Hospitals—The Communard Meetings—A Perilous Aërial Voyage.

THE subject which has, most of all, during the last two weeks, occupied the attention of the Parisian world is the bombardment. All other topics have been discussed with a degree of comparative composure and resignation very commendable, but this trial of the patience and patriotism of the people has enraged them. They see nothing in it but conquest and barbarism. As a result many ill-tempered speeches have been made and much has appeared in the newspapers that we would not care to repeat. The motives of the Germans are impugned. Their artillerymen, it is said, deliberately aim at the domes of the hospitals and asylums in which are the sick and wounded, the aged, the blind, the insane and orphans. It is possible, and even probable that this is not true, though the domes of these institutions may be seen at a considerable distance. Why the bombarding should be chiefly done at night is not very clear, even to those who are wholly disinterested. There may be good reasons for it, not apparent at first sight, which would be appreciated if the facts in the case were more fully understood. This much, however, is clear to all who are in Paris, that the bombardment will not hasten the capitulation a single moment. Starvation alone will force the Government to surrender the city.

Numerous protests have been made against the bombardment and hopes are entertained that these will influence the King of Prussia to save Paris. The physicians and surgeons attached to the hospitals south of the Seine have sent in protests to the Hôtel de Ville. General Trochu, the members of government and the representatives of foreign nations, have all drawn up carefully worded protests and have sent them to the German headquarters at Versailles. England has been interviewed by M. Thiers and M. Chaudordy at Tours, but thus far she appears to be an indifferent spectator. England might do much for France and even for Germany in these extraordinary circumstances in which passion and ambition control the belligerents, but it is not likely that she will. When the Empire fell her government had an opportunity to interpose and to save many thousands of lives and millions of money ; but the influence of her Parliament and that of her press, with scarcely a single exception, has been in favor of Prussia and of war ; and now again she has an opportunity to interpose and to save Paris. Will she do it? The American, at least, does not believe that she will. He has studied the politics of England as well as the mercenary character of her leaders. In our late civil war her influence first and last was with the Confederate States. She did not wish to have a great political and commercial rival in the new world, and so she favored the rebellion. England has but one commercial rival in Europe and this is France. Her chivalrous people must be reduced to a second place in the family of nations ; and Prussia, distant from the Atlantic seaboard, must be favored. British diplomacy did not succeed on the American continent ; Providence interposed and prevented the establishment of a government with human slavery as its corner-stone. What the result of the great struggle will be which threatens to destroy Paris we are unable to foresee. Let

us hope that wise counsels will prevail and that the thick darkness that hangs over the French capital will soon be dispelled.

Some of the daily journals give the number of shells which explode inside the walls every twenty-four hours, as counted by the watchmen ; the number of persons killed and wounded as well as their names and their residences. From these reports we learn that about 2,500 have exploded in the city during the last eight days ; that 166 persons have been either killed or wounded, and that many houses have been seriously damaged. We abbreviate the following account of the night of the 13th inst :

“ In the evening, at 8 o'clock, the bombardment recommenced with extreme vigor. The quarters De la Gare and Panthéon were first struck, then that part of the city opposite Issy ; soon after the bombardment became general and was continued all night. More than 500 shells exploded in the quarters of Val-de-Grâce, Sorbonne, Jardin-des-Plantes, Necker, the Military School, Croullebarbe and Javel. From 2 to 5 o'clock in the morning the enemy threw into Paris 100 shells an hour. Thirty persons were killed or wounded and 130 properties were damaged.”

During the nights of the 13th, 14th and 15th 85 persons were struck of whom 22 were women and 13 were children.

But the bombarding was also continued during the day. Here is an instance which is certified to by the hospital attendants : “ The National Institution for blind children is situated on Boulevard des Invalides. It is a large isolated building, perfectly visible with the unaided eye from the heights of Châtillon and Meudon. It contains, in addition to the blind, 200 sick and wounded soldiers and has the flag of the Geneva convention over it day and night. During the afternoon of the 12th inst., the atmosphere being clear, several shells fell immediately around it ; then, as if the Germans had adjusted the cannon, two shells, one

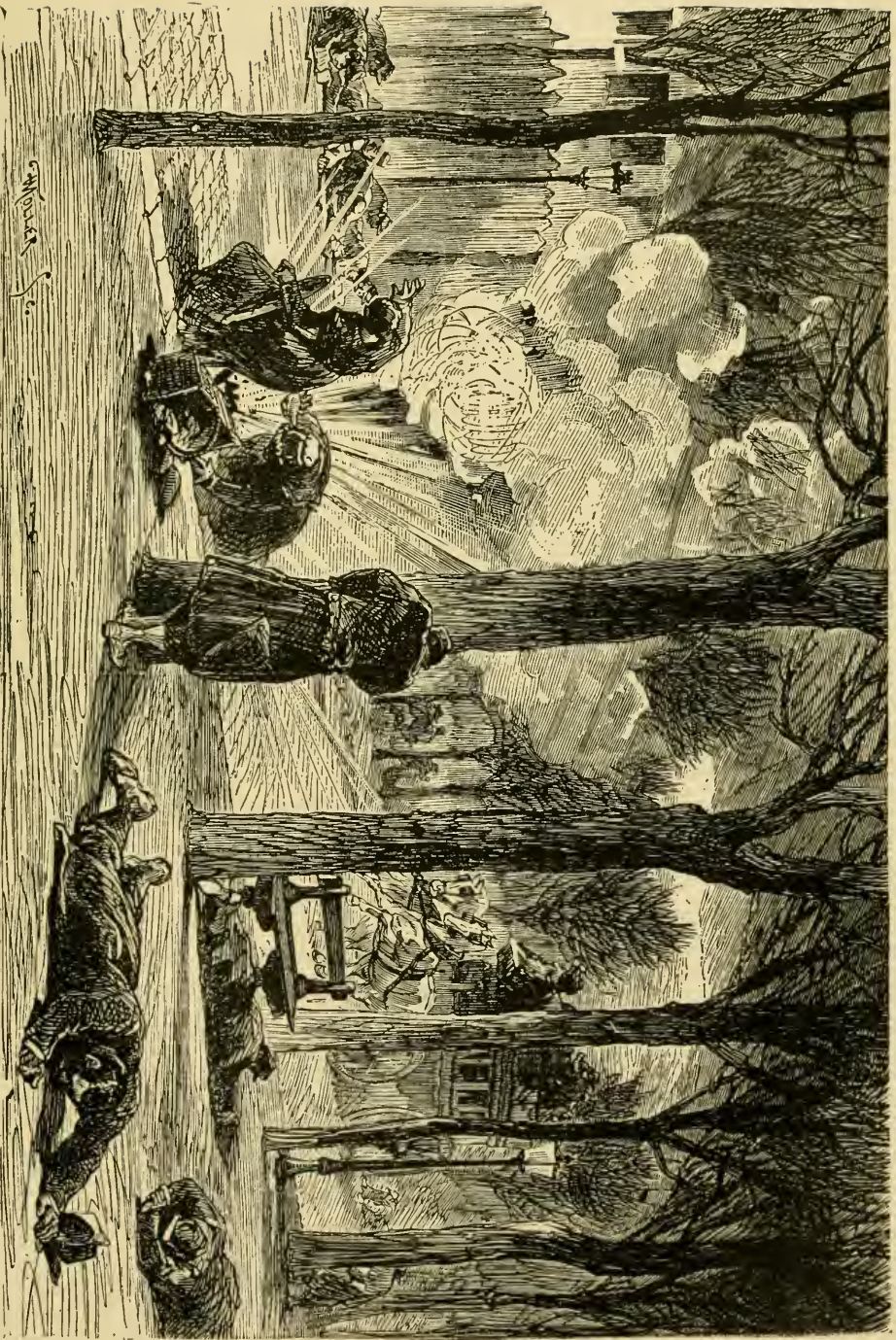
after the other, plunged into the left wing of the building, wounding three of the sick and two of the blind."

Many of the inhabitants of the south of Paris have escaped to the north, or more lives would be lost. Some quarters are almost entirely deserted. As an illustration of the fact that a considerable number of shells may explode in a populous neighborhood without the loss of life I may relate the following incident :

Monday morning I visited the Hospital des Incurable in which my friend Dr. Ball has charge of several wards. This institution is crowded to the roof, as, indeed, all the hospitals are, and a portion of it is given to small-pox patients. Six shells had fallen inside the inclosure during the night, and several immediately outside. A large one struck the south side of the apothecary shop, stove in the wall and exploded, breaking up everything it contained. The druggist, who was accustomed to sleep in an adjoining room, was absent, or he, no doubt, would have been killed. Another dashed through the roof into the kitchen and wrecked everything in the shape of cooking utensils. Another perforated the roof of one of the main buildings, passed through the upper story between two beds, descended into the story below between two beds, and then into the basement where it exploded without doing serious injury to anyone, though all were greatly alarmed. A fourth shell penetrated a heavy stone wall and exploded in a corridor, killing a cat which happened to be there. Two other shells exploded outside the buildings and several immediately outside the inclosure ; no one was seriously hurt. There was nothing to be done but repair the damages and assure the inmates that the institution would possibly not be required to entertain such unwelcome visitors again.

We may here insert two of the numerous protests that have been sent to the Hôtel de Ville :

ESCAPING FROM THE SHELLS.



Chapman

The undersigned, physicians of the Charity Hospital, protest against the bombardment of which this institution is the object. Six shells have fallen upon the buildings which contain 800 sick and wounded, as many civil as military. Several other projectiles have fallen in the immediate neighborhood.

(Signed) Drs. Lannelongue, Feréol, Ball, Lancereaux, Bronardel, Labbé and Ollivier.

Salpêtrière is a hospital in which are accommodated in ordinary times, first, more than 3,000 aged and infirm women ; and, second, 1,500 insane women. In addition to these are, at this supreme moment of suffering, the refugees from the hospitals at Issy and 300 of our wounded. There are here assembled persons afflicted with every malady which calls for our sympathy and commiseration, but our enemies who bombard the city to-day do not respect anything. On the night of Sunday, January 9th, they took aim at Salpêtrière, Pitié, Enfants-Malades, Val-de-Grâce and our field hospitals. At Salpêtrière we received fifteen shells. Our dome is very high and it is surmounted by the International flag ; the same is true of the dome of Val-de-Grâce. This is a monstrous act, against which the undersigned physicians and surgeons protest—an act which should be held up to the indignation of the present and all future generations.

(Signed) Dr. Cruveilhier, surgeon-in-chief ; Drs. Charcot, Luys, A. Voisin, Baillarger, Trelat and J. Moreau, physicians ; and M. Fermon, pharmacist-in-chief.

After receiving these and other protests the members of the government addressed a carefully prepared protest to the Prussian Chancellor, and in like manner the Governor of Paris addressed a protest to General von Moltke, chief-of-staff of the German armies. We need not translate these, but we may give in full the protest of the Diplomatic Corps as it reflects the sentiments of the representatives of foreign nations, unfortunately shut up in Paris at this time :

To his Excellency Count Von Bismarck-Schoenhausen, Chancellor of the North German Confederation, etc., at Versailles :

Monsieur le Comte : It is now several days, since shells, in large numbers, starting from localities occupied by the besieging troops,

have reached the interior of Paris. Women, children and sick persons in the hospitals have been struck. Among the victims several belong to neutral states. The lives and property of persons of all nationalities in Paris are constantly in danger.

These things have occurred without any previous notice being given to the undersigned, most of whom have no other mission in Paris at this time than that of looking after the property and interests of their fellow-country men ; they have had no opportunity to protect themselves against the dangers which threaten, and, besides, reasons of greater force have prevented them from withdrawing—chiefly the difficulties which the belligerents have set up against their departure.

In these grave circumstances, the members of the diplomatic corps in Paris, with whom, in the absence of their respective embassies and legations, the representatives of the consular corps have united, have considered it necessary, with a feeling of responsibility to their governments and with a profound sense of duty which they owe to their fellow-countrymen, to confer with each other as to the resolutions which should be adopted.

These deliberations have led the undersigned to the unanimous conclusion to ask, conformably to well-known usages and recognized principles of international law, that measures be taken to permit their fellow-countrymen to place themselves and their property under protection.

Expressing, with confidence, the hope that your Excellency will kindly intervene with the military authorities in the sense of their request, the undersigned embrace this opportunity to pray you, Monsieur le Comte, to accept the assurances of their very high consideration.

Kern, Minister of the Swiss Confederation.

Baron Adelswaerd, Minister of Sweden and Norway.

Count Moltke-Hvilfeldt, Minister of Denmark.

Baron de Regens, Minister of Belgium.

Baron de Zuylen de Nyvelt, Minister of the Netherlands.

Washburne, Minister of the United States.

Ballivian Y Roxas, Minister of Bolivia.

Duc d'Acquaviva, Chargé d'Affaires of St. Marin and Monaco.

Henrique Luiz Ratton, Chargé d'Affaires of his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil.

Julia Tririon, Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the Dominican Republic.

Husny, Military Attaché and Chargé d'Affaires of Turkey.

Lopez de Arosemena, Chargé d'Affaires of Honduras and of Salvador.

C. Bonafaz, Chargé d'Affaires of Peru.

Baron G. de Rothschild, Consul General of Austria and Hungary.

Baron Th. de Voelkersahm, Consul General of Russia.

José M. Calvo Y Fernel, Consul of Spain.

L. Cerruti, Consul General of Italy.

Joakin Proneza Vieira, Consul General of Portugal.

Georges A. Vuzos, Acting Vice-Consul of Greece.

PARIS, *January 13, 1871.*

From the foregoing it will be seen that the British government is without a representative in Paris—a circumstance which has given rise to considerable comment. Lord Granville has not even thought it necessary to require a consular *attaché* to remain in the French capital to take care of her Majesty's subjects or their property. The English ambassador, Lord Lyons and the British consul left nothing behind—secretaries, servants, horses and dogs were all removed before the besieging armies reached the city. Panic stricken they must have been. They were not forced out of the city as were the representatives of the German states ; but the attitude of England was such as to leave the impression, that in certain contingencies it might be better for all British subjects to leave Paris. As a result an additional responsibility and labor have been imposed upon Mr. Washburne and his corps of assistants. It has been solely through him that hundreds of her Majesty's subjects, residents and tourists, have been enabled to cross the German lines. No other seal but that of the United States and no other signature but Mr. Washburne's are recognized in these cases by Count Bismarck. As a result hundreds of British subjects are suffering from destitution at this time. Like some of the Germans who have remained in the city, they had no other home—no place to which they could go. Some were possibly with-

out sufficient money to live elsewhere and so they have remained. They are taking their chances for life and are living, as many of the French live, upon the charity of the city.

But if Lord Lyons and the British consul hastened to leave the beleaguered city, taking with them their secretaries, their servants and their domestic animals, as is reported, Great Britain has, at least, one representative remaining in Paris—one of nature's unknighthed noblemen, who, in some measure, has saved the reputation of a great people. Dropping the contemptible prejudices of nationality and race he is making himself a blessing to his suffering fellow-men. In the great moving caravan of humanity he has found Paris bleeding and crushed and is not passing by on the other side, but is pouring oil into her bleeding wounds. One such nobleman is worth a whole Assembly of Lords when thousands are pleading for mercy and bread. Richard Wallace, who is really not an Englishman but a loyal Scotchman, cares not for any other fame than that of the good Samaritan. His liberality is already known to all Paris, and still he is willing to give of his abundance to the poor who have been forced to abandon their homes and to seek refuge in the basement stories of the churches and theatres. His generous proposition may be given in full :

PARIS, *January 14 1871.*

Monsieur le Ministre :

The admirable conduct of the residents of the quarters so brutally bombarded suggests to me a thought which I ask permission to submit to you and which I hope will be well received and well understood by the inhabitants of the capital.

I desire that there be opened, without delay, in Paris a patriotic subscription in favor of the unfortunate families which have been obliged to flee from their homes, under the fire of the enemy, for the purpose of immediate distribution among them of provisions of all kinds of which they have such pressing need.

In case my proposition receives the approbation of the Government of National Defense I pray you to write my name upon the list for the sum of 100,000 francs which I will turn at once into the public treasury, in order that the distribution, of which I speak, may be commenced immediately.

I have the honor to be, dear sir, with profound respect, your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

RICHARD WALLACE.

The minister, M. Favre, immediately acknowledged the receipt of this generous proposition and opened a subscription, placing Mr. Wallace's name at the head of the list. A half million of francs were soon subscribed and the distribution of provisions of every kind was commenced. There is great destitution and suffering in Paris at this moment, but there is also a great amount of liberality shown. This liberality is not by any means limited to the very wealthy; all classes of citizens and foreign residents who can assist are doing what they can. In addition to the efforts of the Government and the work of the council of mayors there are many voluntary associations whose objects are to relieve the necessities and suffering of the poor, the afflicted and the dying. In these associations the women are as busy as the men. The French people, as is well known, have a remarkable talent for business, and what they undertake to do is effected with enthusiasm. Had their chief executive, calling himself Emperor, not been an ambitious fraud and pious dreamer, their beautiful country would not now be overrun by the Germans; Paris would not be surrounded by a powerful enemy.

The French capital, with its two millions of inhabitants presents, at this moment, a spectacle altogether unique. On the ramparts and in the city there are now about 400,000 well-armed and well-equipped soldiers. To supply them with daily rations—meat, bread and soup—requires almost an army of butchers, bakers and draymen.

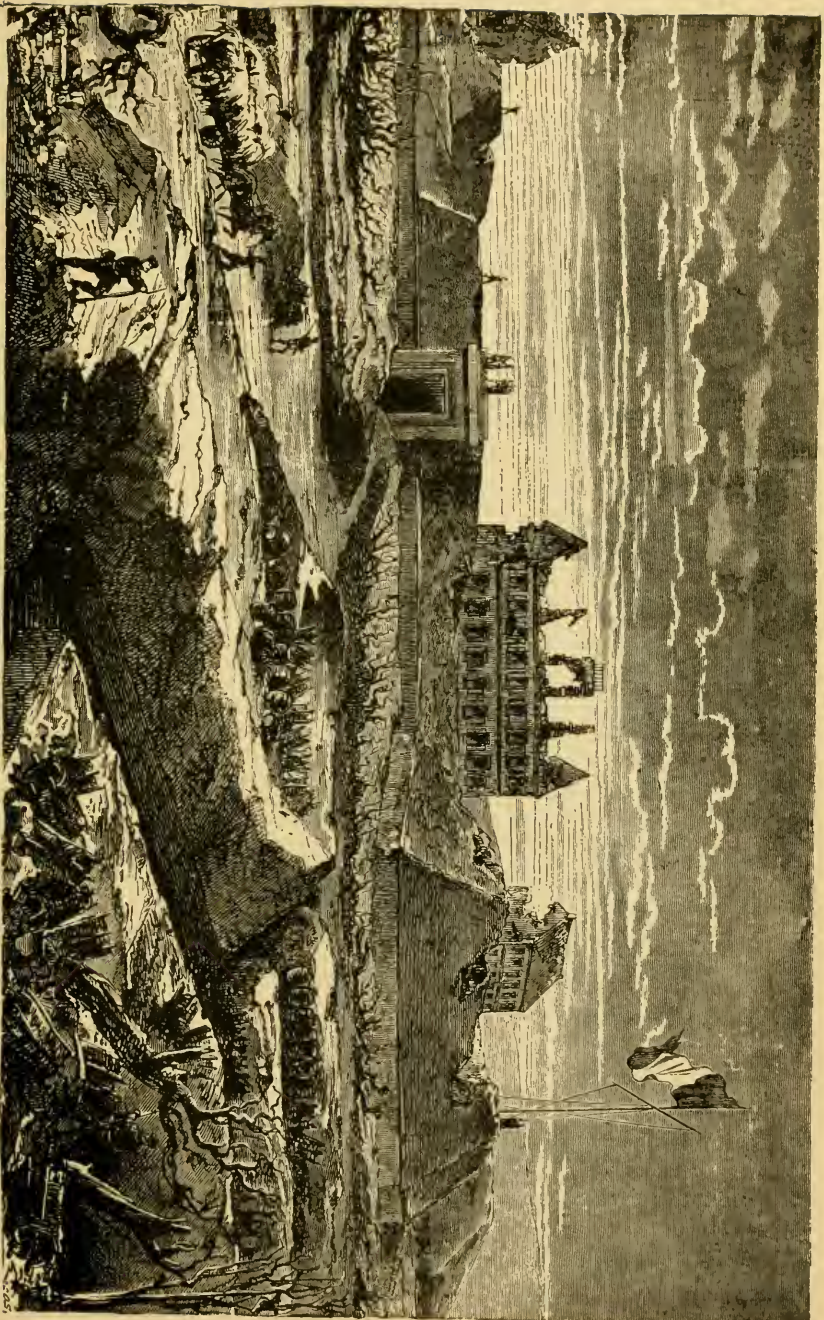
But we must add to these about 1,600,000 non-combatants, male and female, old and young, whose daily wants must likewise be supplied. Meat, bread and soup must be provided and distributed in every ward; and besides, the number of the sick and the dying are daily increasing, hence the necessity for associations of men and women well organized and disciplined.

We may here state that M. Kern, who has taken the place of the Nuncio of the Pope as dean of the Diplomatic Corps, has just received a response from Count Bismarck which we cannot undertake to give on account of its length. It is an able defense of the right of the Germans to bombard the city, and the Swiss minister has been directed to reply to it and to point out some of the errors into which the Count has fallen. This effort on the part of the ministers and consuls remaining in Paris, will probably not modify the policy of the iron-hearted Chancellor, or that of his master, the King of Prussia, but it may be useful to future generations.

Next to the bombardment, as a cause of general concern and solicitude at this time, is the scarcity of provisions. All classes are now beginning to feel that the starvation point will soon be reached. The elephants, the giraffes, the buffalos, the kangaroos and some of the bears have been eaten. The horses, the dogs, the cats and rats are the only animals left, except a few milk cows which are reserved for the benefit of the children. Horse meat is sold at moderate prices in all the wards, except two or three which are almost entirely deserted. Good bread is likewise sold in the same wards, but at somewhat higher rates and in smaller quantities than a few days ago.

This leads me to a few paragraphs of personal experience. With the approach of cold weather, and the new year I concluded to purchase a small stove and to have it set in the small fireplace of one of my apartments. The

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stove and pipe cost me about one dollar and a half. The tinsmith easily carried it in one arm to the third story, placed it in position and assured me that a small quantity of charcoal and chips or a few small pieces of wood, six inches long, which I could easily obtain from the *charbonnière* in the neighborhood, would make my rooms much more comfortable. I had other objects in view beside kindling a little fire every day. There was the possibility of preparing something extra to eat which could not be easily obtained at the restaurants, whilst the rooms were being warmed. In the meantime I procured from the proper authorities of the 1st ward in which I am sojourning, a coupon card which allows me to purchase a small piece of horse meat every other day. I also laid in a small stock of edibles, such as I could pick up in the shops, among which were a can of condensed milk and a small box of sardines. The idea of rising early and attending market for the sake of two ounces and a half of horse meat, with a small piece of rib added, has thus far not appeared to be a very profitable way of spending time; it has, however, afforded me an opportunity to become better acquainted with this phase of French life.

A city market is a good place in which to study the peculiarities of a people; all kinds of characters congregate here and their oddities are exhibited when they least suspect it. Some with an assumed dignity pass through the crowd, purchase what they want and leave without the recognition of any one; but this kind of oddity is not frequently seen in Paris. Affability is contagious and we soon learn to imitate our neighbors. A studied effort at self-possession, only gives to the individual an unnatural and even grotesque appearance. When such deportment is witnessed in Paris it is set down as a foreign product—an importation. On the other hand the native French people seem to lose their self-possession entirely when they

are brought together in groups, and no where have they an opportunity to exhibit their national traits with such undisguised freedom as in the market-place. The bourse is a theatre in which the native Frenchman often exhibits a degree of insanity; but here we have an equal number of men and women brought into competition and their natural volubility, business tact, politeness and gallantry are all brought into play. The sense of the beautiful is not more fully developed in them than that of the comical and absurd. Indeed they all go hand-in-hand and give to a group of French people—men and women—a degree of attractiveness which I do not believe is witnessed anywhere else. It would be difficult to conceive of a people more sorely tried than the Parisians are at this moment; I refer to them, as attending markets, in which there is scarcely anything for sale, but small quantities of horse meat and yet they are cheerful, hopeful and even humorous. The ease and grace with which they address each other must always make an impression upon the foreigner, and the hearty, *Bonjour, monsieur* or *madame*, which they apply to strangers, has given them a world-wide reputation for politeness. Such a people are capable of profound grief, but it cannot last long. It may easily become hysterical but a reaction soon takes place. Their virtues are many and we may add that their weaknesses are great.

Thus far my efforts to cure myself of insomnia have all failed. The slight elevation in the temperature of my rooms has not induced sleep. The little stove has not served any of the purposes anticipated. Neither medicine nor a change of diet, so far as this has been possible, nor physical exercise has produced the desired result. An effort of the will, a thousand times attempted, has likewise been useless. We might as well try to stop the expansion of the lungs or the action of the heart as to try, in these circumstances, to arrest the complex machinery of thought.

“ My brain burns ” are among the last written words of the lamented Hugh Miller, whose residence and newly-made grave I visited a few months ago in Scotland, but he added, “ I must have walked, ” which shows that congestion had already set in. As the reader of these sketches has doubtless discovered, my first three months in Paris were spent under a heavy strain which warned me of the necessity of moderation. Sleep left me at that time and has not yet returned.

The hypnotics of recognized potency are opium, chloroform, sulphuric ether and alcohol ; but these will not always produce sleep, except in narcotic doses in which case there is danger of never waking. The medical profession and the people will hail the day when a hypnotic is discovered which will produce refreshing sleep without danger to life or health. The introduction of the bromides into general practice, as gentle sleep-producing agents, points to some combination which may yet prove to be useful in obstinate cases of insomnia.

At this point we may notice very briefly the present sanitary condition of Paris as indicated by the mortuary reports. Since preparations for the siege began, September 4th, there has been a gradual rise in the death rate from 981 per week to 3,982. The disease which has thus far taken away the largest number of the inhabitants is small-pox. The average weekly loss by this loathsome scourge has been above 300, and during the week of the holidays the loss was 454. The reports of last week, ending January 14th, give the following : By small-pox, 339 ; bronchitis, 457 ; pneumonia, 390 ; typhoid fever, 301 ; diarrhœa, 143 ; dysentery, 46. The weekly reports do not include the losses in St. Denis and towns outside the walls.

As usual I have continued my daily visits to one or other of the numerous hospitals or ambulances for the sick and wounded, Sundays excepted. By common consent the

physicians and surgeons attending these institutions do not encourage visitations on the Sabbath day. Their time is very much occupied in both private and public practice and they hasten along, giving many cases wholly into the care of the *internes* or resident physicians and surgeons.

Generally speaking I have seen the sick and wounded well cared for, though the wards are very much crowded. Each patient has an iron cot, a good mattress, pillows, blankets and a white spread. In the surgical wards I have not witnessed any attempts at antiseptic surgery as practiced by Mr. Lister in the Royal Infirmary in Edinburgh. No attention is paid to his style of operating or of dressing wounds. The French surgeons seem to be in profound ignorance of the great work he commenced a few years ago and is carrying forward with such surprising results. The old surgeons who have made a reputation, such as Neleton, are slow to adopt a foreign system of practice. It was my pleasure, however, to be present a few weeks ago at a free lecture on practical surgery.

As far as I could learn the main object of the speaker was to institute a comparison between American, English, French, German and Austrian surgery, as shown by the army reports, of a large number of amputations, made at different points in the upper and lower extremities, in recent wars. It would be out of place in these sketches to attempt to entertain the reader with a subject which is exclusively professional, but I can assure him that it was with extreme gratification I saw the first place given to American surgery and surgeons. The tables of statistics spread out on large blackboards in the amphitheatre of the College of Medicine, gave the percentage of recoveries from amputations at corresponding points, so clearly, that the facts presented by the speaker became apparent to all. But the reader may be interested in a single question: Why has American surgery given the best results? Is it

because the Austrian and German soldier insists upon having his beer as a daily beverage, the Frenchman his wine, the English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh, their rations of whisky, whilst the American had his coffee? These factors may, indeed, enter into the solution of the problem, but I doubt not that there is another reason much more potent. Somehow the American surgeon in our late war learned the value of pure air and plenty of it in surgical wards, and the importance of not crowding the wounded together in badly-ventilated buildings. Field hospitals were preferred, and when the reports of the numerous hospitals and ambulances in Paris are compared, I doubt not that the work done in the American ambulance, under the patronage of the Hon. E. B. Washburne, will be creditable to the United States.

I have several times referred to this extemporized field hospital and to Dr. John Swinburn, who is the surgeon-in-chief in it. The Doctor had gained a reputation as a surgeon in our army, and soon after the war occupied the responsible position of health officer at the port of New York. I have had frequent interviews with him in relation to hospital work, with Dr. Johnston, his chief assistant, and with others of the ambulance. From the former I have learned that on the 8th inst. a shell entered the room of a young man named Swager, a citizen of the United States, hailing from Louisville, Kentucky, and struck off his foot. He was soon after taken to the ambulance and Dr. S—— operated upon him below the knee, but he was so much alarmed and had been living on such spare diet, that on the third day after the accident he died, though everything was done for him that was possible.

I have said that the sick and wounded in the hospitals are well cared for. Much better food is provided for them than can generally be obtained in good restaurants, and for the convalescent it is supplied in larger quantities.

Fresh meat was reserved and many delicacies which cannot be easily obtained in hotels and eating-houses. But it has been my fortune to make frequent visits to wards into which small-pox patients are crowded, and these are not faring so well. They cannot receive the attention which is necessary to reduce the mortality to a minimum. Whilst 85 per cent. of these unfortunate creatures should recover with well-disinfected floors, good beds, bath tubs and pure air, it is the 85 per cent. who die in the absence of these. There is certainly nothing in all the range of the medical practitioner's varied experience which so much tests his moral courage as a daily attendance upon fifty or more of these loathsome creatures. There is the risk of taking the disease and of carrying the contagion to others, and besides the practitioner, in such circumstances, is certain to lose three-fourths of his patients. In this case, when death comes, their bodies are hastened away, and buried at night, without ceremony, to give place to others equally unfortunate.

Painfully impressed with the thought that some accident might occur to me during the siege, and that I might not be easily identified. I wrote at the beginning of the new year the following on the back of my passport which I carry with me :

PARIS, *January 2, 1871.*

Should sudden death occur or any accident by which I should become unconscious, I refer to my friend M. le Docteur Benjamin Ball, Rue Tabor, Paris, to the American Minister, Hon. E. B. Washburne, or to the Assistant American Consul, Mr. F. Olcott.

R. L. SIBBET, M. D.,
Residing at 332 Rue St. Honoré.

Thus far I have not had occasion to use my passport often. Paris is a well-governed city; the Provisional Government certainly deserve great praise. If the Germans have not been compelled to retire a state of anarchy has been prevented.

The bombardment does not appear to deter the people from visiting their homes which they have deserted ; many persons, during the day, venture over into the stricken quarters to see what damage has been done during the night. I have not been able to resist the temptation to do as others are doing, and several times I have gone as far as the walls and have seen many houses completely demolished.

Last Sunday afternoon, in my usual excursion, which seems to be a necessity for me in order to preserve the equipoise of a sleepless brain, I passed through Place de la Concorde which has always had an indescribable charm for me. The weather had somewhat moderated, though there was yet snow and slush on the ground and nature was still hushed in the sleep of winter. Glancing at the magnificent specimens of art around me—the Bourbon palace, the Ministry of Marine and the Tuileries—I turn to the right up Champs Elysées, and in half an hour, passing many blocks of houses, I reached the Trocadéro which overlooks the Champs de Mars at the great bend in the Seine, at which point we have a magnificent view of the river eastward and southward. Here I was tempted to cross the Seine upon the bridge of Jena, a beautiful structure and follow down the quay upon the left bank. The cannonading, which never ceases, except, perhaps, for a few moments, could be heard distinctly, but it was not an easy matter for me to tell whether it was French or German powder that was fulminating. I was making an effort to divert my thought from the future, which, in these circumstances, I find extremely difficult to paint in roseate hues. I had not gone far until I heard a confusion of noises—the screams of women and children and a peculiar devilish sound in the atmosphere. A moment later and I saw a splash in the river. The shell had really passed over our heads, and you can easily imagine that I soon felt an inclination to retrace my steps.

But there are other topics which we must notice under this date—topics in which the government is specially concerned. The Communards must be constantly watched. The *Journal des Débats* and other newspapers give daily accounts of their club meetings. In them there is great freedom of speech permitted; the government considers it better to allow them to discuss all topics relating to the siege, as the best means of preventing conspiracy. Secret meetings are thus discouraged, and the real cowards have opportunities of expressing their comparatively harmless sentiments.

On the evening of the 11th inst. the *Club de la Marseillaise* met in La Villette. This is one of the most democratic of all the clubs. The hall in which its meetings are held is immense, but it is very plain; so much so that the *sans culottes* scarcely find themselves at ease in it. On this occasion numerous short but violent speeches were made. As usual the orators did not hesitate to attack the members of the Government, using such phrases as “the men at the Hôtel de Ville, serving the coward of Sedan.” One of them charged General Trochu with treason, and said he could prove it. He declared that the Governor was only waiting an opportunity to surrender the city to the Prussians. Another speaker dilated upon the scarcity of food and the necessity of prompt action. A third advocated a resistance *à outrance*, but before he concluded the people laughed at his absurdities. A fourth insisted that the Commune alone could save the city. He did not believe “that there are more than 75,000 Prussians around the city, whilst there are 500,000 Frenchmen in Paris ready to fight.”

We need only refer to one other meeting—that of the *Club Favie* in Belleville on the evening of the 16th inst. There were as many women present as men, and the dissatisfied and despairing crowd indulged in criticisms and

complaints without end. The first orator raised an excitement by referring to what he called the "rudeness and brutality of the municipal officers." No doubt the half-starved residents of Belleville, as they press forward in lines to obtain their daily allowance of soup and bread, are hard to manage, and force must be sometimes used. The second speaker expressed surprise that after an absence of ten days in the service of the defense, so little had been done; before concluding he created a sensation by stating that the Schoelcher legion was concealing its cannon in the basement story of the Notre-Dame, but voices were heard in the audience—"It is not true!" "It is a slander!" A third orator mounted the stage and charged the people with cowardice and corruption. Rabelais, he said, charged the people in his day with the stupidity of sheep and oxen, and he could not see that any improvement has been made since. They seem to enjoy themselves discussing the rumors which spring up every day, such as these, that Bourbaki and Garibaldi have crossed the Rhine and have entered Baden with a large force, and that a fleet sailed recently for the Baltic with 50,000 men to attack Germany on the north. This speaker had much to say, but the thought which he emphasized was this that the people are cowards, and do not wish to establish the Commune. They prefer, he said, to believe in deliverers or saviors, such as Gambetta and Trochu. But what would Gambetta and Trochu do if they were both in Paris? They would only praise each other. Gambetta would congratulate Trochu, and Trochu would congratulate Gambetta. Another citizen hastened upon the stage and without introduction asked the question—"Is there then no means of deliverance? I hope that every orator will indicate his opinion on this point." Interruptions followed and cries of, "Give us yours then." "Mine," he said, "is wildfire," which produced laughter and confusion. His ef-

fort threw no light upon the situation and M. Briosne ascended the platform. This gentleman has some reputation as a speaker. He is called a *rara avis* in communistic circles, having a clear voice as well as the gift of profoundly moving a popular audience. "The situation," he said, "is desperate, and why? Because the present Government has followed the absurd policy of its predecessor, by concealing from the people the real state of affairs, by encouraging us with illusions and by trying to deceive us as to the strength and discipline of the enemy. The Germans are as courageous as we are, and they are much superior in organization and in discipline. Thirty-five days ago, when he last visited the *Club Favie*, there was yet time to save Paris. There were 600,000 men ready to fight and with ample supplies, but now all is lost. Who would be foolish enough to assume the responsibility of a movement at this moment? Would the communists? Oh! no, it is too late. The hour has passed. Voices in the crowd responded, "Yes, it is true, it is too late." But whose fault is it? Upon whom must the responsibility rest? Upon the people? No! The people do not govern! The *bourgeoisie* who have the science, the wealth and the power, must bear the responsibility. They believe that it is only necessary to make a reconnoissance every day, so as to conceal their responsibility before the people and history, but we will not permit them to do this. No! no! Paris is the center of the civilized world; its fall must be worthy of its renown. When Jerusalem fell the women threw themselves upon the enemy from the top of the walls. Of Palmyra, the queen of the desert, there remains only a mutilated column, and for centuries the sites of Babylon and of Nineveh were unknown. And so it is necessary for Paris to perish. If the Prussians enter the city, as they certainly will, the provinces will continue the war, and where shall we obtain

provisions? The Prussians will not supply us with food and we must starve. You, the provident *bourgeoisie*, will not be fed; you will perish like ourselves, but your houses will be pillaged. The enemy will commence by levying a war indemnity of two or three milliards, but they will not come to Belleville in search of gold (general laughter). When they have robbed the city treasury and the banks of their gold and silver, they will seize the rich furniture of the *bourgeoisie*, the paintings of the masters which decorate their *salons*, the statuary, the porcelain and the jewelry. Would it not be better to escape this inglorious end by a supreme effort? Instead of imitating the ostrich, which conceals its head in the sand and awaits death, let us imitate the hunted lion that leaps upon his enemy and perishes in the struggle. Let us make a *sortie*, men, women, children, people, *bourgeoisie*; let us forget our divisions, our grievances, our hates; let us pardon them, if they wish to die with us; let us advance five hundred thousand or two millions. The Prussians will not massacre us all; those who survive will avenge the dead, and if we all die we will have set an example worthy of the chief city of the world."

The speech produced an extraordinary effect; the women became hysterical and wept; the president was about to dismiss the meeting when a young man in the audience hastened to the platform and obtained permission to speak. He said that he admired the eloquence of Citizen Briosne, but his argument led to an act of despair. His conclusion is that we should all surrender to the Prussians. This produced great excitement and there were exclamations—"He did not say so! He did not say so!" To preserve order the president interposed and stated that he was of the opinion of M. Briosne, that the situation is desperate, and it is necessary for all to die. We have already commenced to die. See the long mortuary list of last week.

Everybody coughs in Belleville. Pneumonia and bronchitis are prevailing. When spring comes starvation and disease will have taken us all away, and we doubt not it will be better to make a supreme effort and if need be perish at once! Several others desired to speak, but the excitement was great and the president considered it best to dismiss the meeting.

To satisfy the people, especially this restless and well-nigh unmanageable class, the Government is preparing for another sortie, but at this date we can only say, as to the result, that hopes and fears are mingled.

The Government has had a special interest, of late, in the departure of balloons and in the reception of dispatches by the pigeons. The situation of affairs in Paris must be made known to the deputation at Bordeaux. It is maintained that the coöperation of the armies of the departments with the army here is necessary for success; and hence, a balloon must be sent out every two or three days.

On the 11th inst. the *Kepler* sailed from the Orleans railroad station at 3 o'clock in the morning and landed safely in France near Laval.

In like manner the *Général Faidherbe* sailed on the 13th inst. and landed a few miles from Bordeaux. M. Hurel took out five bulldogs which, he believes, will return to Paris with dispatches in their collars. The owners of the dogs are to receive two hundred francs for every dispatch they bring back.

On the same day, at half past eleven o'clock at night, several merchants and manufacturers, duly authorized, sailed out of Paris in a very large balloon, the *Mongè*.

At 3 o'clock in the morning of the 15th inst. a *ballon-poste*, the *Vaucanson*, rose from the Orleans railroad station. Two inventors accompanied the aëronaut, and took out the model of a sub-marine boat in which, after it is made, they propose to return by one of the rivers.

After several hours of delay the *Steenackers*, on the morning of the 16th inst., rose from the Northern railroad station at 7 o'clock. It took out M. Veibert, aëronaut and M. Gobron, attorney-at-law, and two boxes, each weighing one hundred and twenty pounds, destined for the deputation at Bordeaux. The latter has given a graphic account of their perilous voyage which we abbreviate.

In our haste to get off no trial balloons were sent up and no instructions were given to the aëronaut; the boxes, sandbags and *voyageurs* were packed in pell-mell. The balloon ascended slowly and M. Veibert threw out some of the ballast. We soon rose to a great height, the barometer showed 5,500 metres, and there was a strange feeling in my head. We believed too that we were going very rapidly. At 9 o'clock the atmosphere cleared up and we could see the earth. The mariner's compass showed us that we were going a little east of north. At 10 o'clock I perceived that the horizon before us, presented a singular appearance, and I called the attention of my companion to it. Can it be that we are approaching the North Sea? A few moments satisfied us that it was really water and that we had not a moment to lose. We both pulled at the valve rope and opened the appendix, and the balloon began to collapse but the wind was driving us towards the sea. Is there yet time? We redoubled our efforts; I pulled at the valve rope, he cut the cords which held the anchors. These fell with a weight of one hundred and sixty pounds and dragged us down. Next the *nacelle* struck and we were stunned, but not senseless. The water was only a few rods distant and we were trailing upon the ground. An act of desperation was necessary. Somehow M. Veibert got out between the ropes; I went out headforemost and was dragged on my hands and head, my feet caught in the ropes. The balloon disappeared in the sea.

In half an hour the country people came to our relief. With great satisfaction we learned that we were in Holland not far from the town of Harderwyk. Here we were kindly and very hospitably entertained. The same evening I reached Amsterdam, where I learned from M. Veibert, who remained behind, that our balloon was found by mariners on a small island, eighteen miles from the coast. We saved the dispatches.

CHAPTER XII.

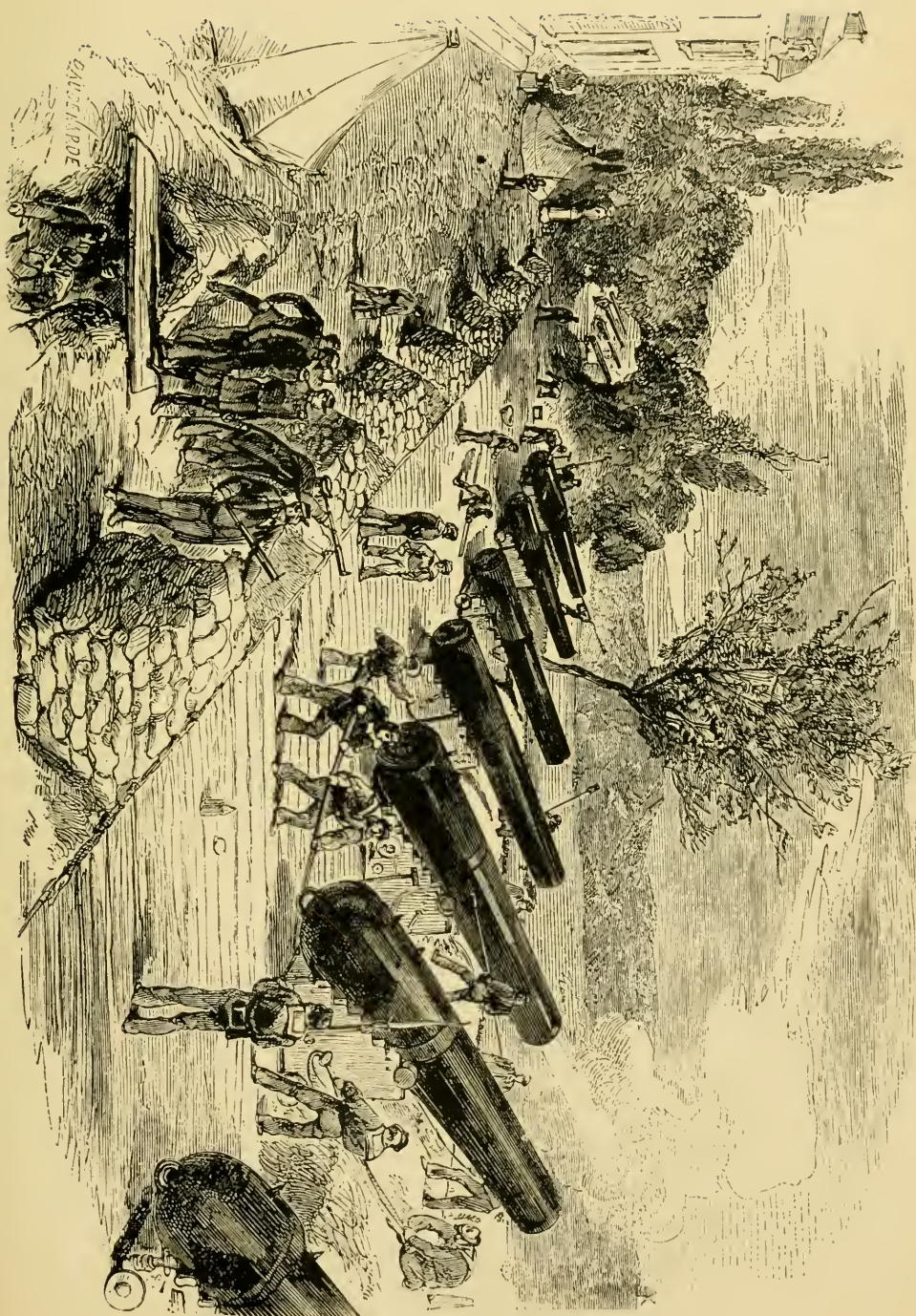
PARIS, JANUARY 23D, 1871.

Another Great Sortie—The Battle of Buzenval—The French Defeated—MM. Favre and Ferry Visit Fort Valérien at Midnight—A Meeting of the Members of the Government and of the Mayors—General Trochu Resigns—General Vinoy Made Commander-in-Chief of the Army—Bad News from the Departments—M. Favre's Dispatch to M. Gambetta—A Council of Generals and Admirals—A Council of Mayors, Colonels and Captains—Another Attempt at Rebellion—Three More Balloons Ascend.

WHAT a frightful week we have spent in Paris! Another *sortie générale* has been made, and more than 160,000 Frenchmen have been repulsed. To the bombardment of Paris and of the forts has been added the bombardment of St. Denis. Its inhabitants, 40,000, are taking refuge in the city. They are coming three miles through the mud and rain and snow, panic stricken. In the meantime discouraging news reached the city, that the armies of the departments were defeated; and besides all this the *Communards* have made another attempt at revolution.

From the date of the last sortie a full month had passed, and the people were clamoring for another effort on the part of the army to force back the Germans. There were at least 400,000 well armed and well equipped Frenchmen in Paris. The mobilized national guards had undergone a partial reorganization; the weather was becoming more moderate, and there was a general impression that something should be done. The Communists, who were hold-

FRENCH BATTERIES AT ST. QUIEN.



ing meetings every night, were making threats. General Thomas, in command of the Guards, it is said, had interviewed General Trochu on the subject of another sortie, and the latter gave him many good reasons for the *temporisation* with which he is charged. But the time came for the Governor to do something or resign. He did not dare to surrender the city. An insurrection would no doubt have followed and a large part of the army would have joined in it. The members of the Government would have been assassinated, and a reign of terror would have resulted.

Accordingly in the afternoon of the 18th the *générale* was beaten in all the wards. This was an indication that a movement was intended, but the people, judging from the time that had been spent in preparation for previous sorties, did not believe that a battle would be fought for several days. During the night the following proclamation was placed upon the walls, and in the morning it appeared in the journals :

“CITIZENS: The enemy bombards us day and night, covers our hospitals with shells and kills our women and children. A cry, ‘To Arms!’ rises from every breast. Those who are willing to lay down their lives on the field of battle will march upon the enemy; those who remain will be careful to show themselves worthy of the heroism of their brothers by accepting with composure the greatest sacrifices as an evidence of devotion to the country.

“To suffer and to die, if it is necessary, but to conquer! *vive la république!*”

(Signed.) “*The Members of the Government*—Jules Favre, Jules Ferry, Jules Simon, Emanuel Arago, Ernest Picard, Garnier-Pagès, Eugene Pelletan.

“*The Ministers*—General Le Flô, Dorian and Magnin.

“*The Secretaries*—Herold, Lavertujon, Durier and Dréo.”

At the same time the *Journal Officiel* announced the nomination of General Le Flô as Governor of Paris, in the absence of General Trochu. The proclamation so

fully endorsed, and the order of the day which followed, seemed to satisfy the people and to encourage them. Once more they believed in the sincerity of the Governor. At noon two military reports appeared which surprised the people, the prompt movement of the army was not expected. One of these may be given in full :

“MONT-VALÉRIEN,

January 19, 1871, 10 o'clock 10 min. a. m.

“To the Minister of War, and to General SCHMITZ, Chief of Staff :

“Concentration very difficult and laborious during a dark night. A delay of two hours by the column on the right. Its head arrived in line this moment. The houses Béarn, Armengaud, and Pozzo di Borgo occupied immediately. Long and brisk fighting around the redoubt, Montretout; we are masters of it.

“The Bellemare column has taken possession of the house of the Curé, and has entered the park by a breach made in the wall of Buzenval. It holds the points 112, the plateau 155, the palace, and the heights of Buzenval. It is going to attack the Craon house. The column on the right (General Ducrot's) is advancing towards the heights of Jonchère in a brisk battle of musketry. Thus far all goes well.”

“GENERAL TROCHU.”

Orders had been issued that the three columns referred to should occupy during the night the neck of the great peninsula northwest of the city. General Vinoy commanded the left, General Bellemare the center, and General Ducrot the right. The distance from St. Cloud to Bougival is about five miles, and between these points the fighting was done. The French forces moved westward under the protection of Mont-Valérien, taking the best roads in the direction of Versailles on the left and St. Germain on the right. The river, on each side, prevented flank movements, and the German 5th corps was well entrenched. Their artillery on the right and left and front occupied the elevated points.

At 11 o'clock General Noël's division had taken the redoubt of Montretout and sixty prisoners, and had ad-

vanced on the left in the direction of Garches with heavy losses. The center moved in the direction of Buzenval and had occupied the house of the Curé. On account of the delay of the right, General Trochu ordered a halt of both columns. General Ducrot was obliged to make a circuit of twenty miles during the night, over roads too that were jammed with artillery, a part of which had lost its way. Several hours were thus given to the Germans to prepare for the assault in the afternoon. The right advanced by the way of Rueil and Malmaison, and suffered from an enfilading fire on the right flank by artillery on the opposite peninsula. There was heavy fighting all along the line, at Jonchère, Buzenval, Longboyau, Bergerie and Garches until six o'clock, when night put an end to the carnage. It is estimated that the losses of the French are about 3,000 in killed, wounded and missing.

From the reports received by the Minister of War in the evening, it must have been apparent to him that the Governor had no intention of continuing the battle. "There was a dense fog, the fire of the enemy was continued with extreme violence, the troops were obliged to abandon the heights," said the Governor. At midnight a retreat of the whole army was ordered. Not more than 25,000 men were engaged during the day, and the remaining 75,000 were greatly surprised when the order reached them. They had camped for the night, expecting to be ordered to the front in the morning, and it is said that the Germans were also surprised to find that there was to be no more fighting, and that the French had requested a few hours to gather up their dead and wounded.

The evening journals contained brief accounts of what had been done during the day and spoke very hopefully of the result. But M. Favre, as Minister of the Interior *ad interim*, over his own signature, gave to the people more definite information. He said that a great battle

was being fought, that three corps comprising more than 100,000 men had engaged the enemy, that General Vinoy had taken Montretout and was moving upon Garches, that General Bellemare and General Ducrot, after fighting several hours at the chateau of Buzenval, had advanced to the plateau of Bergerie. He especially complimented the mobilized national guards, who, for the first time, had faced the enemy. The people were of course pleased with the favorable reports coming in during the evening and retired with hopes that on the next day the army would occupy Versailles.

All night, however, the army retreated, infantry, cavalry and artillery, some taking up their quarters upon the peninsula whilst others crossed the river and returned to Paris. The roads were jammed with ambulance wagons, artillery, infantry and cavalry, which had not been within reach of the Krupp guns. To many, both officers and men, the scene was one of humiliation, if not disgrace. A retreat at night, battalions marching without order, mobiles, national guards, lignards, zouaves, pell-mell! At 11 o'clock the order came to the headquarters of the ambulance corps: "Pack up immediately; the enemy is upon us." "And must we abandon the wounded?" inquired Dr. Demarquay. "The order is formal; it is necessary to fall back upon Courbevoie." The Governor remained in Fort Valérien, believing, no doubt, that it would be unsafe for him to return to the Hôtel de Ville.

Several of the most distinguished of the brave men who lost their lives may be named, Colonel Rochebrune, who faced death a hundred times in Poland, his native country, fell at the head of his regiment as he gave the command, *A la baionnette! En avant!* The brave Marquis de Cariolis, at the age of seventy; Henri Regnault, the author of Judith slaying Holophernes, who gave promise of becoming the greatest artist in the world; Gustave

Lambert, the *savant* and indefatigable promoter of the scientific expedition to the North Pole, and Aristide Lomon, the young poet, who seemed likely to become a second Victor Hugo.—all gave their lives in this effort of despair to save Paris from a humiliating surrender.

This, in brief, is the battle of Buzenval on the 19th inst. The people of Paris had looked forward to the next day with hopefulness and anticipations of victory, but the early morning journals informed them that the Governor had ordered a retreat during the night and was burying the dead. Dispondency immediately followed, visible in every face, but indescribable. The people all day seemed to be in a half paralyzed and dazed condition, not knowing what to say. Their hearts were touched, they could not understand the conduct of the army, and they supposed that a great disaster had occurred. The evening journals, however, informed them that this was not true, and soon after the criticisms began.

Those who had taken part in the preceding engagements as officers of rank and intelligence, did not believe that the fighting would be continued on the 20th inst. They had opportunities to study the policy and plans of the Governor at Malmaison on the 8th of October, at Bagneux on the 13th, at Jonchère on the 21st, and at Bourget on the 29th and 30th; at Gare-aux-Boeufs, Hay, Brie-sur-Marne, Champany, Villiers and Epinay from the 29th of November to December 2d, and at Bourget on the 21st of December. Even intelligent civilians have suspected, from the spirit of his book, from his first address to the Parisians and from his general conduct of the siege, that he is constitutionally cautious, that he is a man who would defend himself well behind entrenchments, but in an attack he would likely fail. He has shown but little confidence in the army of Paris, and still less in the armies of the departments organized by Gambetta. In his first

address he stated plainly that he abhorred the idea of governing Paris by the use of the sabre and the chassepot. His plans and policy have all been of a negative kind, his meaning has been that Paris can do nothing except in defence. He has had about 200,000 well armed men ready to move upon the enemy, but he has evidently not known how to use them. They have had at least three months of discipline and an abundance of ammunition. Besides all this he has had another 200,000 men well equipped and ready to defend the city in case of an assault. These are the Home National Guards. It is very plain, says the critic, that 150,000 men might have been employed in the recent effort, and instead of these only 25,000 were engaged from eight o'clock in the morning to four in the evening. The 125,000 were simply waiting to see their brothers defeated. The French artillery was scarcely brought into use. If the five miles between St. Cloud and Bougival did not give room for more than 25,000 men on the side of the French, why were not other segments of the great circle used? If the snow, the rain, the ice and the fog interfered with the movements of the French, did they not equally interfere with the movements of the Germans? Why did one French officer say to another, "We will have an order to retreat before midnight?" Why should General Ducrot on the right be four or five hours behind time, when the distance and the condition of the roads were all known? Why should parts of two corps be held under fire several hours until a third arrived, when out of the whole number only 25,000 soldiers were brought into action? To very many French people, and certainly to all Americans present, it is becoming more and more apparent that General Trochu will be obliged to surrender the city notwithstanding the fact that he said, "The Government will not capitulate."

The report is current that General Ducrot and other

officers of high rank, after the first great sortie, lost all hope of making a successful *trouée* under the direction of the Governor. They have studied his methods and weighed well his proclamations and orders. His acceptance of the presidency on the condition that he would be allowed to remain Governor of Paris and General of the Army, shows a very high appreciation of himself, and his unwillingness to relinquish either position until the last moment, has shown a headstrong tendency. It has required an unusual demonstration on the part of the mayors and his own colleagues to convince him that he should no longer hold command of the army. He has apparently been possessed of the idea that 50,000 men, even if they could cut their way through the German lines, would be hunted down until they would be forced to surrender. But why, it is asked, should not 100,000 well-armed soldiers go out, if half this number could go? And why could they not march as rapidly as their pursuers, if it were necessary to do so? But it is said that Paris must surrender at any rate in a few days. Very well, is the reply; let the military authorities surrender the city, and let the members of the Government go out in balloons and unite with their colleagues at Bordeaux. These are some of the criticisms which are freely indulged in by well informed classes of men in and out of the army.

In the meantime, and until yesterday, the Communists were holding meetings in all the club rooms in the city and the most violent speeches were made. On the night of the 21st inst. a meeting of the club *Reine Blanche* was held at Montmartre, and the hall was densely crowded. The subjects were the failure of the army at Buzenval, the incapacity of the Governor, and the necessity of substituting the Commune. The interment of Colonel Rochebrune in the afternoon gave the first orator a text. Companies of national guards in Belleville had descended into

the city with the cries of *La déchéance! Vive la Commune!* But the movement failed to produce anything more than a temporary excitement, and the clubs and vigilance committees were meeting with the intention of making the Hôtel de Ville a place of rendezvous the next day at noon. Meanwhile a committee from the Republican club, and one from the club of the School of Medicine, arrived and stated that arrangements were made to meet at the Hôtel de Ville. A citizen of the 17th ward then took the stand and made a statement of this kind, that the Republicans of Batignolles, the mayor and adjuncts, were preparing to attend the meeting. These announcements being made amid great applause, a committee of three was appointed to wait upon the mayor of Montmartre, but M. Clémenceau was absent and one of the adjuncts agreed to accompany them to the place of rendezvous. At ten o'clock the meeting adjourned with cheers for the Commune.

We were now approaching the darkest hours of the siege. All the journals of the 21st inst. seemed anxious for a change in the command of the army. Some of the editors as well as speakers in the clubs had not hesitated to call the Governor a traitor and a coward. Such expressions as these were used: "Let Trochu resign; he must resign!" During the forenoon shells began to fall upon St. Denis, and the people became alarmed. A notice had been served upon the inhabitants that the shelling would begin at ten o'clock, but they hoped that fortune would favor them, and that they would not be driven from their homes. At the same time the Parisians were fearful that the Germans would move their siege guns nearer to St. Denis, and would bombard the north side of Paris as they have been bombarding the south. Accordingly the people retired with nervous anxiety, those who were ignorant of the dangers to which they were exposed may have slept soundly, but very many spent a wakeful night, not

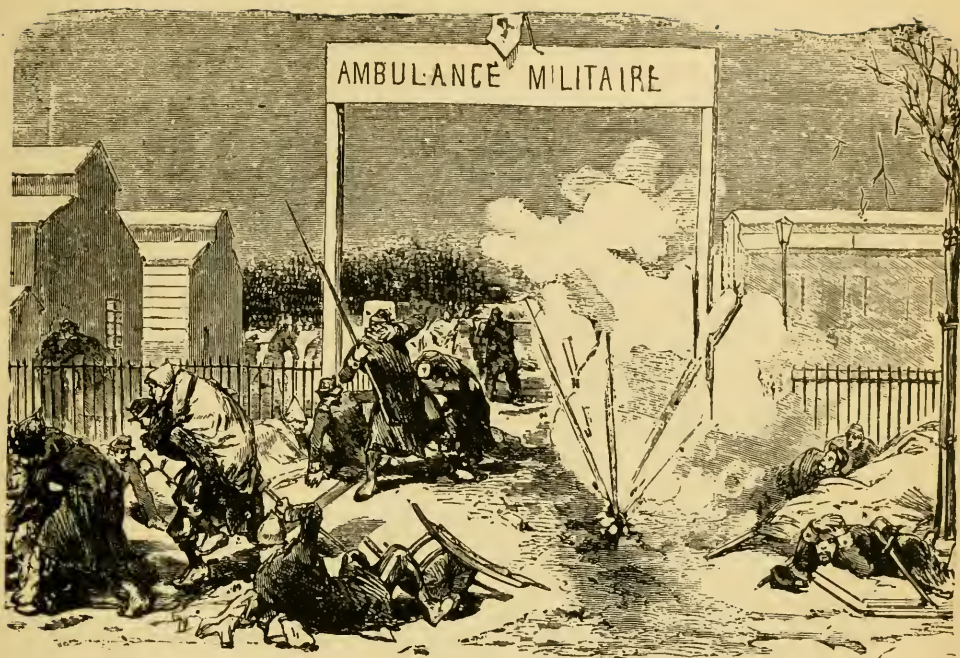
knowing what might happen before morning. The entire population was beginning to fear that Paris might be one of the great cities doomed to perish.

On this evening I resolved to make a midnight excursion, and to go as far as possible in the direction of the ramparts. My object was to obtain a good view of the cannonading on both sides. This could be obtained, as I learned, from an elevated portion of the city on the southwest called Auteuil. There were no omnibuses running in this direction that I could depend upon, and, taking all the risks, I ventured out upon a promenade not by any means certain into what company I should fall, or how far I might be permitted to go. Over head the stars were bright and the lamps were burning at great distances from each other, scarcely less than half a mile.

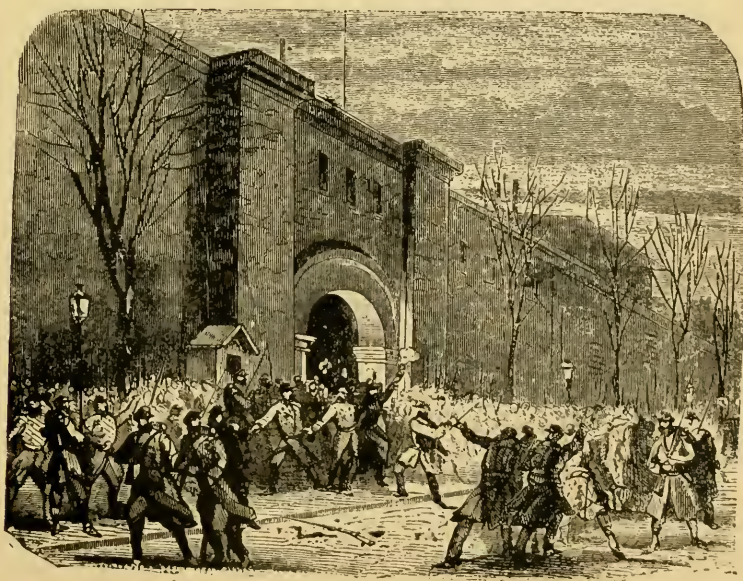
It was nine o'clock when I reached the Trocadéro, and there were yet several miles to go. I was now within reach of the Krupp guns, and might have been struck at any moment, but I discovered that the explosions of the shells in the city were, for the most part, on the left side of the river. Passy and Auteuil on the right of the Seine were chiefly bombarded during the first few days—parts of the city lying nearer the siege guns of the Germans, and not so highly valued. Recently the shells have been thrown into the central wards, no doubt for the purpose of producing a more decided effect upon the population. Passing quietly along from one street to another I observed that I was moving in company with others, who, I discovered, were on the same errand as myself and were not residents. Indeed these parts of the city had become uninhabitable, as I had opportunities of observing even at night. Many of the houses were completely demolished and others were burned out. I soon became satisfied that the men with whom I was walking had a serious and honest object in view, that they were strangers to each other and

were safe companions. About ten o'clock we reached an elevated point in Auteuil where we could see every minute the red streams of fire escaping from the siege guns of the Germans, and could hear the crashing sound of the explosions in the city. The shells were sweeping over the long line of forts on the south which we could dimly see when they responded—Issy, Vanves, Montrouge, Bicêtre and Vitry. In like manner the siege guns upon the walls could be seen when the shells and the fire escaped from them. There lay before us, stretching far towards the east, the great city, more like a scene in Dante's *Inferno* than that of beautiful Paris. It was a midnight scene in which two millions of people were actors. The *tout ensemble*, as the French would say, has not been witnessed in any period of the past. Four hundred thousand citizens in arms and yet helpless! A frightful month of bombardment! Five hundred inhabitants either killed or mutilated! Thirty thousand of a neighboring town escaping under fire! Starvation at the door of all! The hospitals and churches crowded with the sick and dying! Four thousand funerals every week! And most of all an attempt at rebellion! My companions were horror stricken and could only speak in exclamations. There were other groups of saddened hearts in Auteuil, and among them I observed a few brave women who had possibly not abandoned their homes. At two o'clock I returned to a sleepless bed, much fatigued but thankful that no evil had befallen me.

While I was on this excursion several hundred *Communards*, well armed, and in violation of orders, assembled at Mazas and demanded the liberation of Flourens and others of his class who had been arrested. Shots were exchanged and several lives were lost in front of the prison. Any further resistance on the part of the guards seemed to be useless and the prisoners were surrendered. Flourens



FLEEING FROM THE SHELLS.



FLOURENS TAKEN FROM MAZAS

was taken to the mayor's office of the 20th ward and an attempt was made to install him as mayor. A further effort was made to induce him to become commander-in-chief of an insurrection, but this position he refused to accept on the ground that their number was too small. They, however, took possession of several thousand rations of bread and a few casks of wine which were intended for distribution among the sick and the poor of the ward. The commanding officer of the 2d section of the ramparts being advised of the invasion of the mayor's office, sent several battalions of loyal guards, and at six o'clock in the morning the leaders were sent out to Vincennes and order was restored.

Although there was quietness in the morning in every part of the city the people began to crowd into the boulevards at ten o'clock. They did not believe that General Trochu would resign, and hence they continued their demonstration. At noon several battalions of national guards paraded in the wards distant from the center of the city without any apparent object in view. Groups of citizens were also seen marching with extemporized banners on which were written these and similar words: *Déchéance du Gouvernement! Elections Immédiates!* At three o'clock an effort was made to take possession of the cannon in the park at the rear of Notre Dame, but this was thwarted by the vigilance of the loyal guards. There was a disposition not to provoke the discontented battalions, as it was understood that a large part of the army was on the eve of a revolt. In the afternoon men, women and children were assembled in groups in front of the Hôtel de Ville. Representatives of the clubs were also present and two deputations were admitted into the presence of the municipal officers. While these were inside waiting, the mayors not being in session, a part of the 101st battalion of national guards suddenly appeared, officers

and music in front. They placed themselves in groups at considerable distances from the City Hall. The officers and a portion of the battalion on duty (du Finistère) were on the pavement outside the iron fence. What the 101st battalion proposed to do no one could determine, but it was supposed that they were there for the purpose of maintaining order. At four o'clock a signal being given they all dropped the knee upon the ground and a platoon or two fired upon the guards at the mayor's entrance. Colonel Vibre who stood at the front of the Government entrance protested with indignation, and immediately a volley was fired at him. Major Bernard, who was standing by, was seriously wounded. The Colonel now ordered the whole battalion to the front and gave an order to fire. The insurgents fled instantly, leaving their dead and wounded, and the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville was soon vacated.

But this did not terminate the fusilade. Some of the *Communards* appeared to be determined to incite an insurrection. They had heard the cry of *Vive la Commune!* very frequently during the day and they imagined that the time had come for them to act. They took possession of the houses in front of the Hôtel de Ville, and shot from the windows and other concealed places. But the *rappel* was beaten in the neighboring streets and the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville was soon occupied by loyal battalions. In the evening Generals Vinoy and Thomas appeared on horseback and were cheered by the crowd that came from all quarters. Cannon were placed on the quays and in all the streets leading to the Hôtel de Ville. Most of the insurgents fled, but twenty or more of them were taken to prison. Eight persons were reported killed and nineteen wounded. This, in brief, is the story of the attempt at rebellion on the 22d of January.

Nothing more disgraceful has occurred in Paris since

the siege began than these efforts at revolution. This last one during the time that the Germans are covering one-third of the city with explosives and whilst they are bombarding St. Denis is especially reprehensible. One-half of the killed and wounded are doubtless innocent and have not been in any way associated with the Communists. Nevertheless these deluded people assembled as usual in their club-rooms in the evening, and went on with their speech-making, the appointment of committees and deputations. In Belleville the club *Favic* opened at eight o'clock and continued the meeting until eleven. M. Molinari, one of the editors of the *Journal des Débats*, gives an account of this meeting to which, however, we can only refer. At the time he entered an orator decorated with a large red sash which hung down to his boots was lampooning the citizens of Belleville for their indifference. Instead of one thousand whom they had promised to send to the Hôtel de Ville not more than forty were there. "It is a shame! It is a shame!" replied the audience. Belleville which boasts of being the crater of revolutions dishonors herself. (Yes, that is true! We are cowards!) In this style several other orators entertained the people. At one time the audience, women and men, under the strong appeals of the speakers, were ready to march to and seize the offices of the mayors, and at other times they would become hysterical and weep. Trochu, Vinoy and Flourens occupied their attention much more than the enemy outside the walls. The next day I passed through Place de l'Hôtel de Ville and found that artillery and infantry of the loyal guards were in full possession, and that the damage was limited to the fine French plate windows of the City Hall and neighboring houses.

But let us turn for a moment to the acts of the Government. As already indicated the Minister of War, General Le Flô, was constituted Governor of Paris *ad interim*.

On the 19th inst. he issued an order informing the commandant-in-chief of St. Denis, the commandants-in-chief of the engineers and of the artillery, the chiefs of staff of the National Guards and of the Army, the commandants of the forts and sections of the ramparts, and the division and brigade commanders of his appointment and directed them to make daily reports to him at the Tuileries.

At five o'clock in the evening the members of the government were apprised of the retreat of the army, and they learned that General Trochu intended to remain a few days at Fort Valérien. They had been in communication with some at least of the mayors during the day, and they knew well that there was no time to be lost. They believed that demands would be made for the overthrow of the Government, and that the siege would be disgraced. The Communists were expressing themselves with boldness, and there were intimations that others would join them. Accordingly M. Jules Favre and M. Jules Ferry set out for Fort Valérien. It was a hazardous undertaking at night, and it was effected with the greatest difficulty. The roads were crowded with the army retreating, which they were obliged to face—infantry, artillery and cavalry, as well as ambulance wagons, carrying the dead and wounded back to Paris. At one o'clock they reached the fort and were kindly received by the General.

Several days before the battle M. Favre had invited the members of the municipal government to a meeting at his office in the Ministry of the Interior. The members of the Government welcomed them, and after a few remarks by M. Favre General Trochu entertained them with a lengthy speech. He entered upon an explanation of the numerous, and as he believed, insurmountable difficulties of the situation without the aid of the armies of the departments. He nevertheless assured them that every means would be used to force back the enemy, and that prepara-

tions for another sortie were in progress. At this time the Government had not heard of the defeat of the armies in the departments. The mayors returned to their respective wards profoundly impressed with the solemnity of the situation, but were not without hope. They could not say that the Governor had not made an honest effort to serve his country.

But every day was bringing new trials, and MM. Favre and Ferry were on Mont Valérien upon a special mission. They desired the General to meet with them once more and at the earliest possible moment. They saw clearly that there would be trouble in Paris unless something was done to avert it. They did not intimate that he should resign his position as General of the army, but they did urge him to appoint some one to take his place in the field for a few hours in order that he might meet with his colleagues and the mayors at an early hour in the forenoon. He was not slow to see that a greater disaster might occur than the defeat of his army, and he at once consented.

MM. Favre and Ferry hastened back to Paris during the night to make arrangements for the contemplated meeting. It was necessary to notify their colleagues and the mayors. At 11 o'clock the members of the Government received the mayors at the Ministry of the Interior. M. Favre, who is Vice President and Minister of the Interior, opened the meeting with a few brief statements, limiting himself to his own department of work. The Minister of Commerce and the Commission of Subsistence, he said, have fixed the first of February as the extreme limit to which they can venture. After this date there will not be a grain of wheat in the city to be converted into flour, and there are only a few hectolitres of oats which may be used for two or three days afterwards. These facts, he said, have been kept a secret until the present

moment. The rationing of bread has already become a cruel necessity, 300 grammes to each adult daily, and half this quantity to children, the result of which is a frightful mortality. The bread, as is known to all, is composed of wheat, rice, peas, barley and oats, coarse and black. Besides the reports coming from all quarters show an increasing irritation among the people, witnessed not only in the clubs, but in the ranks of the National Guards.

But this was not the only discouraging statement M. Favre was under the necessity of making in the presence of his colleagues and before the mayors. On the previous evening he received a message from the deputation at Bordeaux stating that General Chanzy was defeated at Mans on the 11th inst., and that his army was forced back beyond Mayenne. The message was dated, Bordeaux, January 13th, 1871; it was consequently on the way six days. The German troops were under the command of Prince Frederick Charles and the Duke of Mecklenburg. On the side of the French, Generals Goujard, Lebouedec and Berry, and Admiral Jauréquiberry took part. The message was read in full and M. Favre says that this communication produced the silence of despair.

The Governor then took the floor and presented in review all that had been done to make Paris impregnable, as well as to raise the blockade. He stated that there was no instance on record in which a city surrounded by a large army had been able to repel an enemy without assistance from the outside; that he had constantly insisted upon the departments organizing armies and sending them to the relief of Paris; that General Chanzy, forced to retire beyond Mayenne on the southwest, was unable to assist us; that General Faidherbe, on the north, had at his disposal only a few thousand men and with these he was unable to pierce the lines of the enemy; and that General Bourbaki, on the southeast was engaged in a great under-

taking, in which, if successful, the retreat of the Prussians would be cut off, but unfortunately we can not wait upon him.

Turning then to the army of Paris, he stated that it was not in a condition to make an offensive movement, and that its energy should be reserved to repel an attack upon the city which the enemy seemed to be preparing to make. He stated, further, that the time was near when the municipality, constrained to act in order to prevent starvation, should have an interview with the Prussian Chancellor, with the object of stipulating in favor of the city, the conditions which the rights of war and the recognized principles of humanity guarantee.

This last statement was too much for the mayors and they protested against it. They unanimously declined to take upon themselves the responsibility proposed. They said that the Government had assumed the direction of affairs without consulting them, and it should continue to do so until the last moment. The military authority has a natural right to take the steps dictated by the necessities of the situation of which it is best able to judge.

M. Favre replied to these informal statements. In the first place he observed that they were not wholly exact. On several occasions the members of the municipality had claimed the right of participation, at least moral, in the resolutions of the Government. Far from opposing them in this respect, he had really entered into their views, and, for the purpose of exchanging sentiments, he had called several meetings, and a few days before the battle of Buzenval he had invited the mayors to an interview in the Ministry of the Interior, with the Commander-in-Chief of the army, to whom they listened with apparent satisfaction. The municipality has always a mission to accomplish when the resources of a city are exhausted and the military authority finds it impossible to repel a besieging

army. To shrink from the performance of a duty of this kind, and to place it in the hands of military chiefs, might compromise the interests of the inhabitants very seriously.

These observations did not meet with the approval of the mayors; no one of them would admit the possibility of a capitulation. Their pain was so great that they refused to give the members of the government any other expression than that of despair. They said they were ready to die; they preferred the horrors of famine to the humiliation of submission; they spoke of being buried under the ruins of the city; they adjured the members of the government to make a supreme effort. The National Guards, they said, demand it; they have shown that they are capable of fighting with bravery; they wish that some one would lead them, and, moreover, they say they are sure to conquer. As to the people, the mayors said, they are willing to suffer. If bread failed them they would live on horse meat and crushed oats, they would rather die of hunger than of shame.

M. Favre stated that it was impossible not to be profoundly impressed with these remarks. He admired the sentiment which actuated the mayors, but in spite of his sympathy and friendship for most of them he felt that in yielding blindly to them the Government would be guilty of a fault which history would pronounce a crime. His conscience revolted at the idea of making himself culpable. He stated distinctly that the Government would call a council of war for the purpose of considering the question of the advisability of another offensive movement. Speaking in behalf of the Government, he promised to order a sortie, if a single officer judged it practicable. The mayors on their side pledged themselves to prepare the people for a revelation of the condition of the supplies.

The generals and admirals composing the council of war assembled the next day at noon. We invited, says M. Favre,

each one in turn to give his opinion as to the propriety of making another effort to force back the enemy. The deliberation was long and painful. The mobilized guards called for peace, the home guards for resistance *sans merci*. But it was necessary to reach some conclusion, and one of the generals, the most intrepid of all, rose and said :

“As an officer of the highest rank, I am not able, in my conscience, to advise a movement, but if any one of my comrades believes it feasible, I beg him to permit me to serve under his orders. He will know with what cheerfulness I will give my life in an effort to save my country. I will at least have the consolation of not assisting in its defeat.”

This was the sentiment of all. M. Favre was then requested to communicate the result of the deliberations to the mayors, and in the evening he wrote a lengthy dispatch to M. Gambetta which was taken out the same night in a balloon. He had written a very hopeful one on the evening of the 19th, before the pigeon arrived with the news of the defeat of Chanzy, and before he learned that a retreat from Buzenval had been ordered. Now he was writing a very different kind of dispatch. After giving a brief account of what had occurred he concluded thus :

“Adieu, mon cher ami; this dispatch is perhaps the last. In writing to M. Chanzy, state how much I admire his courage, his patriotism, his military talents and his constancy. I have often dreamed that I would yet be permitted to embrace him upon the road from Versailles to Rambouillet. If this glorious advance has not yet been accorded to him he did much to accomplish it, and he will be rewarded. His name will remain justly popular. His campaign of the Loiret and of Perche will be a model. Convey also my congratulations to M. Bourbaki. He marches like a hero, and his movement may yet save France. I am so overburdened with work that I cannot write to M. de Chaudordy. Adieu encore, mon cher ami. I do not know that I shall see you again. Thankful for all you have done for France, I remain as ever,

“Your faithful friend.

“JULES FAVRE.

In the meantime there was a disposition on the part of some members of the Government and some of the mayors to hear what another class of army officers had to say concerning a *sortie générale*. Accordingly the colonels and captains were called together and M. Jules Simon presided. The first question which they considered was the resignation of General Trochu, and this they all apparently agreed upon. As to the propriety of another sortie there was some difference of opinion and nothing could be done.

The mayors were thus confirmed in their belief that it would be necessary to demand the resignation of the General, and they took occasion to express their sentiments to M. Favre and other members of the Government. The members of the municipal government standing between the people and the government of national defence had opportunities to find out the sentiments of the lower and middle classes and they feared an insurrection. They believed, too, that a large part of the army would join it. At an informal meeting they agreed to ask for an interview with the Governor.

MM. Favre, Ferry and other members of the Government had frequently spoken to the Governor of the possibility of trouble, and it appears that they all urged him to allow them to appoint some one in his place as General of the army, but he showed a disposition to argue the question. He had often consulted the corps and division commanders and he believed they had expressed their minds fully to him. He declared that he had no ambition except that of saving Paris and France. He could not see that a strong feeling of opposition was springing up against him in the army and among the people and that an insurrection might be started at any moment. It was now ten o'clock at night, January 21st, and the mayors, in session, resolved to ask, in a respectful manner, an interview with the Governor. This was accepted,

and they were soon after welcomed at his headquarters in the Louvre by himself and other members of the Government. Permission was given to them to select several of their number to represent the municipality. General Trochu remained calm and without a murmur until all the speeches were made, when he arose to reply. He addressed them in his usual dignified manner, although he had been the object of a lengthy criticism which centered in the oft-repeated charges in the newspapers of incapacity and treason. He referred to the overwhelming vote of confidence by the people in November, to the frequent interviews with the generals and admirals, and his willingness to give the command of the army to any one who believed he could do better. Finally he referred to the fact that he was Governor of the city and President of the Government of National Defense. At these statements the mayors exclaimed: "Retain the Presidency, Monsieur! Give us another General-in-Chief!"

M. Favre, believing that the problem was now solved, interposed and asked the mayors to retire. The members of the government then discussed the subject in all its bearings and pleaded with the Governor to yield to what seemed to be the wish of those highest in authority. In the meantime the Prefect of Police sent a message to M. Favre which he read in presence of his colleagues. It contained alarming statements of excitement in the clubs, in the *cafés* and in other public places; and further, that the battalions of Belleville, La Chapelle, Montmartre and Grenelle, appeared to be ready at any moment to march upon the Hôtel de Ville and the Louvre. The mayors had made similar statements and informed the members of the government that they should remember the night of the 31st of October.

It was past one o'clock when the Governor yielded to the pressure. His colleagues congratulated him and ex-

pressed their satisfaction. The proposition that he should remain President of the Government of National Defense saved all, and M. Favre lost no time in preparing the following :

“The Government of National Defense has decided that the chief command of the army of Paris be immediately separated from the presidency of the Government. General Vinoy is appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army of Paris. The title and functions of the Governor of Paris are suppressed. General Trochu retains the presidency of the Government.”

General Vinoy immediately responded and prepared the following general order, which appeared on the walls and in the *Journal Officiel* in the morning :

“The Government of National Defense has placed me at your head; it has called upon my patriotism and my devotion. I have no right to decline. It is a very heavy charge. I wish to accept only the peril, and it is not necessary to make use of ambiguous phrases.

“After a siege of more than four months gloriously sustained by the army and the *garde nationale*, and patiently endured by the people, we have arrived at a critical moment.

“To refuse the dangerous honor of command in such circumstances I would not respond to the confidence which has been placed in me. I am a soldier, and I dare not recoil before a danger which brings with it a great responsibility.

“In the interior the party of disorder is in a state of excitement whilst the cannon is booming outside. I wish to conduct myself as a soldier up to the last. I accept the peril, well convinced that the support of all good citizens, the army and the *garde nationale* will not be wanting in the maintenance of order and quietness.”

Whilst the members of the Government were in session in the Louvre, and before General Trochu had retired to rest for the night, the news of the attack upon Mazas reached them. The General immediately gave orders that the Hôtel de Ville and the Louvre should be well guarded. This was his last order given to the army.

Until the newspapers appeared next morning, January 2d, it was not generally known that there had been any

disturbance in the city during the night. The attack upon Mazas and the attempt at insurrection in Belleville became the topics of discussion. The communist journals appeared to be more abusive than ever, they pretended not to know anything about the appointment of General Vinoy. The *Réveil* and the *Combat* especially contained incendiary articles, and they were immediately suppressed by order of the Government. On the walls two kinds of placards appeared—the white announcing the principal acts of the Government, the red inviting the people to civil war. In the forepart of the day small companies of citizens, as we have said, were seen marching in the outskirts of the city and were heard to exclaim: *Vive la Commune!* Groups of curious people were also seen on Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, but it was not supposed that any one was really thinking of an act of violence.

What followed in the afternoon on this historic *Place* has already been referred to. In the meantime the members of the Government were assembled *en permanence* at the Elysée. General Vinoy was present in consultation, and arranged his forces as he believed the exigencies required. In the afternoon the cannonading on the south, on the east and on the north was unusually vigorous. The bombardment of Paris continued all day and during the night, and hundreds of explosives fell upon St. Denis. Added to this was the unexpected and shameful attempt at insurrection at the Hôtel de Ville. When the news of the fusilade reached the Elysée, M. Ferry, who is Mayor of Paris as well as member of the Government, hastened to the City Hall where measures were adopted to prevent any further attempts to seize the offices of the several mayors of the wards during the night. Soon afterwards M. Pelletier reached the Elysée and demanded immediate admittance into the council of the Government. The Commission on *Alimentation*, he said, had made a mistake in

regard to the quantity of grain on hand. It would not be possible to supply the bakers with more than three thousand *quintaux* of flour day after to-morrow and they should have five thousand six hundred. M. Jules Favre says, "that at this moment of trial we thought it would be better to be struck by a ball which would have ended our sufferings." Before separating late at night it was agreed to issue three orders :

"1st. To close the club-rooms until the end of the siege."

"2d. To add two councils of war to those also already existing ; and,

"3d. To suppress the journals, the *Réveil* and the *Combat*."

General Vinoy appointed General Valdan, Chief-of-staff instead of General Schmitz. General Le Flô is retained as Minister of War.

Since our last date three more balloons have sailed out of Paris, making in all 55. The *Poste-de-Paris* set out on the 18th, and the *Bourbaki* on the 20th, but of these we have no further information. On the 22d the *General Dumesnil* sailed from the Strasbourg railroad station. The following account of the voyage is given by the aëronaut himself, Eliset Robin, a seaman and pilot, 27 years of age."

"Sunday morning, January 22d, at three o'clock, I set out alone from the Strasbourg railroad station. A dense fog seemed to favor me, and the weather was calm. The shells of the Prussians were still falling upon Paris.

"With extraordinary rapidity I was raised to the height of 1,800 metres, beyond the reach of the guns of the enemy. The pressure of the atmosphere acted powerfully upon the the walls of the balloon causing the gas to escape through the appendix. It smoked its pipe ! Sad moment for me ! I was completely inundated, and for a time, I know not how long, I was unconscious.

"When I came to myself I imagined that I was still rising, but I could not determine in what direction I was sailing. I believed that

I had taken the direction of Havre and that I was above the ocean, then again I imagined I was moving toward the east.

“After several hours of suspense and anguish I became happy at the sight of houses, and I heard the sound of church bells. Sailing directly over a village I cried out: ‘Where am I?’ A voice came to me in the German language, as I believed, and immediately a gun was fired. I said to myself: ‘I am in Prussia, no doubt.’ I threw overboard the ballast and also two heavy packages of letters and newspapers. The loss of gas in my effort to descend and the dampness of the balloon prevented me from rising. The anchor caught in a tree and I was forced to land. ‘All is lost,’ I said to myself. Fortunately, however, and to my great surprise, I discovered I was in Belgium.”

CHAPTER XIII.

PARIS, JANUARY 27TH, 1871.

Hard times—The Cold Weather—The Want of Fuel—The Scarcity of Provisions—Other Causes of Suffering—The Bombardment Continued—Number of Victims Reported—The Bombardment of St. Denis—The Bombardment of the Forts—The Bombardment of the Towns Outside—Great Loss of Property—King William Crowned Emperor—The Parisians in Despair.

IN these imperfect attempts at description from week to week we cannot of course enter into the varied experience of two millions of people. The great drama cannot be fully represented; the imagination must supply the numerous interludes. To many the trials of the siege have been beyond endurance; thousands have yielded to the strain upon them, and have been carried to the cities of the dead. To those who remain the present seems to be cruel. Like the giant Prometheus, Paris is bound hand and foot and pleads for mercy.

From the 19th of December to the 7th inst., the weather was unusually cold. Since this latter date it has been variable, sometimes very cold, at other times moderate, but damp and foggy. Warm rains have fallen in the south and the waters of the Seine coming from the southeast have softened the ice in the river and carried it away. Besides there have been a few pleasant days overhead which have caused the greater part of the snow to disappear. The result is a great amount of moisture in the atmosphere which has produced bronchitis.

The scarcity of fuel and the almost entire absence of fire in the houses have likewise produced much suffering.

Many of the well-to-do people of the city have had a sufficient amount of fuel laid up in their cellars for the purposes of comfort, but the middle and poorer classes have suffered beyond conception. The five hundred cords of green wood which have been cut in the parks and boulevards every day and dried in furnaces have not been distributed among the poor to keep them warm, but among the bakers that bread may not be wanting to us all. The stone-coal which was brought into the city in large quantities has been carefully utilized. It has been used for the necessary purposes of the seige, such as the manufacture of cannon, arms and ammunition, flour for bread, soup for the starving and gas for the balloons.

We have several times referred to the scarcity of provisions, and to the half starved condition of the many thousands in beleaguered Paris. A bowl of chocolate can yet be had in the morning not far from my place of lodging, but I am very sure that the milk with which it is prepared is spurious. Here I can also obtain, for a *sou* a piece, two or three rolls which make my first meal. To supplement the little that I find at the restaurants, I go to the market of St. Honoré every other day, but there is positively nothing there for sale except horse meat, and of this I can only purchase two or three ounces at a time. In the great Central market where thousands were seen every day three months ago, the purchaser fares no better. The same is true of all the markets, indeed they appear to be almost entirely abandoned. The crowds go to the places where horse soup and a small quantity of bread are obtained gratis. The people do not enter but fall into line on the streets, men, women and children, and wait their turn. The quantities obtained are in proportion to the size of the family. At the *cantines municipales*, of which there are several in each ward, a variety of dishes are served to those who have still a small amount of money to spend. These

eating houses are supported by the wealthy residents of the wards ; here the women find a useful field in which to exhibit their patriotism and benevolence. The 85,000 horses, mules and asses which were registered are rapidly diminishing. About 50,000 have already been slain. The salt meats and the salt fish which have occasionally been substituted for the meat of the horse are also nearly exhausted. The flesh of the foreign animals, quadrupeds and bipeds, of the *Jardin des Plantes* is likewise becoming scarce. Nor have I seen a turkey, a duck, a chicken or a rabbit for sale anywhere during the last three weeks ; but the dog, the cat and the rat are on exhibition at the *boucheries municipales*. Those who have money and a taste for these kinds of meat have now an opportunity to indulge their fancy. The Parisian has never been favored with such a variety of meats, foreign and domestic, as at present. The bread which is sold in limited quantities (300 grams to each adult daily and half this quantity to children) is evidently a composition. It is coarse and dark, but not unpalatable. Wheat, rye, oats, rice and peas ground together, or separately, cannot make an unwholesome article of food. Assuming that half the population of Paris has had a sufficient variety of nutritious products for health, there remain a million of people who have had very little else than horse-soup and bread for their daily allowance during the last three months. They have had no milk, butter, cheese or eggs—articles of food much needed in the human system.

Another cause of suffering, more mental than physical, has been the almost constant booming of cannon. There has been as much of it on the side of the French as on the side of the Germans, but all the same, it has produced an indefinable mental disturbance which is not easily cured. The shelling of the redoubts and forts of the French, during a period of more than three months was merely the

beginning of what we most feared—the bombardment of the city. For those who have lost their sleep as a result of the cannonading I have great sympathy. Rest, quietness and a hopeful disposition cannot fail to be useful when the cause cannot be removed. The signing of an armistice though it may not give satisfaction to all, will no doubt relieve the suspense and anxiety of many.

Following the natural order we come to another class of sufferers who have really broken down under the pressure of the siege. I refer to the thousands who crowd the hospitals. At no time has there been so many in these institutions, and there are possibly as many more cared for at their homes. For the last week ending January 21st, 4,465 deaths were reported—the mortality from bronchitis being 598; pneumonia, 426; small-pox, 380; typhoid fever, 375, and so on down through the long catalogue of diseases.

Last of all is another cause of sorrow and trial which the Parisians have endured bravely. A great sacrifice has been made on the field of battle. By many it has been cheerfully made and generally, too, without any hope of victory. The French people have always been devoted to their country which is said to be the garden of the world. They have even been too willing to sacrifice themselves for what they have regarded as a matter of honor. Connected with this love of country has been a love of freedom which has given to mankind many noble examples of heroism. The beautiful sentiment in the *Chant du Départ* of the last century—"The Republic calls us"—so grandly sung on the boulevards seems to be the sentiment of all. Then follow in the refrain these lines:

"A Frenchman ought to live for it,
For it a Frenchman ought to die."

How many have voluntarily given their lives to their country in the numerous skirmishes and sorties around

Paris, we are not able to state definitely, but it is certainly no exaggeration to say 15,000. There might easily have been 50,000 slain, but with what advantage it is not possible to state. Until yesterday the people generally believed that the new Commander-in-Chief, General Vinoy, would make an effort to force back the Germans, but now the editors of the journals are becoming reconciled to an armistice. Indeed there are intimations that the Government is really negotiating with Count Bismarck.

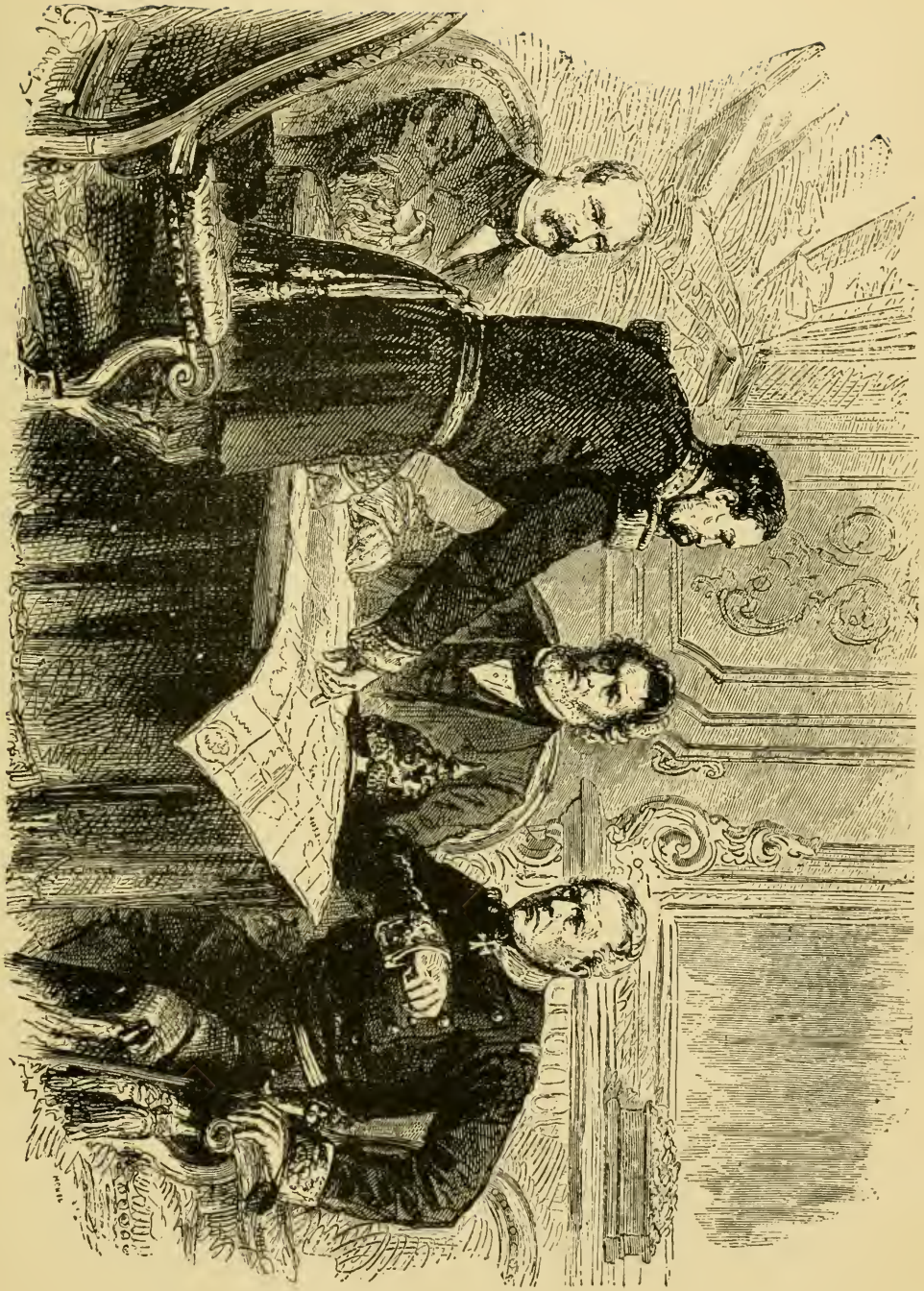
The cannonading has been kept up during the last week with scarcely any intermission. It has sounded more like the work of demons than of Christian men, and there has been quite as much of it on the north as on the south.

The bombardment of the city has resulted in a great loss of property as well as of life. The projectiles have continued to fall in the same wards—the 5th, 6th, 7th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th—nearly half of Paris.

Continuing our brief notices of the daily losses of life, we find that 20 victims were reported on the 18th inst., 6 killed and 14 wounded; that on the 21st inst. 14 were reported, 5 killed and 9 wounded; that on the 24th inst. 12 were reported, 7 killed and 5 wounded, and that 13 are reported to-day, 4 killed and 9 wounded. Not so many were struck on the other nights, but in all, from the 17th inst. to the present, 132 victims are reported.

The last shell was probably thrown into Paris between twelve and one o'clock this morning. It is believed that an agreement was entered into that the firing on both sides should cease at midnight, but a few explosions were heard after that hour. The rain of projectiles in the city has been frightful during the last week. We cannot judge of the number of shells thrown by the number of victims reported, for several of the wards have been in a great measure abandoned. Some of the inhabitants remained, preferring to stay in their homes and take care of their

PRINCE BISMARCK, M. JULES FAURE, GENERAL VALDAN, GENERAL MOLTKE.



property. The quarters in which there has been the greatest destruction of property as well as loss of life are Jardin des Plantes, Val-de-Grâce, Maison-Blanche, Salpêtrière, Croullebarbe, de la Gare, de la Santé, Petit-Montrouge, Montparnasse, Luxembourg, Panthéon, Grenelle, Passy and Necker. There is scarcely a single large building south of the river which has not been struck, and some of them as many as ten or a dozen times—hospitals, churches, institutions of learning, infirmaries, museums, libraries and thousands of dwelling houses. Fires have been numerous, but they have generally been easily extinguished, on account of the fact that Paris is built fire-proof. The water supply is abundant, and the firemen have been constantly on the alert.

The whole number of victims of the bombardment of the city has not exceeded 500. During the twenty-three days and nights of the bombardment 113 have been reported killed and 293 injured; but on the 20th inst. there was no report made, on account of the retreat of the army from Buzenval during the night; and on other occasions it is known that some cases were omitted. On the supposition that some of the injured died in the hospitals and at their homes, the number of lives lost may be estimated at 125 and the recoveries may be estimated at 325, making in all 450.

In the meantime the bombardment of St. Denis, the numerous forts, and principal towns outside the walls, was continued. Early in the morning of the 21st inst. shells were thrown into St. Denis. Several fires were started during the day, but the firemen soon extinguished them. Notice had been given to the inhabitants, and a portion of them—possibly one-third—crowded into the north side of Paris, but the larger part remained, hoping that the Germans would spare a small city of 40,000 non-combatants—men, women and children. When the bombardment came, however, many fled pell-mell into Paris. On the next day

7 victims were reported—4 killed and 3 wounded ; but the loss, no doubt, exceeded these figures.

The Germans had moved their siege guns nearer to the forts on the north and to St. Denis with the intention of shelling the forts and the city, and after getting them in range they began, a frightful bombardment on the night of the 22d. In the course of a single hour one hundred and twenty shells exploded in the city. This was the result of a concentrated fire from several points. The next day 15 persons were reported killed, and a proportionally large number wounded. The people took refuge in the cellars of the houses, but even there they were not safe.

On the 24th the bombardment was continued, but the victims were not so numerous. The people became alarmed, left their homes and hastened into Paris ; some were killed in their flight.

We read that on the 25th and 26th the bombardment was continued with equal violence, that nearly every house in St. Denis was struck, that a large number were burned out leaving only the walls, and that others were totally demolished.

At this date the cannonading has ceased, and a profound silence reigns all around the horizon. Paris once more lies at the feet of the conqueror. The solemnity of the hour must produce a lasting impression. The deliberation with which the bombardment has been accomplished in connection with the rumor that the King of Prussia has become Emperor of Germany, have united all Frenchmen as never before. The Republic is henceforth a necessity. Imperialism is to be transferred to Germany, never to return to France. The plague which the Germans will carry with them across the Rhine has already cost many lives. It cannot be less severe upon them than it has been upon the French. The Bismarckian policy is now more distinctly seen than

ever. The thunder of the cannon continued long enough to clear the atmosphere. Even the French can see what a calamity, a government run in the interest of one man, may bring upon a brave people.

The results of the bombardment of St. Denis may be given in brief as follows : 38 persons killed outright, and not less than 60 wounded ; 6 children and 2 soldiers found in the ruins. The grand old cathedral, a pure specimen of Gothic architecture, perforated in several places and much damaged ; a Protestant church completely demolished ; almost every house struck with a shell, and very many in ruins. The city prison is so much damaged that the prisoners escaped.

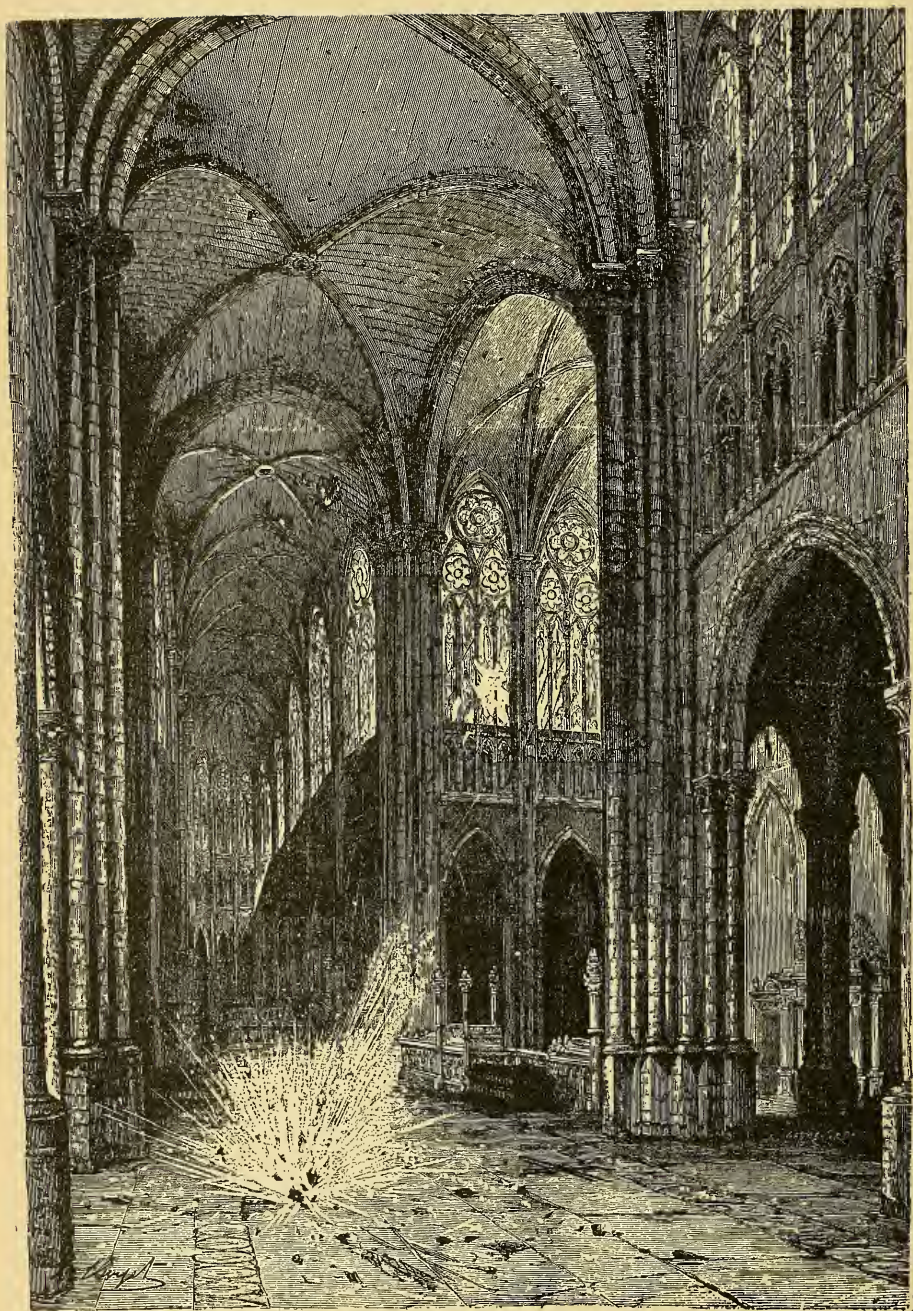
We have several times referred to the shelling of the numerous redoubts and earth-works outside the forts and distant from the walls. Most of them were hastily constructed during the last weeks of the Empire and the first weeks of the Republic ; those which are distant from the forts were, of course, easily silenced by a concentrated fire of the German field-pieces. Some of them were immediately occupied on the 19th and 20th of September as the redoubt of Châtillon on the south, and that of Montretout on the west. Others were defended very vigorously, but were finally abandoned. Those within range of the forts are still occupied by the French.

In the defense of these extemporized works of various kinds the forts were much used, but these, in turn, became the objects of attack. Shells and solid shot were thrown upon most of them soon after the Germans arrived ; but it very soon became evident that the largest siege guns would have to be employed. The bombardment of the forts, however, did not really begin until the 27th of December. The night previous was one of the coldest of the season. The immense circle of siege guns was now completed—a circle of sixty miles. Much time and engineer-

ing skill were necessary to complete the work. On the east twelve batteries, placed upon a curved line in front of forts Nogent, Rosny and Noisy and Mont Avron, opened a heavy fire. Sixty shells are said to have fallen inside the walls of Fort Rosny. On the next day the bombardment was continued, and it is reported that five thousand shells were thrown by the Germans. Mont Avron, which stands a mile or more in front of the forts, became untenable and the French evacuated it. The next day the Germans took possession of this elevated point, and continued the bombardment without, however, doing any serious damage to the forts.

In the meantime (January 5th) a furious bombardment of the forts on the south began, in connection with the bombardment of the city. The Germans had, in like manner, placed their siege guns on the elevated points which overlook forts Issy, Vanves, Montrouge and Bicêtre. The first and second of these suffered most. The dwelling houses for the officers and men, built inside the walls, have been completely demolished. The redoubts of Hautes-Bruyères and Moulin-Saquet and the fortifications of Villejuif, Point-du-Jour and the bastions on the south have likewise suffered a real bombardment. A few shells were thrown in the direction of Mont Valérien on the west ; but this impregnable fortress cannot be easily reached.

Although many shells had been thrown upon the forts of the north, the bombardment of forts Briche, the Double-Couronne, Est, and Aubervilliers, did not really begin until the 21st inst. The first of these suffered most and yet it is said that thousands of shells were also thrown upon the other three. Chief of Staff, General Valdan, who has taken the place of General Schmitz, reports that on the 22d inst. not less than a thousand shells were thrown upon Fort Briche. A concentrated fire from four points—Epinay, Enghien, Villetaneuse and Pierrefitte, was directed



(SHELLS EXPLODE IN THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. DENIS.)

upon it and three of its siege guns were disabled. It is also stated that on the 25th inst. five hundred shells were thrown upon this fort ; but there was no effort made on the part of the Germans to capture it, nor was it abandoned by the French.

Of the bombardment of the numerous towns and villages in the great circle around Paris, much might be said. Each one has its own sad experience to relate. Thousands of happy homes have been broken up, and much property has been destroyed. In most cases, this has not been the work of premeditation as in the bombardment of Paris and of St. Denis. The great siege having been undertaken, and a heroic defense having been agreed upon, the destruction of property and the loss of life became incidental.

To obtain a vivid, and at the same time correct, impression of the great belt of country around Paris, which has been the theatre of strife during the last four months and a half, we must recall the fact that, at most points, it is eight miles broad, and that it has a periphery of sixty miles. At irregular distances from the walls are fifteen large forts and several smaller ones, an equal number of redoubts and a large number of earth-works upon which batteries are placed. Outside the forts are the besieging armies with possibly an equal number of extemporized forts and earth-works. Interspersed among these forts, redoubts and earth-works are, at least, one hundred and fifty towns and villages, most of which have been deserted and are now in ruins. Those which were not demolished by the French themselves during the early months of the siege, have been bombarded by the Germans during the last month. In this broad belt around Paris, I venture to say, that it will be difficult to find a rood of ground which has not been plowed up by shells or solid shot. Some of the towns which have suffered most may be named : On the north are Pierrefitte, Stains, Dugny, Drancy, Aubervilliers and

Bobigny ; on the east are Bondy, Noisy, Romainville, Rosny, Fontenay, Nogent, Champigny and Créteil ; on the south are Vitry, Villejuif, Hay, Bagneux, Châtillon, Clamart, Issy, Montrouge, Meudon, Sèvres and Bellevue ; on the west are St. Cloud, Garches and Bougival.

How many have lost their lives in this frightful bombardment of cities, forts, towns and villages during the thirty-one days which have passed, it is practically impossible to determine with accuracy ; but, judging from the newspaper reports which have been made, we may average the daily loss, including non-combatants, at thirty killed and seventy wounded. This would give about 1,000 killed and 2,000 wounded on the French side which is probably a moderate estimate. The reader may be surprised that the number of victims of the bombardment is not much larger, but we must remember that the inhabitants of these numerous towns and villages, for the most part, abandoned their homes before the Germans reached Paris, that the French redoubts were made as strong as it was possible for the Germans to make theirs, and that most of the inhabitants of Paris on the south side fled to the wards on the north. Had forts Issy, Vanves, Montrouge and Bicêtre been built on the elevated points which the Germans now occupy on the south, Paris could not have been so easily bombarded.

The coronation solemnity at Versailles on the 18th inst. must be regarded as one of the important events of the war. King William has become Emperor of Germany. The unification of the states has long been the ambition of the Prussian King, and his astute chancellor. It is quite natural, after a brilliant military career, that the recognized head of the Hohenzollern family should become Emperor as well as King. There were intimations in the Paris journals that this ceremony might be performed at Versailles, but the exact time, for obvious reasons, was kept a secret. Had General Trochu known that the coronation service

was to take place the day before the battle of Buzenval he might have interfered with it. To those not interested in any way, the politicians and military leaders seemed to be in haste ; but there was an important reason why the ceremony should be attended to immediately, besides the mere gratification of closing the war with imperial honors. It was understood that a protocol, providing for an armistice and the preliminaries of peace, must soon be signed, and that this could be more conveniently done by a representative of all the German states. At the holidays, and even sooner, it must have become apparent to the German leaders that the French would not be able to continue the strife much longer. Representatives of the royal families, distinguished members of the several governments and military leaders were, therefore, invited to meet at the royal headquarters at Versailles.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 18th, an unusual degree of activity was visible in all the streets leading to the chateau of Louis XIV., the most beautiful royal residence on the continent of Europe, and as the hours passed rapidly on, the Avenue de Paris, on which are the headquarters of the King, was filled with officers and men detailed as representatives of the numerous German states. At 10 o'clock these groups of soldiers, officers of the garrison at Versailles and troops cantoned around Paris began to take their places in and around the palace. The 7th regiment of grenadiers was selected as the guard of honor for whom places were reserved as eye-witnesses of the ceremony. The second guard, consisting of infantry and cavalry, occupied the streets leading to the palace, the entrances and the vestibule. At 12 o'clock the royal cortege, led by the Crown Prince of Prussia on horseback, left the headquarters of the King. The grenadiers, a magnificent body of men, all of them six feet in height, marched on the right and left.

Arrangements were made for the accommodation of about 1,800 witnesses. At one end of the magnificent hall—the *Galerie des Glaces*—a platform was erected for the representatives of the royal families. At the other, bands of music and a group of vocalists selected from the ranks were placed. Near the center of the hall was the altar covered with red damask, at which were the representatives of the church. It is also stated that fifty standard bearers and from five to six hundred officers, representing all branches of the service, were present. The ceremony was conducted in true German style, which requires a recognition of every class of citizens, from the King, with the iron cross, down to the humblest soldiers in the ranks.

At fifteen minutes past 12 o'clock King William and his son, the Crown Prince of Prussia, entered the hall, accompanied by a train of princes, dukes and counts and the royal guard. The whole audience rose to receive them and the choir of vocalists sang the well-known hymn, beginning with

Jauchzet dem Herrn, alle Welt.

The royal company ascended the platform and arranged themselves in a semi-circle facing the altar. On the right and left of the King stood the two field marshals, Princes of Prussia Frederick William and Frederick Charles. A little to the rear and on either side stood the Crown Prince of Saxony and his brother Prince George, and Prince Adalbert of Prussia; the Dukes of Baden, Saxony, Oldenburg, Coburg, Meiningen, and Altenburg; the Princes Otto, Luitpold and Leopold of Bavaria; the Princes William and Augustus, as well as the Dukes Eugene the older, and Eugene the younger, of Würtemberg, beside many others of possibly less distinction.

On the right and left of these stood the representatives of the state and municipal governments, ministers, ambassadors and generals of the armies who are not possessed

of hereditary titles of rank. Among these were the Chancellor von Bismarck, Ministers Delbruck and von Schleinitz, Generals von Moltke, von Hindersin, von Boyen, Alvensleben of the 4th corps, Kirchbach of the 5th corps, Tümpling of the 6th corps—Blumenthal, Stosch, Podbielski, Shimmelman, Hausman, Schmidt, Voigts-Rhetz, Löen, Hoffman, Hartz, Hennig, Schoenhoff, Hartman, Walther, Baumbach, Walker and many others, including the English Ambassador, Odo Russell.

At the altar stood the court and garrison chaplain, Dr. Rogge, who conducted the religious services; division chaplains, Abel and Richter, of the 5th corps; the chaplain, Rettig, of the hospital of the Third army; the chaplain, Reitzenstein, of the 11th corps; division chaplain Hoseman, and many others.

After the singing by the choir, the assembly joined in one verse of the Choral Hymn, *Sei Lob und Ehr*. Then followed the liturgy in general use in the army, and afterwards a brief sermon on a portion of the twenty-first psalm. The well-known hymn by Martin Luther, *Nun Danket Alle Gott*, was then sung by the assembly, and after the benediction was pronounced the King stepped forward and stated that he was ready to accept the Imperial crown of Germany. He was dressed in the plain military suit of a general of the Prussian army, and wore the iron cross, as all who were entitled to wear it, did on this occasion. After a few well-chosen words to the princes and representatives of the German confederacy, in which he pledged himself to be faithful to them and their constituents, he directed the Chancellor to read a carefully-prepared proclamation addressed to the people of all the German states.

As soon as the last word was pronounced by Count Bismarck, the Grand Duke of Baden stepped to the front and proposed three cheers for his majesty, William, Emperor of Germany, which were given in true military style. The

bands played a national air and congratulations followed. The Crown Prince of Prussia was the first to embrace the Emperor and to kiss him, as it is said, on both cheeks. The other members of the royal families followed the example. Soon after the scene was transferred to the Salle de la Paix, and the bands in the gallery led in a grand march. The princes and officers of the army, arm in arm, followed his majesty through the Palace of Louis XIV. Afterwards they accompanied him to the veranda from which the guards outside had an opportunity to join in the acclamations. The festive occasion closed with a grand dinner at which French wine was freely indulged in ; the guards, before returning to their quarters, received a *Geldgeschenk* or present of money.

During the last two days the feeling in Paris has been that of hopeless despair. The efforts of General Trochu, notwithstanding his frequently expressed confidence in the means to be used, have all failed, and General Vinoy has given no intimation of another sortie. It is generally known that General Chanzy has been defeated, and a rumor is in circulation that General Bourbaki has been forced to retreat. Some are expressing the opinion that it would be better to perish in the ruins of the city than to surrender. The mayors have been in session with members of the Government, and every phase of the situation has been discussed. Deputations have been received and responses have been made by one or other of the members of the Government. Councils of war have been held, at which General Vinoy has presided ; General Thomas, who has command of the National Guards, and many others of high rank, have taken part in these meetings, and all seem to agree that it would be useless to make any further sacrifice of life. These deputations have generally returned to their quarters dissatisfied, and in some cases have given their protests to the editors and reporters of journals.

To satisfy the people, General Valdan, the chief-of-staff, has given a fuller account every day of what the army has been doing than his predecessor, General Schmitz. The latter had so often deceived them that he has become very unpopular. His fortune has been linked with that of General Trochu, and it is not likely that either of them will ever be appointed to any responsible position in the government or in the army.

It is generally understood that M. Jules Favre has been out at Versailles during the last three days. The journals report that evenings and mornings, distinguished persons have been conducted across the Seine near the broken-down bridge of Sèvres, but the editors appear to be entirely ignorant of what is being done.

Another balloon, the *Torricelli*, sailed out of Paris, making thus far 56. It ascended from the Northern railroad station on the 24th inst., at 3 o'clock in the morning, and landed in the department of the Oise, which is occupied by the Germans. The aëronaut reports the dispatches and pigeons saved.

At this date a cold wave is sweeping over Paris. The mercury in the Centigrade thermometer fell suddenly last night to seven degrees below zero. This would be about ten degrees below freezing point in the Fahrenheit thermometer. At no time has there been so much suffering in Paris as at the present moment. The fuel is exhausted, many families are in a state of starvation, bronchitis is prevailing, the hospitals are crowded and a very large proportion of the people are coughing in the streets. It is hoped that the weather will soon moderate again, and that an honorable peace will be agreed upon.

THIRD PART.

AFTER THE SIEGE.

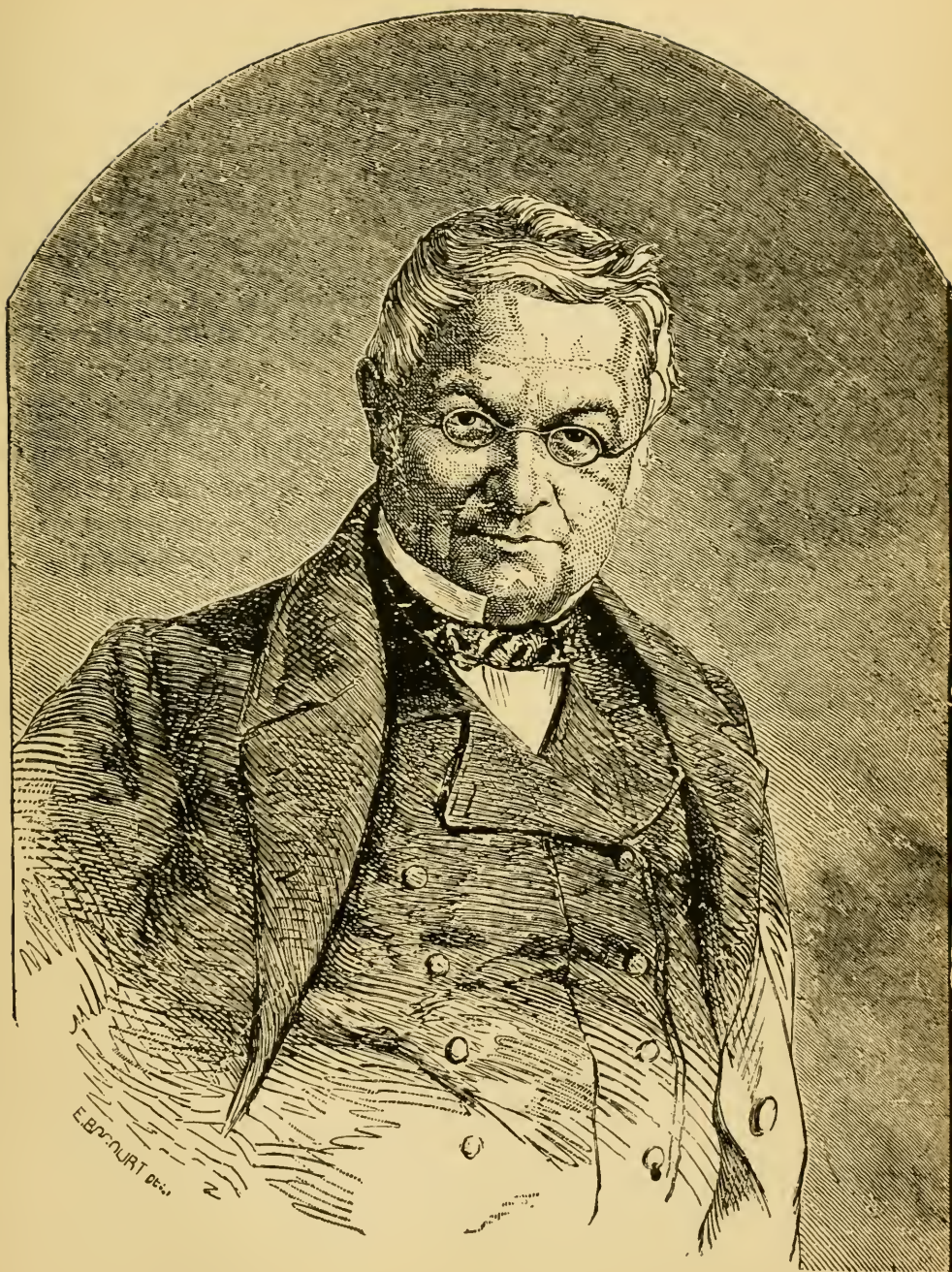
CHAPTER I.

PARIS, JANUARY 31ST, 1871.

The Armistice—Starvation Point Reached—The Cannonading Ceases—Communards Dissatisfied—Articles of Agreement Signed—The Last Balloons.

TECHNICALLY the siege of Paris ended on the night of the 28th inst., but the story continues under other phases. There were intimations in the journals that the Government of National Defense was in communication with the Prussian Chancellor and many unpleasant criticisms were indulged in. But the time was at hand to make known to the people the true condition of affairs, and in the morning the following statements, which appeared in the *Journal Officiel*, were read with sorrow and pain :

CITIZENS: The agreement which puts an end to the resistance of Paris has not yet been signed, but there will only be a few hours of delay. The basis which was announced yesterday remains. The enemy will not enter Paris. The National Guards will retain their arms and their organization. A division of 12,000 men will remain



PRESIDENT THIERS.

in Paris, instead of being cantoned outside the walls as was at first proposed. The officers will retain their side arms.

We will publish the articles of agreement as soon as they are signed ; at the same time we will make known the exact state of our subsistence.

Paris wishes to be sure that the resistance has been continued to the utmost possible limits. The figures, which will be given, will satisfy all who may entertain doubts on the subject.

We will show that the strife cannot be prolonged without condemning to death 2,000,000 of men, women and children.

The siege has been continued four months and twelve days, and the bombardment a full month. Since the 15th of January the rations of bread have been reduced to 300 grams a day (10 ounces) and the rations of horse-meat since the 15th of December have only been 30 grams a day (1 ounce). The mortality has been more than tripled. In the midst of so many disasters there has not been a single day of discouragement.

The enemy is the first to render homage to our energy and moral courage, of which the entire Parisian population has set an example. Paris has suffered much, but the Republic will be benefited by our patience and endurance. We will go out of the strife which is coming to an end very much strengthened. In spite of the agony of the present hour, we will depart with honor and with hope; more than ever we have faith in the destinies of our country.

(Signed) : The members of the Government—Général Trochu, Jules Favre, Emanuel Arago, Jules Ferry, Garnier-Pagès, Eugène Pelletan, Ernest Picard, Jules Simon ; Le Flô, Minister of War ; Dorian, Minister of Public Works ; Magnin, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.

PARIS, *January 28th, 2871.*

The reader will observe that in the foregoing, as well as in the Articles of Agreement, the word capitulation is not used. M. Jules Favre knows that there is danger of disturbance in the city and has therefore insisted upon the use of mild terms ; he is even willing to use ambiguous phrases if he can thereby control the people. In his preliminary remarks he uses these significant words : “ The Government, in this cruel situation, has made every effort to sweeten the bitterness of a sacrifice imposed by necessity.” The articles of agreement were not signed until ten

o'clock at night. On the 29th they were placarded on the walls and published in the *Officiel*. The following is a summary of this important instrument :

AGREEMENT

Between M. le Comte de Bismarck, Chancellor of the Germanic Confederation, stipulating in the name of his Majesty the Emperor of Germany, King of Prussia, and M. Jules Favre, Minister of Foreign Affairs, of the Government of National Defense.

Article 1st provides for a general armistice of twenty-one days to begin immediately in Paris and three days later in the departments, but to terminate on the 19th of February at noon. In it the lines separating the belligerents, all around the great semi-circle are indicated; likewise the lines separating the naval forces.

Article 2d provides for a National Assembly freely elected to pronounce upon the question of the continuance of the war, or upon what conditions peace may be made, the deputies to meet at Bordeaux.

Article 3d provides for an immediate surrender of all the forts around Paris as well as their material of war.

Article 4th stipulates that the German army will not enter Paris during the continuance of the armistice.

Article 5th states that the cannon on the walls of the city shall be surrendered and that the gun-carriages shall be taken into the forts.

Article 6th states that the garrisons of the forts and of Paris (army of the line, *garde mobile* and marines) shall be prisoners of war, except one division of twelve thousand men who shall exercise military authority in Paris. The troops made prisoners shall lay down their arms; a complete list of all prisoners shall be given to the German authorities. If peace is not concluded at the close of the armistice, all who have borne arms become prisoners of war. The officers shall retain their side arms.

Article 7th provides for the government of the city. The National Guards shall retain their arms. The *gendarmes* shall not exceed three thousand five hundred. The companies of *Franctireurs* shall be disbanded.

Article 8th gives authority to the French to send out *commissaires* to purchase provisions of all kinds.

Article 9th requires the forts to be surrendered and the walls to be dismantled before the provisions purchased are admitted into the city.

Article 10th provides that all persons desiring to leave Paris shall

obtain permits from the French military authorities which shall be *viséed* by the German authorities at the advanced posts.

Article 11th requires the city of Paris to pay a war contribution of two hundred million francs. This payment shall be made before the fifteenth day of the armistice.

Article 12th provides that nothing of public value shall be removed from the city or concealed in it during the continuance of the armistice.

Article 13th forbids the importation of arms, as well as the material out of which they are manufactured.

Article 14th provides for an exchange of prisoners at Amiens, Mans, Orléans and Vesoul.

Article 15th provides for a postal service, for letters not sealed, between Paris and the departments, through the German headquarters.

(Signed) Jules Favre, von Bismarck.

The next day a protocol was signed which developed more fully some of the preceding articles of agreement.

First, the lines of demarcation around Paris are more distinctly indicated.

Second, the lines which separate the contending forces in the departments are likewise more clearly indicated.

Third, the surrender of the forts and redoubts is to be made on the 29th and 30th inst.

Fourth, the surrender of the armament of the city is to be effected by the 4th of February.

The following is an abbreviation of the statement made by the Government on the 28th inst., as to subsistence : We have now in store only 42,000 quintaux of wheat, rye, barley, rice and oats. This includes the army supplies, in which is a small quantity of rice and 20,000 quintaux of oats ; ground together into flour, the whole represents 35-000 quintaux.

In ordinary times Paris consumes about 8,000 quintaux of flour a day ; that is about 2,000,000 pounds of bread. From the 22d of September to the 18th of January the quantity of flour was reduced to 6,360 quintaux a day, and since the rationing of bread on the 18th inst. to about 5,300 quintaux. Continuing at this rate there will be sufficient for seven days. If we count the flour distributed yes-

terday we will have bread for eight days at least ; at most twelve days.

We need scarcely add, that during the last three weeks there has been no flour on hand except what is used up the next day. The mills are run day and night in order to supply the bakers with flour.

At present the Government has no other meat for distribution and sale than that of the horse. There were at the beginning of the siege about 85,000 horses, mules and asses in the city, besides 15,000 army horses, which would make 100,000 quadrupeds of the *genus equus*.

There remain about 33,000 horses including those of the army. For the necessary purposes of a great city like Paris, such as the transportation of grain, flour, fuel, the burial of the dead and the removal of filth and garbage, 11,000 horses are indispensable. This would leave about 22,000 for the butchers, but it would be a crime to slaughter all these and then starve.

At this moment we are consuming the meat of 650 horses a day ; that is each inhabitant obtains from 25 to 30 grams of meat a day (about one ounce).

In ten days, we will have consumed 6,500 horses more, and at this point we will be without bread. It will then be necessary to substitute meat for bread and to kill one, two or three thousand horses a day.

But the Government, foreseeing the dangers of starvation and an insurrection as a consequence, has determined to negotiate. There are yet, it is true, 3,000 milk cows in the city which supply milk for the sick and the children ; but these must be kept in order to save the lives of the helpless and the innocent.

At the same time an order was issued for the election of deputies to a National Assembly. It provides for the opening of the polls in Paris on the 5th of February ; in the departments on the 8th, and for the meeting of the deputies at Bordeaux on the 12th. Over six hundred representatives are to be chosen under the law of 1849, irrespective of political parties. Entire freedom is to be given to the electors in the choice of candidates ; they may be Imperialists, Bourbons, Republicans or Communists. The German Government promises to protect and assist the deputies going to and returning from the Assembly.

The publication of these official papers in the numerous journals of Paris on the 28th, 29th and 30th has produced

a profound impression upon the people. Many are concealing themselves from their friends in sorrow and tears, and many have really broken down under the heavy burdens placed upon them. Beautiful Paris is grief-stricken, silent and sorrowing, as if death had taken away the first born of every household. All labor and business are suspended, except what is necessary for existence. There is no music in the streets as formerly, the morning and evening drill of battalions, regiments and brigades has ceased. The *garde nationale sédentaire* which caused the Government so much solicitude, is brooding over the fate of the city. The booming of cannon is no longer heard on the ramparts. The regular army, marines and mobilized national guards have laid down their arms and have surrendered the forts; except one division all have become prisoners of war.

Not only do the misfortunes of the past and present weigh heavily upon the people, but the future is full of forebodings and darkness. It is generally believed that the Germans will enter Paris notwithstanding the fact that the Government has assured the people to the contrary, and that a disturbance, an insurrection and possibly the destruction of the city will be the result.

An incident occurred on the morning of the 29th inst. which has unsettled the minds of very many and has given rise to a suspicion of treachery. The bombardment had ceased nearly thirty-six hours when an unexpected movement was made by the Germans on the north. About 15,000 advanced and took possession of St. Denis. It occurred at the time when the journals were being distributed which contained the articles of agreement. A rush was immediately made for the office of the Minister of the Interior and fears were entertained of a panic. Indeed the people felt themselves at the mercy of their enemies. By whose authority this movement was made is a mystery.

Moreover a suspicion is indulged in by some that General Trochu is a traitor or he would not have consented to surrender a city with 400,000 armed men in it—that he has no confidence in republican institutions, that he is too much interested in the Roman Catholic church and that he is only waiting a favorable opportunity to transfer the Government to the Bourbons. And, besides, there is a fear that Count Bismarck will insist upon a restoration of the fallen Empire—that he will find some pretext for the accomplishment of this result, notwithstanding the fact that he has agreed to an election of delegates to a National Assembly. It is to be hoped, however, that these suspicions will not be realized, and that the advocates of republican institutions will find common ground upon which all may stand.

But let us return to the evening of the 23d inst. At 5 o'clock Captain Hérisson, a member of General Trochu's staff, returned from the bridge of Sèvres with a reply from Count Bismarck, stating that he was ready to receive a deputation from the Government of National Defense and to entertain a proposition of peace. On receiving the response M. Favre immediately set out for the German headquarters. The night was cold and dark and the shells were falling thick and fast upon the city and upon St. Denis, but he resolved not to delay a moment. His son-in-law and Captain Hérisson, who is said to be a fluent speaker of the German language, accompanied him. Crossing the river, which threatened to engulf them every moment, they reached the German picket line, and finally, under an escort, the headquarters of the German Chancellor. It was eight and a half o'clock when Count Bismarck received M. Favre, and it is understood that they immediately entered upon the discussion of the main features of the armistice. At 11 o'clock M. Favre was shown to a private residence which was well guarded. At 1 o'clock the next day another interview was obtained which continued until 6 o'clock

when M. Favre returned to Paris. The main features of the armistice had been discussed, but it was important that the minister should have the assistance of a representative of the army. Accordingly General Valdan, chief of staff, was directed to accompany him. The two distinguished Frenchmen have therefore been going to Versailles every morning and returning in the evening to make their report. It is intimated in the journals that they have had a fierce struggle with Count Bismarck and General von Moltke. The six days of discussion before the signing of the articles of agreement are evidence of this. To some of the issues raised, it is said, they could only reply by the use of these, or similar words: "Take Paris then, take France; we will never agree to such propositions." It is known that the Emperor William preferred to recall the deputies of the fallen Empire, but M. Favre declared in the most emphatic manner that it would be useless to discuss the subject. The German leaders are apparently not aware that the invasion has made France republican. They are too much interested in imperialism themselves to see how the continuation of the war and the siege has converted the people. Besides, there were other subjects which M. Favre declined to discuss. He would not allow the question of the cession of territory to be introduced into the articles of agreement; nor did he believe that he had a right to stipulate concerning the surrender of any fortified place or garrison except Paris.

The situation of affairs was, indeed, deplorable. The ignorance of the members of the Government and of the people, as to the condition of the armies in the departments, gave rise to doubt and perplexity; only two pigeons reached Paris in twenty-eight days. The cold weather and the distance to Bordeaux—about 300 miles—made communication between the two branches of the Government very difficult. The concentration of the German forces around

the forts, rendered communication by pedestrians extremely hazardous if not impossible. Nor have the representatives of the government at Versailles been permitted to obtain the least information from the outside world. They have been closely watched by the German officials who affirm that Bourbaki has been compelled to retreat in the direction of Switzerland.

Two months have now elapsed since the first snow fell in Paris, and during this time the weather has been unusually cold and damp. Except at three brief intervals the mercury in the thermometer has remained below freezing point. As a consequence the sufferings of the people have been great and continuous. Rain and sleet and snow have fallen, and to the horrors of the bombardment has been added the burning of St. Denis, St. Cloud and the château of Meudon.

Graphic accounts have already been given of the closing scenes of the siege. One of the representatives of the Government has attempted to give his own and the impressions of M. Favre while crossing the river at midnight, the pieces of floating ice striking against the frail skiff that carried them, and the booming of cannon constantly reminded them of the importance of hastening the armistice.

The indications of peace, as given in the newspapers, have forced the retail dealers in provisions to offer at less extravagant prices such articles as they have had permission to sell and have yet in stock. Martin offers small quantities of the elephant, the antelope and the deer ; also excellent puddings, grease of fowls, canned chicken, rabbit and pigs' feet. Chevet offers conserves of young rabbit, chicken, turkey and duck—peas, beans, olive oil, fresh and salted butter, cheese, fish of the Seine, dried fruits and oranges. Dubrac offers an assortment of conserves of meats, the tallow of the horse, blood puddings, sausages, and croquettes from the boiled bones of the slain animals.

The meat of the dog, the cat and the rat has also no doubt reached its maximum price.

A much larger proportion of the population is now living upon horse soup than at any former period. Although every effort will doubtless be made to purchase supplies and to ship them into Paris by railroad, there cannot be much accomplishment inside of ten days or a fortnight. The provisions must be procured from England and Belgium and the railroad bridges must be repaired as well as the roads themselves. It is supposed that shiploads of meat and flour and vegetables may be waiting in the harbors until the news of the capitulation reaches the ears of the produce dealers.

In consequence of the inclement weather and poor living the mortality rate is still rising. As might have been expected, the diseases prevailing are bronchitis and pneumonia, broncho-pneumonia and pleura-pneumonia. Half the people in the streets seem to be coughing and the hospitals have never been so much crowded as at this moment.

The poorer classes of the people are, indeed, in a pitiable condition ; they can do nothing to help themselves, for there is nothing to be done but wait. Despondency and disappointment are visible in every face. They have suffered much and are apparently willing to suffer more, if their country would be benefited. They are on the verge of starvation with the uncertainties of the future before them. Indeed we are all living upon black bread, soups and horse meat.

The order to suppress the clubs has not prevented the Communists from holding meetings. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather—the rain, the snow and the sleet, these deluded people assemble in the streets at 7 o'clock every evening. At suitable points where the crowds do not interfere with pedestrians, platforms are erected upon store boxes and with the aid of coal oil lamps which

have recently come into use in Paris, the speakers entertain their audiences. The speeches, for the most part, are harmless, though often violent and abusive. In these organizations there is no agreement and therefore they are weak. Apparently every orator has his own theory to develop, which after all has nothing in it, but the ebullitions of an excited brain. If there has been agreement among them on any subject it is in regard to a *levée en masse* which every military man, who is not a crank, knows is a stupid thing. At the present moment they are much more interested in politics. The Bonapartists and Bourbons are alike feared, suspected and denounced.

Since negotiations were commenced at Versailles by M. Favre, great dissatisfaction has been expressed by the Home National Guards, and several times they have been on the eve of a revolt. They refused to join the mobilized national guards, and consequently have done no fighting. Recently they have found fault with the policy of the Government, chiefly because their brothers in arms were not ordered to advance upon the Germans. They number about 200,000 men ; they are all well armed and have been guarding the nine sections of the walls under as many commanding officers. Had 100,000 more of them volunteered and shown a disposition to serve their country in face of the enemy a successful *trouée* might have been made. One of their numerous protests against an armistice on any conditions, contains the signatures of 550 officers, most of them captains ; they affirm that they would rather die than surrender. On the 27th inst. a deputation was received by M. Picard, André, Levertujon and several mayors. They were advised to return to their battalions and submit loyally to what was inevitable. Some of the officers made an effort on the night of the 28th inst. to organize a resistance, but General Thomas interfered in time to save trouble. What should be done with these brigades, regi-

ments and battalions is a question which has given the members of the Government much concern. It was maintained in council that to ask them to surrender their arms would be hazardous as they have considered themselves the guardians of the city. Hence they have been allowed to retain them.

Until three days ago the Government considered it necessary to keep up a confidential correspondence with the deputation at Bordeaux. Nothing can yet be sent out to the departments by the way of Versailles which is not inspected by the German officials. Hence two other balloons, which will probably be the last, have sailed out of Paris, making in all 58.

The *Richard-Wallace* rose from the Northern railroad station on the morning of the 27th inst., at 3 o'clock. A strong and very cold wind was blowing from the northeast which unfortunately carried it into the Atlantic before it could be landed. The body of the aëronaut, Emile Lacaze, and the dispatches were found in the water near La Rochelle.

On the morning of the 28th inst. the *Général Chambronne* sailed out of Paris, but of this balloon nothing further is recorded.

We have said that the siege of Paris ended, at least technically, with the signing of the armistice three days ago. One hundred and thirty-five days had then elapsed, reckoning from the time the last railroad train left Paris in September, but to the 2,000,000 of people who remain the siege virtually continues. No one can yet leave Paris without a permit obtained from the French and countersigned by the German officials. The action of the Bordeaux assembly must be approved by Count Bismarck; a treaty of peace must be signed.

I have once more visited the American legation, as well as the American consulate, and through the kindness of

our representatives, have sent out another business communication. Mr. Washburne has had a much greater responsibility placed upon him by the German Chancellor than was at first contemplated. At the beginning of the siege he was requested, as the representative of a neutral power, to assist in every way possible, the citizens of North Germany still remaining in Paris, and was directed to draw upon the banking house of the Rothchilds, if necessary, to the extent of 50,000 thalers. About 28,000 Germans have asked for and obtained the protection of our flag ; of these 2,500 remain in the city. Passports and money were given to all who had need of them, and more recently food, fuel and clothing have been distributed to keep them from perishing. Our minister was therefore under the necessity of employing several assistants to take charge of this special work. Some of these helpless and starving people have been taken to the hospitals, others to the prisons in order that they might not be exposed to the violence of the rabble, whilst the women and children who consider themselves safe, go every day to the legation for a pittance of money or such articles of food and clothing as Mr. Washburne is able to distribute among them.

Dr. Kern, the ambassador of Switzerland, has likewise been engaged in a similar work. He was requested to take under the protection of the Swiss flag those who claimed citizenship in South Germany—Bavaria and Baden. In all there have been about thirty-five thousand Germans provided for.

But the responsibility of Mr. Washburne has not been limited to the care of the Germans. The distressed and starving of all nations have looked to him as the mediator through whom help might be obtained. He has often been obliged to make a direct appeal to the liberality of the French officials, and it should be said to their credit that they have nobly responded. North and South Americans,

Canadians, Mexicans, Englishmen, Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, Austrians, Russians, Turks and Chinese have all come to him for assistance. Apparently no one believed that the siege would be continued beyond six weeks, or at the farthest to the holidays. Naturally Mr. Washburne interested himself in his own countrymen and made arrangements that large colonies should be sent out at once. The French government objected to large numbers going on the same day, the Germans were likewise opposed to it, on the ground that they could not sufficiently inspect their papers and their goods. On several occasions the English and others were sent back on account of irregularities in their papers which created a considerable degree of dissatisfaction. It has been necessary to obtain the signature of our minister and the seal of the United States. Some of every nationality have lost their lives; some entered the *garde nationale* to earn a franc and a half a day, some have accepted the charity of the city and others have been taken to the hospitals.

I have already referred to a small group of Pennsylvanians who resolved to remain in Paris during the siege. There were four of us, and I am happy to state, that we have all thus far escaped accident and sickness. We have lived in an economical way, each following his own inclinations. Apparently I have been the chief sufferer, though I have not had a moment of sickness in the French capital. Insomnia which gradually stole upon me in November has not relaxed its grip. Oh! for an hour of unconscious rest. Surely I will now sleep, as the cannonading has ceased, and there is silence everywhere upon the ramparts.

CHAPTER II.

PARIS, FEBRUARY 13TH, 1871.

The First Loads of Produce—The Mortality Reaches its Highest Point—The Forts Surrender—Political Situation—Gambetta Resigns—Elections Ordered.

HOW shall I represent Paris at this date? What shall I say of the people conquered and humiliated as they are? Since I entered the Imperial city what changes have occurred! What a panorama of passing events! Instead of the sound of martial music and the booming of cannon we have now the silence of despair and mourning. There are no brilliant equipages in the boulevards; only here and there a solitary omnibus. The people have become pedestrians. They loiter along the streets with bowed heads and sorrowing hearts. The domestic animals, the companions of man, have all disappeared. I have not seen a living dog in a month—not even a poodle. The absence of brilliant gas jets in the evenings is most of all noticeable, only one in every six in the streets is lighted, and these burn dimly. Coal oil is used to light the few *cafés* and restaurants that are open.

The first carloads of provisions reached Paris on the 4th inst., but they were soon snatched up. Extravagant prices were asked and obtained. Numerous trains have since rolled into the city with such articles of produce as are most needed—flour, meat, potatoes, bread, butter, cheese and eggs, but no one has yet been able to obtain a mouthful of these who has not had money to spend. What sig-

nifies a hundred loads among so many starving people. The merchants of London, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, sent us a dozen of carloads in haste, and with them two commissioners to superintend their distribution among the numerous charities of the city. The good people of New York have likewise not forgotten the besieged Parisians. They have placed in the banking house of Morgan & Co. ten thousand dollars as a first instalment for the relief of the poor. Mr. Washburne has offered this sum of money to the Minister of the Interior, and it has been accepted with thanks. It will also be distributed among the numerous charities.

Nor have the conquerors themselves been unwilling to assist. They have turned over a quantity of supplies sufficient for the French soldiers for three days and a half. Count Bismarck knows very well that if a treaty of peace is not agreed upon, he will have an immense responsibility on hand. He will have not only 400,000 prisoners of war to provide for, but he will have the people of Paris to feed.

The railroad companies responded with surprising promptness, and in a week or two, no doubt, the markets will be filled with produce of every kind. But as yet a large proportion of the population is dependent upon the municipality for support. Six hundred horses are slaughtered every day, and the meat is sold in the markets as usual. The soup kitchens are yet in full blast; every afternoon the starving poor fall into line in the streets wait their turn, and receive their share. Coarse and black bread, made of oats, peas, rice and a small quantity of rye and wheat is yet distributed.

The *boucheries municipales* contain only small quantities of the dog, the cat and the rat, and some of them have been closed. Those who have money are now looking for English or Belgian beef in the Halles Centrales, or other large markets.

Three days ago, after several unsuccessful efforts, I happened upon a small quantity of fresh pork. With a franc and a half I purchased less than a pound to take the place of the horse meat in my private larder. Roasted in an open pan, in woodman style, I found it the most delicious morsel I had eaten for several months. Thank heaven! we can now obtain small pieces of roast beef in some of the restaurants, but the low state of my bank account warns me to beware of *table d'hôte* dinners. A bill of exchange is doubtless some where on the way, but who can tell when it will reach Paris?

Of the meat of foreign quadrupeds and bipeds I need only add that it has been greatly prized by the epicureans. The meat of the domestic animals—the horse, the dog and the cat, has not been so much praised, but it has enabled the Government—especially that of the horse—to continue the siege much longer than would have been otherwise possible. The butchers, in their several specialties, have made their fortunes and are closing their shops.

A French doggeral which recently appeared in one of the journals may be thus paraphrased :

Dear friends at Geneva, hear what I shall say,
Of the meats we have eaten and what was to pay ;
The French are good livers, as all of you know,
And get up their dinners with wonderful show.

At first we had changes of plates and of dishes,
Beef-steaks and chops and capons and fishes,
And fruits of all kinds and butter and cheese
And coffee and claret or bordeaux to please.

Then came November with frost in the air,
The season was changing, so we changed our fare ;
For breakfast and dinner the horse was set up,
And before us we saw the grease in the soup.

Six hundred good horses were slaughtered each day,
And sold in the shambles or given away ;
The rich and the poor, all over the city,
Had each their full share without favor or pity.

We next had the mule and the donkey, I swear !
Set out on the table, with giraffe and bear ;
The elephants too were cut into slices,
And sold in the stalls at fabulous prices.

As for the dog, and the cat, and the rat,
These were reserved for New Years and all after that,
Newfoundland and poodle from parlor and stable,
Were taken to market then set on the table.

Affrighted, the cat on the house-top was found,
But the ball of the chassopot brought puss to the ground.
Next day the poor cat in pot-pie was eaten,
And the epicures say it cannot be beaten.

The rats, in their turn, the last and the best,
Of the savory dishes were eaten with zest ;
Ten thousand a day—it was seriously funny—
The rich ate most of them for they had the money.

Kind patrons and friends you smile at this food,
But never 'till hungry can you tell what is good.
Remember, I pray you, of these kinds of meat,
We were eating to live not living to eat.

At the close of the siege no dog could be found,
Nor cat in the kitchen, nor rat under ground,
All ! all ! were then eaten, in cellar and park,
Before we surrendered to Monsieur Bismarck.

A few days ago the weather had moderated, but at the present moment the mercury in the thermometer stands below freezing point. There are, however, some indications of approaching spring ; the snow and ice have all disappeared, and the little birds are coming into the city, not thinking that the hungry Parisians are lying in wait for them.

During the week ending February 4th the general mortality of the city rose to the extraordinary height of 4,671. We are hopeful that the maximum death-rate has been reached. The official reports give the following : From bronchitis, 627 ; pneumonia, 465 ; typhoid fever, 324 ; small-pox, 258 ; diarrhœa, 150 ; dysentery, 63, and so on down through the long list of diseases.

Naturally enough I have been interested in this department of charitable work, and consequently have become more familiar with it by contact and association than any other ; but the plan of these sketches forbids an extended reference to the immense efforts made by the medical profession to protect the people from disease and death. It is a matter of great credit to the provisional as well as the municipal government that so much has been done in this direction.

The military situation of Paris during the last two weeks has indeed been painful. The recollections of the disgraceful surrender at Sedan, and the treasonable capitulation of Metz, have given to the silent work of the armistice the solemnity of a funeral. Added to all this has been the humiliating thought that a similar work is about to be commenced in the departments. Since the Prince Imperial received his " baptism of fire at Sarrebrück," scarcely less than a million Frenchmen have fallen in battle, surrendered themselves as prisoners of war, or are about to lay down their arms. What a chapter of history ! What heroic folly crowded into the brief space of six months !

The articles of agreement have thus far been faithfully executed. The line of demarcation, which separates the Germans from the French, begins on the north near St. Ouen, passes along the left bank of the Seine on the west until it reaches a point near Bas-Meudon where it inclines eastward in front of forts Issy, Vanves, Montrouge, Bicêtre, Vitry and Charenton, and crosses the river at the point of

confluence of the Seine and Marne. It then inclines northward between forts Nogent and Vincennes and so on in front of forts Romanville and Aubervilliers to the place of beginning. The French are allowed to occupy Fort Vincennes with two hundred men. Five points in the circle are named, at which those who have passports properly endorsed may pass out through the German lines.

The evacuation of the forts and the removal of the cannon from the walls was to have been effected before any provisions were allowed to enter the city ; but the Germans, observing the good intentions of the French and the immense efforts made to save the people from starvation, permitted a few car-loads to enter on the 4th inst. The work of surrender began promptly on the 29th ult., and has only recently been completed. An eye-witness has given a full account of the evacuation of Fort Issy, of which, however, we can only reproduce the outlines.

“Until the last moment,” says the writer, “our troops were hopeful that they would be allowed to march out with their arms. When they learned that they would be obliged to leave everything behind—cannon, arms, and munitions of war, their disappointment was great. The artillery marched in front, the infantry of the line next, and then the mobiles. General Guichard and his staff followed on foot. They all marched before the Prussian guards, who waited until the last man had left the fort. The officer in charge, one of the engineers, and one of the artillery officers, remained behind to conduct the Prussian officers through the fort and to give them such information as they required. As soon as the Prussians entered the fort they stacked their arms and then began the search for electric wires. They were afraid that they would be blown up.

“Fort Issy is very little more than a wreck. From the 5th of January to the 27th, at midnight, it received 38,000

shell and solid shot and some of them weighed 100 kilogrammes (220 lbs.). The barracks no longer exist. On the side facing Châtillon and Clamart breaches were made at ten points. It was only by a miracle of energy that the casemates were defended. Sacks of sand by hundreds of thousands had to be employed to repair the damages from hour to hour. The soldiers, mobiles and gunners, had scarcely a moment of repose during these 22 days and nights. The casemates, powder magazines and recesses for the gun carriages were, in some places, stove in and crushed. Only a few pieces of cannon were able to respond.

“The garrison consisted of about 900 men, and of these 130 were killed or wounded. At the time of the surrender one-third were either dead or in the hospitals; another third were completely played out by the supreme exertions made; upon the remainder the defense of the fort was imposed. To these brave men the post of honor is cheerfully conceded.”

The Germans, no doubt, could have taken possession of this fort if they had been inclined to sacrifice a large number of men. They knew very well that to hold it would have been very difficult as the fire of Fort Vanves could easily have been directed upon it.

We need not delay with any extended reference to the other forts which have been surrendered. Fort Briche has also suffered much, and thousands of shells have fallen upon Fort Est, but without doing any serious damage. Fort Valérien, the great citadel, is occupied by General von Moltke and his staff. It has become his headquarters. Instead of the red, white and blue of the French, the Prussian symbol waves over it.

All around the city and from six to eight hundred yards distant from the gates is a cordon of German soldiers on guard day and night. Last Sunday afternoon I joined my Pennsylvania friends in an excursion on foot. It was our

intention to go as far, at least, as the picket lines. We chose the northeast side of the city, the streets and the well-macadamized road leading out by the way of Fort Aubervilliers and the broken-down village of Bourget. At this point a few persons, provided with passports, were allowed to pass through the lines, so we were permitted to approach and to speak to the officers. Our questions, although we claimed to be Americans, were answered in German monosyllables and with a certain intonation which indicated that our inquiries were not in order. Though we were slightly disappointed in not obtaining more information from the outside world, we enjoyed our excursion. The atmosphere was mild and spring-like, and we had an opportunity, for the first time, to stand in the presence of the invincible Teutons.

The great desire of the people of Paris cannot as yet be gratified. Another half month has elapsed without news. The city is as closely watched as at any time during the siege. The last pigeon reached Paris on the 3d inst., but the news given out has only confirmed the worst fears of the people. By some means or other a proclamation, signed by the deputies at Bordeaux, was obtained and published in the *Mot d'Ordre* on the 5th inst. A communication from the ex-Emporer has likewise appeared in print, and it is feared, as a result, that a disturbance may be produced in France. How these papers reached Paris is yet a mystery, but it is probable that the Germans were not averse to allowing the people to have full information on these topics.

This leads us to consider very briefly the political features of the situation at this date. Immediately after the signing of the armistice M. Favre, with the assistance of Count Bismarck, sent a telegram to the deputation at Bordeaux. It made known the leading features of the armistice which concerned the departments, that it would con-

tinue twenty-one days, that the object was to hold a convention at Bordeaux on the 12th inst., and that elections should be ordered at once in all the departments for the 8th inst. At the same time M. Favre requested that a military officer be detailed to accompany a representative of the Paris government through the German lines. M. Favre then returned to Paris and at one and a half o'clock at night had a conference with the representatives of the railroad companies, after which he retired to rest and sleep. The next day, at a meeting of the members of the government, it was agreed to send M. Jules Simon to Bordeaux, but his departure, on account of the roads, was delayed until the 1st inst.

Meanwhile the deputation at Bordeaux took action and without fully understanding the situation at Paris or the articles of agreement, set up a counter movement. They agreed to the surrender of the capital of France, but they preferred to continue the war if the Germans should demand Alsace and Lorraine. Accordingly M. Gambetta, as Minister of the Interior, issued a proclamation to the prefects and sub-prefects of the departments and the three members of the government—Crémieux, Gambetta and Glais-Bizoin—joined in another proclamation which excluded all persons from the convention who had held any executive office as minister, senator, counselor of state or prefect under the Empire.

These proclamations soon reached Count Bismarck and he immediately brought the subject before M. Favre with whom he was in daily communication. The Count declared that unless the people of France were allowed the freedom of choosing their deputies, the Emperor of Germany would not recognize the convention or its representatives. But M. Favre replied that he was not surprised at the action of the deputation, that his colleagues at Bordeaux were ignorant of the articles of agreement,

and that they were not men to lead in a reactionary movement against the will of the Paris government. Nevertheless it was considered a matter of great importance, and Count Bismarck telegraphed to the deputation as follows :

VERSAILLES, *February 3d.*

In the name of the freedom of elections stipulated in the armistice, I protest against the conditions sent out in your name to deprive certain classes of French citizens of the right of being elected to the Assembly. Elections held under an arbitrary rule cannot confer the rights which the armistice recognizes in deputies freely chosen.

The Government of National Defense also issued two proclamations on the 4th inst. The first of these was intended to annul the action of the deputation at Bordeaux and was signed by the president, vice president and all the members at Paris, including the ministers and first secretaries. It may be considered a very skilfully drawn proclamation without any feeling except that of intense patriotism. After referring to the cruel sufferings of the people of Paris and of France and to the inability of the departments to assist in raising the blockade, the main point was reached, that the members of the Government at Paris, believing in republicanism, considered it their first duty, in order that law might be respected, to give to the people the right of choosing their representatives without restrictions of any kind. "We do not desire," says the proclamation, "that the first act of calling a republican assembly in 1871 should exhibit a want of confidence in the voters."

The second proclamation is addressed to the citizens of France. It is likewise brimful of patriotism. It sets before the people the real situation of affairs, that famine alone compelled Paris to surrender. We give one of the paragraphs in full. "The Empire, under different forms, proposes to commence negotiations with the enemy. The Assembly will convene in time to explode its intrigues and

to safe-guard the principle of national sovereignty. France alone will decide the destinies of France. It is necessary to hasten, delays are attended with danger. In eight days France will have chosen her *mandataires*. May she choose the most devoted, the most disinterested, the best." One other sentence may be translated. "The Government of National Defense will surrender its power to the National Assembly the very day it convenes."

What a contrast between these proclamations and that issued on the 8th inst. at Wilhelmshoehe! Napoléon le Petit, as Victor Hugo names him, ventures once more to present his claims to the throne of France. His hypocritical attitude is too apparent to deceive the people of France any longer. "As to myself," he says, "traded by so much injustice and deception, I come not to-day to claim the rights which four times in twenty years you freely conferred upon me. In the presence of the calamities which surround us there is no place for personal ambition, but as long as the people shall not be permitted to express their will at their respective places of voting, my duty will be to address myself to the nation, as its true representative and to say to it: All that is done without your direct participation is illegal." His address to the people of France does not appear, thus far to have produced any impression.

In the meantime M. Jules Simon and M. Liouville, after much delay on account of the repairs which it was necessary to make to the roads, reached Bordeaux and found to their surprise a strong sentiment in the south of France in favor of the action of the deputation. M. Simon could only protest against their action; he could not telegraph back to Paris for fear of inciting a civil war and therefore sent M. Liouville back to Paris. Whereupon it was agreed to send three other members—MM. Garnier-Pagès, Pelletan and Arago—who would make a majority. These

soon reached Bordeaux and a meeting was held at which the action of the Paris government was presented, rescinding the order of the deputation. M. Simon and his colleagues then published in the journals of the departments a lengthy address to the people of France signed by all the members of the Government of National Defense, except the three members of the deputation, in which full liberty was given to all French citizens to express their sentiments. M. Gambetta, evidently too much in haste, resigned with the expression of much regret that he could no longer serve as a member of the Government. M. Simon took his place as Minister of the Interior *ad interim*.

The polls were opened in Paris on the 5th inst. and the election of deputies progressed in an orderly manner in all the wards. The people of the United States would do well to imitate the French in their method of holding elections. Provision is not made for disturbances at the polls and corruption is impossible. More than one hundred candidates were in the field in Paris for the forty-three seats in the Assembly. Louis Blanc, Victor Hugo, Garibaldi, Edgar Quinet and Gambetta took the lead in Paris—all of them radical republicans. Three days were spent at the polls, but the results are satisfactory, no one is accused of fraud.

The elections were conducted in like manner in the departments, the polls being opened on the 8th as announced. Over 650 delegates were elected in all. M. Thiers is said to have been chosen in eighteen districts.

At no time since the commencement of hostilities has France been in greater danger. A crisis seems to be at hand; in Paris great solicitude is expressed. Thirty-one of the deputies are considered radical; of the remaining twelve six are moderate republicans and six are conservatives. But in the departments a large number of Bourbon partisans have been chosen and among these are the Prince

of Joinville and the Duke d'Aumale. How much of the war debt they would cancel, if favored, is of course not known, but it is asserted that they are rich enough to pay a milliard or more. On the other hand it is known that a few influential Bonapartist politicians have been chosen, and that the Emperor of Germany would prefer the restoration of the Empire. It is conceded that these parties have fought equally well with the Republicans and Communists and therefore deserves equal praise. Another fact which contributes to the gravity of the situation is the existence of large bodies of well-armed Frenchmen who might be easily brought into collision with each other. They are yet in possession of their arms, not less than 200,000 are in Paris and certainly 250,000 are in the departments. All have fought bravely for France under the Republic, and any attempt made to disarm them might give rise to a civil war and anarchy, in which case the Germans would doubtless claim France. The disagreement among the Republicans has been exceedingly unfortunate, as it has given rise to criticisms and suspicions; and, besides, it has afforded the Communists a pretext for the continuation of their meetings.

Until the polls were closed on the 8th inst. the politicians of Paris were very busy. This remark applies more particularly to the *Communards* who seem to think that they alone can save Paris and France. We are not surprised that they should denounce the Bourbons and Imperialists, their natural enemies, but that they should unite against the Republicans shows a degree of political stupidity for which there can be no apology.

The speeches made at their meetings during the last ten days are, indeed, pitiable specimens of counsel and logic. Abstracts from them have appeared in the journals which show what stupid theories of national government they adhere to and how illiberal and tyrannical they would be if

permitted to gain the ascendancy. The practical subject which interested them most before the election was the formation of a ticket for the whole city, but in this they failed as in all other things they undertake. The committees appointed made their reports, but in reading the lists of names, it was necessary to give time for approval or disapproval by the crowd assembled in the open air. The candidates proposed and endorsed at one meeting would often be challenged at the next and if not present to defend themselves and to make a public profession of their political faith, their names would be dropped and others substituted. Those who have done most for France, as responsible agents were often the least applauded. To show their ingratitude they refused to endorse any member of the Government of National Defense who had approved of the armistice. Gambetta alone received their hearty endorsement.

Yesterday the indemnity of 200,000,000 of francs was taken out to Versailles and laid at the feet of the conqueror.

On the 9th inst. Mr. Washburne left Paris for a few days to visit his family at Brussels. He has great need of a respite from the responsible work imposed upon him during the siege. Mr. Labouchère, the correspondent of the London *Daily News*, accompanied him.

CHAPTER III.

PARIS, FEBRUARY 27TH, 1871.

The National Assembly at Bordeaux—Albert Grévy made Chairman—Louis Adolph Thiers Elected Chief Executive of the French Republic—His Cabinet—A Parliamentary Commission Appointed—Negotiations with Count Bismarck.

SOON after the elections in Paris and in the departments the deputies hastened to Bordeaux; they crowded into the city of the Girondins; the hotel accommodations were insufficient; the *parterre* of the Grand Theatre was not large enough for them. Princes, dukes, barons, bishops, generals, admirals, editors, lawyers, doctors, merchants, bankers, manufacturers, poets, novelists and foreigners were sent to represent the nation. The Republicans controlled the convention; no other party could have organized it. M. Benoist d'Azy, the oldest deputy, was made temporary chairman. On taking his seat he congratulated the Assembly that so many had obeyed the call of their country in such trying circumstances and urged them to do their duty with firmness, and with a magnanimity which belongs to all true Frenchmen. M. Favre then took the floor, and after expressing his willingness to place in their hands the power exercised by the Government of National Defense, he offered a resolution that the deputies immediately proceed to a verification of their right to take part in the deliberations. This afforded General Garibaldi an opportunity to present his resignation which reads as follows :

Citizen President of the National Assembly : As a last duty to the cause of the French Republic I have come to vote for it which I now do. At the same time I surrender the authority with which I have been honored as deputy from several departments.

BORDEAUX, *February 13, 1871.*

GARIBALDI.

The General knew very well that the people intended their votes as a compliment to him, but so many were of the same mind that he was elected in several of the departments. There seemed to be nothing else for him to do than to go to the Assembly and express his gratitude in a public manner. There were many present who did not care to have him start a *boom* for the Republic; the Republicans themselves did not think it wise in the circumstances to encourage a demonstration and his resignation was simply accepted. When the session had adjourned, however, several of the deputies called upon him for a speech, but there was too much confusion and noise for him to be heard. Some said "One has no right to speak after he has resigned;" others said, "The session has adjourned." But his enthusiastic admirers were *determined* to make some kind of demonstration and they attempted to give him three cheers. This apparent ingratitude of the Assembly was magnified in Paris, and the *Communards* made a great howl over it in the journals. Thus ended the work of the first day of the Assembly. The illustrated journals represent Garibaldi leaving the theatre in disgust, but all clear-headed Frenchmen know that this was not the time for demonstrations in the streets.

The next two days, February 14th and 15th, the deputies were chiefly engaged in the discussion of questions pertaining to the preliminaries of peace, and to a permanent organization. There were some who preferred speech-making to action, but MM. Favre and Thiers urged them to abstain from lengthy discussions, as these occupied time and the Germans were preparing to enter Paris. On the

16th M. Albert Grévy was made president of the Assembly by a vote 519 out of 536 votes which were cast. Four vice presidents and six secretaries were added. The Assembly was thus regularly constituted and prepared to create a Government for France.

The president elect having taken his seat, the following proposition, signed by M. Dufaure and six other deputies, was presented :

M. Thiers is nominated Chief of the Executive Power of the French Republic.

He shall exercise its functions under the control of the National Assembly with the concurrence of the ministers whom he shall choose and over whom he shall preside.

This proposition was adopted unanimously by the commission to which it was referred and was reported the next day to the Assembly by M. Victor Lefranc. The report is a very remarkable endorsement of the great statesman, referring especially to his foresight, devotion and experience which fit him so eminently for the work of reconstruction.

But at the opening of the session on the 17th M. Keller obtained leave to read a proposition and declaration which produced a profound impression. It was a strong protest against the alienation of Alsace and Lorraine and was signed by all the deputies of the four departments—Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, Moselle and Meurthe,

At this point a movement was made to adjourn until the next day, but M. Thiers resisted it with extreme energy. He ascended the tribune and said : “ The Assembly ought to understand that upon a subject so grave, it is necessary to act as serious men. The question is to ascertain if you would give to your negotiators an imperative command, or will allow them the liberty of negotiating.” Then he added : “ I find that there is only one thing worthy of you ; worthy of France, worthy of a true patriotism : it is to take

your position at once. Have the courage of your opinion, either war or peace." He carried the Assembly with him and the subject was immediately referred to the committees, and after an hour of discussion M. Beulé made the following report which was adopted :

"The National Assembly, receiving the declaration of M. Keller and his colleagues with the keenest sympathy, refer the subject to the wisdom of the negotiators."

Thus ended an episode which threatened to interfere materially with the work of the convention.

M. Lefranc then presented his report which takes the form of preambles and a decree or resolution, the main features of which are given in the words of M. Dufaure. Prominence is given to the doctrine of the sovereign right of a nation, by a free election, to choose its own form of government and its executive officers. There are also enumerated some of the distinguishing characteristics of the patriot-candidate before them. Finally there is the wish and hope expressed, that all France may unite in the sentiment of the Assembly, that she can yet accomplish all that has been expected of her. The vote was taken and M. Thiers was elected with scarcely a dissenting voice.

The next day the Chief Executive delivered an address which may be considered a model of conciliation and statesmanship. His policy is clearly set forth ; a treaty of peace on the best terms possible, the relief of the country from foreign occupation, the payment of the debt, the establishment of order, the repair of the roads and bridges and the organization of the industries of the country. Afterwards will come the discussion of the theories of government and the adoption of a constitution, not by a minority vote, but by a majority of the votes of the people—all to be done under the Republic.

In the course of his address M. Thiers announced the following as members of his Cabinet :

M. Dufaure, Minister of Justice.

M. Jules Favre, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

M. Picard, Minister of the Interior.

M. De Larcy, Minister of Public Works.

M. Jules Simon, Minister of Public Instruction.

M. Lambrecht, Minister of Commerce.

General Leflô, Minister of War.

Admiral Pothuau, Minister of Marine.

M. Pouyer-Quertier, Minister of Finance.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs then made the following motion :

“ That a commission of fifteen members be named by the committees (bureaux) of the Assembly. This commission shall assist the negotiators, shall hold interviews and exchange sentiments with them, shall give their opinion, and shall subsequently report to the Assembly.”

After a brief discussion the proposition was adopted by the Assembly, and the committees nominated the commission. Among those who were named were MM. Benoist d’Azy and Victor Lefranc, General d’Aurelle and Admirals Roncière and Saisset.

Sunday evening, February 19, MM. Thiers and Favre, accompanied by Duke de Broglie and Baron Baudé, the former as ambassador to England and the latter to Belgium, set out for Versailles. The commission followed.

Notwithstanding the urgency of the mission and the diligence of the engineer, the train was on the way twenty-four hours. At this time nature demanded rest and sleep and it was not until the 21st that the chief negotiator had his first interview with the German chancellor. There remained only part of a day, until the armistice expired, and there was no time to lose.

M. Thiers expressed a desire to visit the Chancellor alone and without any argument secured the extension of the armistice until the 26th. He desired also to have a private

interview with the Emperor which his majesty agreed to, with the understanding that the conversation should not turn upon matters of business. These interviews, as is reported, were extremely formal but courteous; they at least convinced M. Thiers that negotiations would be very difficult. Nevertheless he ventured to state in the presence of his Majesty that he had opposed the declaration of war, that afterwards he had exerted all his powers to stay the effusion of blood, and was now specially interested in a peace which would not inclose in it the germs of future strife. The Emperor is said to have replied, that he had no intention of making war upon France, that he profoundly regretted the imperious obligations which events dictated, and that he had no power to control them. But Count Bismarck did not conceal from M. Thiers the claims of Germany. He said "that France must renounce Alsace entire, including Belfort, the city and fortresses of Metz, and a large part of the departments of Moselle and Meurthe and must pay six milliards of francs."

In the evening M. Thiers returned to Paris and made his report to M. Favre and the commission at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His colleagues listened silently to the story of the interviews with the Chancellor and the Emperor, and in the summing up they were thunderstruck. They found themselves in the presence of a responsibility which they could not easily endure. They realized that they were the representatives of France without an ally and without a friend.

The next day M. Thiers wished to go once more alone to Versailles. He hoped to be able to sweeten the temper of the iron-hearted Chancellor and to save Metz, the loss of which was depriving him of sleep. A heroic city which had always been French he could not patiently surrender. He desired also to state that in the opinion of the commission it would be impossible for France to pay six mil-

liards. But the Chancellor remained inflexible. "We must retain Metz," he replied, "and as to the indemnity our financiers consider ten milliards not an exorbitant ransom." Then becoming a little impatient he added, "But we have no time for lengthy discussions on these subjects." If, however, the Count lost his self-possession, for the moment, M. Thiers did not delay to state, "that he had come to Versailles with the expectation of being heard, and he could not quietly attach his name to an agreement which would dismember his country." The Chancellor then proposed an interview with the commission by two of the leading financiers of Germany which was accepted.

Early in the morning M. Black Shröder and Count Heukel were escorted into Paris. They were kindly received at the office of Foreign Affairs and introduced to the commission. In the course of the interview several ingenious efforts were made to show that France is able to pay six milliards of francs, but it is certain that the distinguished bankers left the city with their sentiments somewhat modified.

In the afternoon M. Thiers invited M. Favre to accompany him, and they continued together until the close of the negotiations. Count Bismarck informed them, as they met him in Versailles, that he had secured from the Emperor an abatement of one milliard. The discussion, however, continued on the immense losses which the French people have sustained, by heavy fines, requisitions and pillage. Indemnities of money have been collected from every city and town under threats of imprisonment and death; large requisitions of provisions have been made in every canton and everywhere houses have been pillaged. The French negotiators maintained that two milliards would cover all the expenses of the war and that five milliards would be a real spoliation. At this time a telegram reached Count Bismarck, through Lord Loftus, ambassador of

Great Britain at Berlin, and M. Odo Russell at Versailles, advising an indemnity not to surpass what France might reasonably be expected to pay. Telegrams were also received from other governments; the French negotiators talked of submitting some questions to arbitration, but the Count and the Emperor preferred to yield rather than delay. Austria expressed sympathy for France, fearing, no doubt, a monetary crisis in Europe, if France would not be able to raise the money demanded. Spain, in like manner, was fearful of a reaction in which her finances might be affected. Italy refused to express any sympathy for France. The Emperor of Russia had likewise no sympathy to express, though it is said that the people favor the French.

The negotiators, ascertaining that any further effort to reduce the indemnity at present would be useless, passed to the consideration of the entry of the Germans into Paris. On this subject M. Favre exerted all his powers to convince the Count of the danger of attempting to enter the city. It might be followed by serious consequences, the National Guards having yet their arms. The Chancellor expressed his willingness to yield the point, but said, that it must be decided by the military authority. Neither the Emperor nor General von Moltke would agree to it, but they were willing that a small portion of their army should enter and that only a part of the city should be occupied.

Turning then to that portion of Alsace which is wholly French, including Belfort and its fortifications, M. Thiers addressed the Chancellor. The conversation soon became serious, involving some of the essential principles of international right. M. Thiers made up his mind never to sign a treaty which would imply the forfeiture of this city, and he so expressed himself. He is represented by M. Favre as exhibiting a passion and an eloquence that cannot be imitated.

“Very well! let it be as you wish, Monsieur le Comte,

these negotiations are only a feint. We have the appearance of deliberating ; we must pass under your yoke. We ask of you a city which is absolutely French, you refuse it. This is to avow, that you have resolved upon a war of extermination against us. Be it so. Ravage our provinces, burn our dwellings, butcher our inoffensive people, in a word, achieve your work. We will fight you until our last breath ; we may be overcome, we will, at least, not be dishonored."

The Count was visibly affected by this passionate appeal, and replied that he would be happy to be able to make the concession, but he feared that the alternative which would probably be presented would not be pleasing to the Parisians. It was necessary first to consult with General von Moltke, and then to take the orders of the Emperor. After an hour or more had elapsed the Chancellor returned with this statement, "We will allow you retain Belfort if you permit us to enter Paris." The negotiators looked at each other for a moment and at once agreed that they would save, at least, a corner of Alsace and a brave city which had endured a siege of so many months. The Chancellor left the French statesmen for another hour and returned with the distinct statement that 30,000 Germans would enter Paris on the 1st of March and would occupy a part of it until the ratification of the treaty by the National Assembly. It was further agreed that the National Guards should be removed from Auteuil and Passy, and from that part of the city on each side of the Champs Elysées, extending to the Avenue des Ternes and Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré and as far as Place de la Concorde, and that the German troops should occupy these. The evacuation of the forts on the south of Paris and of the departments south of the Seine was to take place as soon as the Convention had ratified the preliminaries, and after the payment of half a milliard of francs other departments

were likewise to be liberated. Three years were stipulated for the gradual evacuation of French territory and the payment of the five milliards—one-fifth to be paid within the current year. There was a doubt in the mind of M. Thiers as to the possibility of France paying this enormous sum, one thousand millions in ten months. M. Alphonse Rothchild was therefore sent for and he hastened to confer with him. The remaining parts of the agreement were of less importance and yet they were fully discussed step by step. They related to the requisitions of provisions and money, to the exchange of prisoners and to another meeting of the plenipotentiaries. On the 26th of February the articles were signed and the negotiators set out for Bordeaux.

At this time Paris was in a very unsettled condition. The *Communards* kept up a constant excitement. They seemed to be determined to misrepresent the efforts of the commissioners and of the Assembly. Some of the agitators were in the *garde nationale*, others were editors of journals, but all joined in the discussion of the sensations which were manufactured from day to day. At one time the commission had failed to agree with Count Bismarck, at another M. Thiers had transferred the government to the Bourbons, and at another the Germans were marching into Paris. As a result General Vinoy, and those who had command of the nine sections experienced great difficulty in maintaining order. Some of the officers of the guards obtained leave to visit their friends in the departments; others to arrange their private affairs and to prepare for business, but the *Communards* retained their places as chiefs of battalions, and often abused the privileges allowed them. On several occasions the *rappel* was beaten without orders, and when orders were issued to suppress disturbances the chiefs would fraternize with those who produced the disturbance. In fact the National Guards have been in a

state of insubordination, and there seems to be no means of preserving order. Were it not that the Germans occupy the forts we would certainly have an insurrection in Paris and possibly a civil war in France.

On the 26th inst. Ernest Picard, who was now Minister of the Interior *ad interim*, issued a proclamation, stating that the preliminaries of peace would be signed in a few hours. He gave in brief the main features of the agreement and urged the people to maintain order. General Vinoy, who had confidence only in a small part of his troops, arranged them so as to guard the government officers and public buildings; he was fearful of an uprising every night.

As soon as the negotiators returned from Versailles M. Thiers, as Chief of the Executive Power, M. Favre, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and M. Picard, Minister of the Interior, joined in a proclamation to the inhabitants of Paris. It states that the negotiators, appointed by the National Assembly, had spent six days in disputing, step by step, with the enemy, and had obtained the conditions of peace the least damaging to France; that the parliamentary commissioners were witnesses of all that had been done, and that it only remained for the Assembly to accept or to reject their work. In case of a rejection Paris would fall into the hands of the enemy, the armistice would be at an end, and hostilities would be renewed. A strong appeal was made to the National Guards not to commit the fault of those who did not wish to believe in the representatives of the Assembly, and to the people to preserve order. In these circumstances M. Thiers and the parliamentary commission set out for Bordeaux much depressed but determined to do their whole duty.

M. Favre has remained in Paris to attend to the special work of Minister of Foreign Affairs. M. F. Hérold took the place of M. Picard as Minister of the Interior *ad interim* in the early part of the month and to him much

praise is due for the quiet manner in which the elections were conducted in the departments. His circular letter addressed to all the prefects is very explicit and full of genuine republicanism. There are no unkind references in it to any political party. Only one prefect declined to execute the orders and his place was soon filled by the appointment of M. Handlé.

On the 14th inst. the Postmaster General announced that sealed letters would be allowed to pass through the lines. As a result I have resumed my correspondence which, for the present, however, must be very brief. I am not in a condition to engage in any continued mental effort; a pain in the head immediately follows which is only relieved by quietness and rest.

The *Patrie* gives an analysis of the bread we have been eating during the last six weeks, namely : One-eighth common wheat flour ; four-eighths, a mixture of potatoes, rice, beans, peas, rye and oats in variable quantities ; one-eighth of bran and two-eighths of water. A bread made of these cannot be unwholesome, but it has certainly been dry and black enough. Horse meat is still sold in the markets and thousand are yet living upon the charity of the city.

CHAPTER IV.

PARIS, MARCH 8TH, 1871.

Preparing to Leave Paris—M. Thiers at Bordeaux a Second Time—Napoleon III. Condemned—The Assembly Adopts the Articles of Agreement—The Entry of the Germans into Paris—The Movements of the Armies Reviewed—The Mortality in Paris—No more Horses Slaughtered—The Communards Dissatisfied.

SEVEN months ago I entered Paris, the proud capital of Imperial France. During this time what a strain has been upon the people! Not an hour of cheerfulness or rest! Before the siege, excitement, disaster and sorrow! During the siege, skirmishes, sorties, seditions, the bombardment and starvation! In the departments, great battles, capitulations, requisitions, the destruction of towns, armies and munitions of war. After the siege, the armistice, the elections, the forfeiture of the greater part of Alsace, part of Lorraine and five thousand million francs—more money in gold and silver coin than fifty men can count in a lifetime or fifty locomotives haul to Germany. In exchange France has the Republic, and who would not join with the people in their favorite exclamation—*Vive la République!*

I am now preparing to leave the beleaguered city; the last week has decided the matter. I am not sick, I am not starving, but I am dying of insomnia. The excitement continues; every day brings startling news or sensations, and I cannot sleep. I love Paris dearly, and I hope to

return to it in a few weeks after I have seen Germany. Three days ago I found a batch of newspapers and letters in the Grande Poste some of which had been on the way nearly six months. Welcome the letters and thrice welcome the bills of exchange which were in them. To-morrow, *Deo volente*, I will take the first train for Brussels. I have witnessed the triumphal entry of the Germans into Paris, and now I desire to witness their entry into Berlin.

The Parisians have been specially interested in several topics during the last month. Until the meeting of the convention at Bordeaux fears were entertained that trouble might arise out of the attitude of the deputation of the Government of National Defense. M. Gambetta was beginning to be recognized as a leader. His success in organizing armies in the departments caused even the Germans to fear that he would not respect the armistice, and would make use of means to continue the war. As it is now known there were groups of men in the principal cities of the south, especially in Bordeaux, Marseille, Lyon and Toulouse, who urged him to head a reactionary movement. His colleagues, however, did not believe he would forsake them. They were confident he would yield when a full and frank statement of the facts were presented to him. But it was necessary to take a firm stand and to place the whole responsibility upon him if he decided to oppose them. The Commune element at Bordeaux threatened M. Simon with assassination when his mission became known to them, and it was only by his firmness and prudence that the impending danger was averted. There was undoubtedly a strong feeling in the south of France against the Bonapartists who had brought such frightful disaster upon the country. And although M. Gambetta was himself controlled by this sentiment in excluding them from participation in the reorganization of the government, he turned a deaf ear to the solicitations of those who favored

civil war. He preferred to resign and allow the people to decide what course he should pursue. He was nominated as deputy to the convention and was elected by a very large vote.

When M. Thiers reached Bordeaux, on the 28 ult., at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, he was much exhausted. He had traveled all night in the cars, and yet he hastened into the Assembly waiting to receive him, mounted upon the platform and introduced the subject of his mission. In a few eloquent remarks he explained the situation of affairs in and around Paris, and urged the deputies to lose no time in lengthy discussions. The articles of agreement were read by M. Barthelemy, prefaced by the following: "The National Assembly, submitting to the consequences of acts of which it is not the author, approves the treaty of peace, the text of which is hereto affixed." We cannot give space to the ten preliminary articles of peace signed on the one hand by MM. Thiers and Favre, and on the other by Count Bismarck of the North German Confederation, Count Otto of Bavaria, Baron de Woechter of Wurtemberg, and M. Jolly of Baden. The main points are the indications of the boundary lines, the payment of five milliards of francs and the evacuation of French territory. The reading of the articles of agreement was listened to with painful emotions. Those who were opposed to the treaty called it a shameful agreement. But M. Thiers replied: "Not one of us is capable of presenting a shameful proposition; the shame must belong to those who brought the country into its present unfortunate condition." MM. Millière, Gambetta and others insisted that the subject should be referred to the committees until the next day, but M. Thiers, Admiral Saïssset and M. Cochery urged that a vote be taken immediately, using such arguments as these: "To-morrow 30,000 Germans will enter Paris and they will remain there until the treaty is ratified." The articles,

however, were referred and Victor Lefranc was named reporter.

The next day, while the Germans were entering Paris, M. Lefranc attempted to read the report of the committees, but was frequently interrupted. One of the deputies cried out: "It is a shame!" But M. Thiers said: "Let him who speaks of shame rise in his seat." A member of the left said: "The shame is to those who brought on the situation." Admiral Saisset added: "And to those who would not fight." The argument made by M. Lefranc was conclusive. There was nothing to be done but to adopt the articles of agreement. Several of the deputies resigned. In the midst of the excitement M. Bamberger, a deputy of Moselle, mounted the tribune. "This treaty," he said, "constitutes one of the greatest iniquities which the history of nations and the annals of diplomacy have to register. A single man—I declare it above board—a single man ought to sign it; that man is Napoleon III.—a name which will remain eternally pilloried in history."

At these words the applause was great and prolonged. M. Conti, who had been a private secretary of the late Emperor, could not remain quiet. He mounted the tribune and said: "There are some here who have taken an oath to the Empire." But a deputy on the left exclaimed: "The Emperor! Did he not take an oath to the Republic?" M. Conti attempted to conciliate his audience, but the interruptions were too frequent. One of the deputies who could not endure the language of the speaker called out: "Come down from the tribune, the executioners have no right to insult the victims." The audience was not in a mood to listen to an apology for the acts of the ex-Emperor. In the midst of the excitement M. Target prepared the following resolution which was signed by twenty-five deputies:

The National Assembly closes this incident, and in the painful circumstances through which the country is passing, in the face of protests and unexpected reservations, confirms the fall of Napoleon III. and his dynasty, already pronounced by universal suffrage, and declares him responsible for the ruin, the invasion and the dismemberment of France !

The resolution was discussed by MM. Conti and Gavini on the one side, and on the other by M. Thiers. The vote was taken and the proposition was adopted almost unanimously—only six opposing it.

The debate upon the articles of agreement continued for an hour or more when M. Thiers, by common consent, made the closing speech. There were 676 deputies present, 546 voted for adoption, 107 voted against adoption, 23 refused to vote. The treaty was agreed to by a majority of 327.

M. Favre, who remained in Paris, received a telegram from Bordeaux at 8 o'clock, announcing the vote upon the resolution of M. Target, and three hours afterwards another announcing the adoption of the treaty. Early the next morning, March 2nd, he hastened out to Versailles, but the Chancellor would not accept the telegraphic dispatch as evidence that the Assembly had endorsed the articles of agreement. A locomotive, however, was on the way with a messenger and the treaty properly endorsed. At 3 o'clock M. Favre was again in the presence of the Chancellor who expressed great surprise at the promptness of the Assembly. No exceptions of a parliamentary kind to the organization of the Assembly or to the method of discussion or voting were taken and the preliminary articles of the treaty were consequently agreed to. Orders were immediately issued for the evacuation of the forts on the south, and of the city at 8 o'clock in the morning.

The entry of the Germans into Paris on the 1st inst. may be regarded as the closing incident of the great war

and siege. It was a beautiful day and the arrangements were complete on both sides. The people residing in the 8th, 16th and 17th wards were required to close their shops and to preserve the utmost decorum. Orders were issued forbidding persons residing in other wards from entering these. Only a small proportion of the gendarmes was assigned to duty in these quarters and the *gardes mobiles* were required to remain on the south side of the Seine. The statues on Place de la Concorde and many of the houses in the city were heavily craped. In the early part of the day a review of the troops, which were to enter the city, took place on the race course called Long-Champs in the presence of the Emperor, the Crown Prince of Prussia and others of the royal family. General Kamecke was in command. The troops were chiefly taken from the 5th corps—cavalry, infantry and artillery. Every branch of the service was represented as well as every kingdom and principality in Germany.

As soon as I had obtained something substantial to eat I joined my Pennsylvania friends, determined to see as much as possible during the day. Our lodging places have been on the north side of the city and after consultation we concluded to take a westward course by the way of Parc de Monceau, in order to pass through the French lines at a point where there would likely be the least resistance offered. In this way we reached the Avenue of the Grand Army and Place de l'Etoile without difficulty. The Arc de Triomphe stands in the center of this *Place* and looks westward from this elevated point towards Neuilly and eastward towards Place de la Concorde and the Tuileries. These points on the Seine are connected by a magnificent highway, three miles long, which may be regarded as the grandest boulevard in the world, and on it the Germans were to make their triumphal entry.

Promiscuous groups of curious looking people—men

and women, boys and girls—were visible all around the circle of Place de l'Etoile, and along the avenues. They belonged, for the most part, to the lower classes of society—the *sans culottes* of this portion of the city. We had an opportunity to select a good position and we embraced it. We preferred the south side of the Avenue des Champs Elysées where we waited in full view of the Triumphal Arch, with a few others who could speak our language—Englishmen and Americans.

At an early hour of the morning a small group of hussars, it is said, entered Porte Maillot, walked their horses slowly up the Avenue of the Grand Army, around the Triumphal Arch and down the Avenue des Champs Elysées and then down the quay to Place du Trocadéro and from there to the place of entrance. Their object was to ascertain if any opposition would be made to the entry of the Germans and to report. This we were too late to witness. But we had not long to wait until a second group of hussars made their appearance, with carbines presented, and their forefingers on the triggers. They marched deliberately around the Triumphal Arch and down the avenue to Place de la Concorde, heads up, eyes on one side and then on the other as if suspicious of an ambushade. This was about twelve o'clock and soon after the avenue was full of cavalry, infantry and artillery. They did not pass under the Triumphal Arch but moved around the circle and down the avenue sixteen or twenty abreast. Thus the 30,000 passed along before us—Prussians, Saxons, Bavarians and representatives of the other political divisions of Germany. Each group had its own music, flags, eagles and uniform. It was a magnificent representation of the numerous branches of the great army around Paris—a panorama which will always be remembered by those who witnessed it. The hussars, the uhlans, the cuirassiers and the artillery especially attracted my attention. It was nearly four

o'clock when the last group reached the Triumphal Arch. Mr. Washburne and a few others, representatives of legations, occupied a veranda opposite us.

As soon as the last soldier had passed down the avenue we followed and found that they had already selected their quarters on each side of the Champs Elysées, on Place de la Concorde, Place du Trocadéro, Place d'Eylau and along the quay. One brigade occupied the Industrial Palace and another the Circus of the Champs Elysées. Subordinate officers were detailed to visit all the larger dwelling houses and demand at least sleeping apartments for their superiors. My companions could all speak the German language better than myself and they took the liberty of addressing the soldiers, though all seemed to have something to do, arranging their cannon, attending to their horses, stacking their arms, carrying water from the hydrants, building fires, and cooking their suppers. Fatigue and hunger required us to leave the occupied district, so we passed on through Place de la Concorde and out through the lines at the northeast corner where stands the beautiful statue of the city of Strasbourg heavily craped. The Rue de Rivoli, at this point, is well barricaded, but it was plain to the guards that we were merely sight-seers and they allowed us to pass.

We had left our places of lodging in the morning with some misgivings but hopeful that the day would pass without disturbance. The National Guards that could be relied upon were stationed all around the occupied district, and were required to relieve each other during the stay of the Germans. Those that could not be relied upon were required to remain in their quarters, but at an early hour several battalions from Montmartre, in violation of orders, advanced as far as the church of St. Augustin and there announced their intention to prevent the entry of the Germans. The firm attitude, however, of the guards on duty

deterred them from advancing and they were ordered back to their quarters. Fortunately no serious accident occurred during the day. All business was suspended, the Bourse remained closed and the principal boulevards were draped in mourning. No vehicles appeared in the streets, except those used in the burial of the dead. It was really a day of humiliation and sorrow. Except the *Journal Officiel* no newspapers were published. The cafés remained closed in the evening and the people retired early to rest. There was unusual quietness during the night.

Towards noon the next day my friends and I joined each other and spent several hours in the occupied district. After passing the French guards we found ourselves at full liberty to engage in conversation with the Germans. At this time representatives of the 30,000 visited the gardens of the Tuileries and the buildings. They entered from Place de la Concorde unarmed and passed under the principal arch of the palace as we had done on the 4th of September. The court at the rear is separated from Place du Carrousel by a heavy iron fence and they went no farther. General Vinoy informed General Kamecke that the paintings and statuary were removed from the halls and that the windows were blinded with bags of sand which was indeed true, nevertheless some insisted upon entering the halls. The Parisians watched these movements from the Rue de Rivoli and from the upper stories of the houses with solicitude, but there were no demonstrations on either side. The officers of the palace accompanied the Germans.

The visit to the Hotel des Invalides was a much more serious consideration. The day was delightful and many of the German officers desired to visit the tomb of the great leader of armies, Napoleon I., but the left bank of the Seine was crowded with spectators. To cross the river on an open bridge unarmed and then march over the Esplanade a full half mile through a crowd of French people,

did not appear to be a prudent thing, and the German commander, acting on the advice of General Vinoy, concluded to omit this part of the programme.

There were rumors in Paris that the National Assembly had ratified the preliminaries of peace and hopes were entertained that the Germans would leave the city in the afternoon, but night came and they were apparently only beginning to enjoy themselves. Everywhere the bands were playing their best pieces of music and many were evidently feeling the effects of French wine. Orders had been issued that all eating and drinking houses in the guarded district should be closed, but money and no doubt threats caused some to open their shops. At several points, especially in Passy and Auteuil, disorderly and shameful conduct was reported. The lower classes fraternized with the Germans. In those parts of the city distant from the occupied wards business was gradually resumed, and thus another day and night passed without any serious disturbance.

It was ten o'clock the next morning when I reached Place de la Concorde and to my surprise there was not a German to be seen. All had left the city or had passed beyond the Triumphal Arch. The scavengers were sweeping the streets, burning the straw and removing every thing offensive. Wishing to see what damage had been done I spent several hours in the recently occupied quarters. Many of the young trees in the Champs Elysées were injured by the cavalry horses eating off the tender bark. The doors and plate glass windows of two restaurants near Round Point were shattered into a thousand pieces, because the occupants refused to open them; and I also noticed that the great chains which hang in festoon style from the heavy iron posts around Place de l'Etoile were broken at two points. It was necessary to break them in order that at least a part of the artillery might

pass under the Triumphal Arch and likewise a part of the cavalry. Beyond this I saw no other damage done to the property of the city. Many private residences, including those of foreigners, were occupied and it is not improbable that injury was done to some of the apartments and that there was also pillaging as is reported.

How many representatives of the royal families of Germany accompanied the troops into Paris is, of course, not known. Some may have entered *incognito*, but there appears to be no good reason for such a supposition. No one claims that the Emperor ventured nearer than Long-Champs, but it is stated, with assurance, that the Crown Prince of Prussia, the Crown Prince of Saxony, Prince Frederick Charles and others entered on horseback the second day and rode down through the Champs Elysées to Place de la Concorde and around by the way of the Trocadéro. Count Bismarck is said to have ventured as far as the Triumphal Arch, when the people cried out, "Bismarck! Bismarck!" and he immediately returned to Versailles.

In this closing chapter of the great siege, the movements of the armies in the departments may be once more reviewed and their positions, at the time of the surrender of Paris, indicated. It is understood that much of what was done outside the great circle of iron which surrounded us was unknown to the Parisians, but now, as the campaign is at an end, and the Germans are preparing to return home, we can write with greater assurance.

What was regarded as the Army of the Rhine consisted of three corps, Marshal MacMahon being commander-in-chief. These were the 1st, 5th and 7th. General Faily commanded the 5th corps with his headquarters at Bitche, General Felix Douay the 7th, with his headquarters at Belfort and the Marshal the 1st, with his headquarters at Strasbourg. When these shattered and demoralized corps

reached Chalons by railroad and on foot, and the 12th and 13th corps, commanded respectively by Generals Lebrun and Vinoy, were added, they formed the Army of Chalons. In its stupid movement in the direction of Montmédy, with the vain hope of meeting Marshal Bazaine at this point, the 13th followed on the left as a reserve and thus escaped the disaster at Sedan. The 5th advanced on the right and was the first to come in conflict with the left wing of the Fourth German Army at Beaumont.

The defeat of the 1st corps of the Army of the Rhine at Wissembourg and Reichshoffen made it necessary for the 5th and 7th also to fall back and the Third German army followed in rapid pursuit. The Crown Prince of Prussia had under his command the 5th, 6th and 11th Prussian corps and the 1st and 2d Bavarian. Those in advance had not yet reached Chalons when the French moved northward, and several of them took a short cut from Bar-le-Duc. Soon after the battle of Gravelotte the Fourth German army was organized and the Crown Prince of Saxony was placed in command. On the 26th of August the three armies were moving on the three sides of a triangle. Up to this time the Emperor and MacMahon were apparently ignorant of the real situation of affairs; the Minister of War in Paris and the Empress certainly, did not know that a Fourth German army was in the field and that its left wing had crossed the Meuse. The French at this time might have escaped, but they also crossed the Meuse between Mouzon and Sedan and were caught between the river and the Belgian line. After the battle of Beaumont, on the 30th, came the battle of Sedan, on the last of August and the 1st of September, in which the four corps of the French were completely surrounded by the two German armies. The French were amazed and dumfounded by the rapid and orderly movements of their enemies among the hills and forest lands of northern

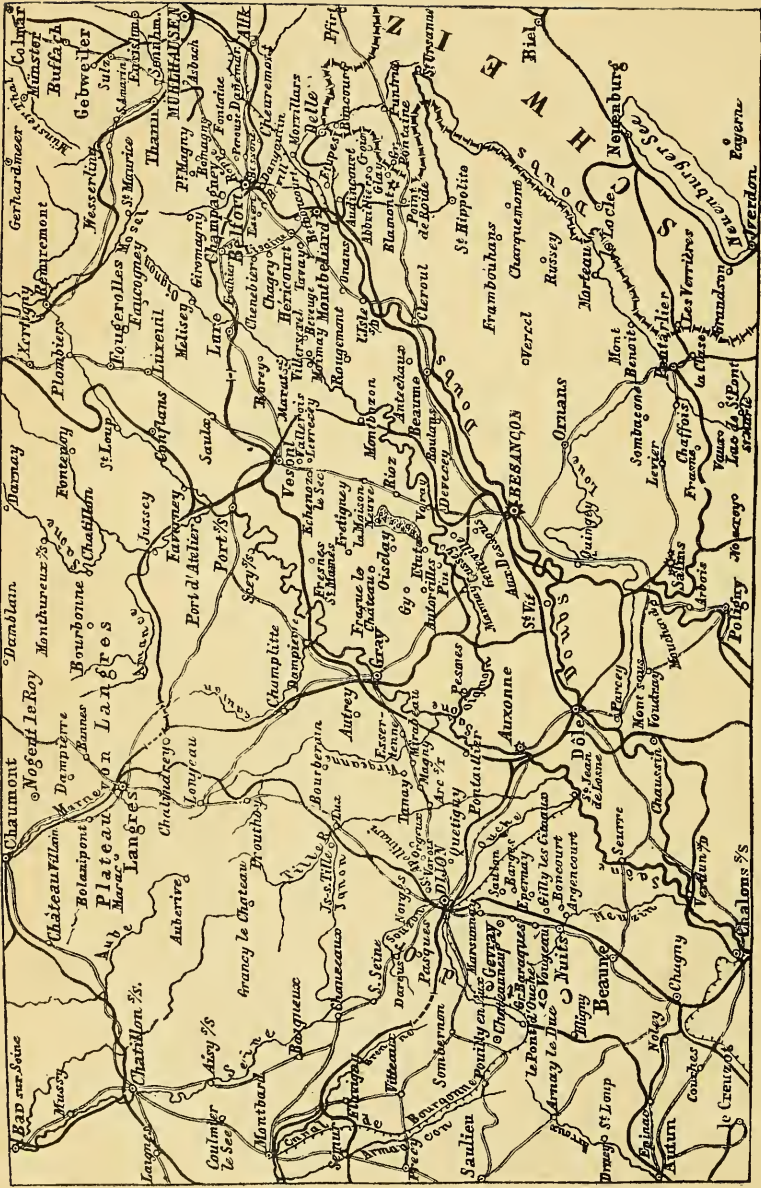
France. The Germans seemed to be familiar with every road and river crossing and were ready with their pontoons. At Beaumont they captured, it is said, 23 field-pieces, several wagon trains and 6,000 prisoners. From the 26th to the great battle at Sedan there was skirmishing every day. On the 31st obstinate fighting was commenced at Bazeilles in which, it is said, the inhabitants behaved very badly; the result was the entire destruction of the town. Every house was demolished and many non-combatants lost their lives. On the 1st of September the great battle was fought, the armies arranged themselves on the east side of Sedan in semicircles. The three corps of the Fourth German army and the two Bavarian corps were chiefly engaged on the German side, the French corps were all engaged, but the Germans had three other corps with which to complete the circle. The cannonading began at the break of day and soon after the fire of infantry. The fighting continued until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when the Emperor ordered the white flag to be raised above the citadel, and sent one of his aide-de-camp, Count Reille, with a letter to the King. The surrender was unconditional. MacMahon, when he left Chalons, could not have had under his command more than 150,000 men. The 13th corps was saved which left about 120,000. Of these, it is said, on German authority, that 83,000 were made prisoners, including 4,000 officers. This would allow 10,000 killed, 25,000 wounded and 2,000 fugitives. The Germans claim that they captured 150 siege guns, 400 field pieces, 70 mitrailleuses and 10,000 horses. We cannot suppose that the Germans had in their two armies less than 200,000 men or that their losses were less than 20,000 in killed and wounded. The 1st Bavarian corps was detailed to ship the prisoners, cannon and mitrailleuses to Germany, and the seven remaining corps advanced upon Paris. Generals Sheridan and Forsythe, of the United States army, were also present as eye-witnesses of the great battle as they had been at Gravelotte.

What was regarded as the Army of Metz consisted of five corps—the 2d, 3d, 4th, 6th and the Imperial Guards. Marshal Bazaine had command of the 3d corps at first, but the Emperor, before leaving Metz, made him commander-in-chief. The 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 12th German corps and the Royal Guards opposed them until they were surrounded and overcome.

Reversing the order of a former review let us notice very briefly what was done north and east of the Seine. The 14th German corps, after the surrender of Strasbourg, moved southward and became the nucleus of the Fifth German army. The 1st, 2d, 3d, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th appear to have been present during the siege of Metz or in the immediate neighborhood. Thionville, on the north, was bombarded; 35,000 shells are said to have fallen inside the walls or around the forts; it surrendered on the 24th of November; its armament consisted of 380 cannon, its garrison, 1,500 men. Pfalsbourg on the east surrendered, December 12th, with 12,000 stand of arms, 65 cannon, 52 officers and 1,800 men. Verdun on the west surrendered, November 3d, four days after the fall of Metz. As we have said Metz surrendered, October 28th, with 173,000 men. The 3d, 9th and 10th corps then moved southward into the interior and the 1st and 8th westward on diverging lines. Besides these fortified places on the northeast, others in the west and along the Belgian line were besieged, as Longwy, Montmédy, Mezières, Rocroy, LaFère and Ham. Most of them surrendered only when starvation compelled them. Longwy refused to capitulate until the 24th of January. About the middle of December General Bourbaki was replaced by General Faidherbe and the First German army, commanded by Baron Manteuffel, stood face to face with the French Army of the North. On the 27 of November the battle of Amiens was fought and on the following morning the citadel capitulated with a loss of 11

officers, 400 men and 30 cannon. On the 23d of December the battle of Querrieur occurred and four days afterwards Péronne was surrounded. At this time General Manteuffel was sent to take charge of the Fifth Army and General Goeben succeeded him. The battle of Bapaume took place on the 2d of January, and the French were again defeated. Small battles, raids and skirmishes occurred every day until the decisive battle of St. Quentin on the 19th. On this occasion the fighting continued from early morning until late at night. The French infantry fought bravely, but the inexperience of their artillery cost them another defeat. On the other hand the skill of the Germans, in the use of their field pieces, was never more clearly demonstrated. General Faidherbe, it is said, left behind him 9,000 men as prisoners, beside 3,000 wounded. The 19th Prussian regiment is likewise reported to have lost 350 killed and wounded. In the meantime the Germans advanced as far as Rouen, Dieppe and Douay. Faidherbe had, at no time, more than 60,000 raw recruits under his command whilst General von Goeben had at least an equal number of well-disciplined soldiers.

We have already referred to the three French armies in Paris and to the two German armies around the city. The latter retained their respective positions and were able to resist the attacks of the French without assistance. The 11th corps accompanied the Third Army as a reserve; in like manner the 13th was attached to the Fourth Army. The former took part in the battle of Buzenval and the latter advanced southward with the 1st Bavarian corps. After the occupation of Orleans the second time by the Germans, Prince Frederick moved his headquarters to Beaugency but soon returned to Orleans. The Second Army, as we have said, consisted of the 1st Bavarian and the 3d, 9th, 10th and 13th corps. The greater part of these faced the south and west. General Chanzy com-



MAP OF THE SOUTH EAST.

menced a new organization, consisting of the 16th, 17th and 21st. They occupied Blois, Vendôme, LeMans and Alençon. The battles of Troo and Sougé, which occurred on the 27th of December, forced the French to abandon Vendôme. These were the beginning of a series of battles and skirmishes which terminated in the capture of Le Mans on the 12th of January. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, who had command of the 13th corps, occupied the German right with his headquarters at Châtres. In this position he defended Versailles the objective point of the Army of the Loire. The extemporized forces under General Chanzy fought with great courage on numerous occasions, but were forced back by superior numbers. The deep snow which fell in the neighborhood of Orleans and Vendôme added much to the trials of the campaign and many soldiers on both sides lost their lives by sickness during the months of December and January. If the French in their three corps had 75,000 raw recruits, the Germans in their five corps had scarcely less than 150,000 well-disciplined soldiers.

We pass finally to the segment of the great semi-circle lying between the Rhine and the Loire. The 15th, 18th and 20th corps and afterwards the 24th became the French Army of the East and the command of it was given to General Bourbaki. His intention was to turn the left wing of the Germans and to break their communication with the Rhine. Baron Manteuffel was, however, sent with the 2d and 7th Prussian corps to join the forces of General von Werder, and to take command of all. These formed the Army of the South or Fifth German army. On the 10th of January the Baron reached Châtillon on the Saône and for a few days made it his headquarters. He had on his right the 2d corps, in the center the 7th corps and on the left the 14th corps. The several divisions of the 14th had already been engaged in heavy fighting and now it

must be renewed with equal energy and with superior forces. In the meantime the left engaged the French on the 15th, 16th and 17th of January at Montbeliard, Hericourt and around Belfort while the center was pressing on in the direction of Besançon and the right towards Dôle. There had been a hard fought battle on the 18th of December at Nuits, not far from Dôle, in which Prince William and General Rentz were wounded, but the Germans had fallen back upon Dijon. One month later, being reinforced by two corps, they forced the French to cross the Doubs. On the 22d of January the 2d German corps occupied Dôle and pressed on eastward towards Poligny. The 7th corps crossing the river above and below Besançon compelled the French to abandon this fortified place. In the meantime General Garibaldi made a successful raid upon Dijon and attacked the Germans under the command of General Kettler. In this unexpected movement the Germans, it is said, lost 100 in killed and wounded, and 500 were made prisoners. Garibaldi has been much praised for this bold attack in the rear, but he was soon forced to return to Autun. He is said to have captured the only eagle taken from the Germans in the campaign. In the meantime the 2d German corps was pursuing the retreating French and giving them no time to rally their forces. Bourbaki seeing the hopelessness of his situation attempted suicide by the use of his revolver and the report reached Paris that he was dead. General Clinchant took command. The French were now in full retreat all along the line through snow and mud and ice, until they reached Pontarlier. Here they made an effort to resist the Germans, but were defeated at Fresne and Chafois. The Swiss boundary line was before them and to save themselves from the humiliation of a surrender they crossed it; 80,000, it is said, stacked their arms in the deep snow and begged for protection and provisions. Their wagon trains and most of their supplies fell into the

hands of the Germans. In their rapid retreat many threw away their arms ; 15,000 were made prisoners, including two generals, 28 pieces of cannon were taken and large quantities of munitions of war. In fifteen days Manteuffel achieved one of the most brilliant victories of the campaign. On each side there were not less than 125,000 men engaged.

Belfort and the military operations around it deserve a much more extended notice than it is possible to give. The siege was commenced November 3d by General Tresckow. From village to village and from one line of entrenchments to another he advanced his forces until the Government of National Defense thought it not necessary to make any further sacrifice of life. The town contains 8,000 inhabitants, is protected by a citadel and five or six strong forts. At the time of the capitulation of Paris the situation of Belfort was not known to the Government of National Defense, and hence the three departments, Cote d'Or, Doubs and Jura, were not included in the armistice. Until the 5th of February the Germans had not taken a single fort, though the town was almost entirely destroyed. The people lived in the cellars and protected themselves as best they could. On the 12th Count Bismarck informed M. Picard, M. Favre being at Bordeaux, that the garrison of Belfort would be permitted to surrender with the honors of war. Accordingly Colonel Denfert, on the 15th of February, with music and the red, white and blue in front, marched out of the citadel and General Tresckow, the next day, occupied it. Thus ended the fierce conflict of 1870 and 1871 between France and Germany. According to the most reliable information, both French and German, 1,000,000 of men were brought into the field on each side, 156 battles were fought, 26 fortified places were taken, 375,000 Frenchmen were taken to Germany and not less than 60,000 on each side lost their lives—all this in six months and a half.

We can only add under this date a few brief items relating specially to Paris. The mortality of the city is still great. The number of deaths reported during the week ending March 4th was 3,500—bronchitis, 424; pneumonia, 328; typhoid fever, 260; diarrhœa, 190; small-pox, 147, and dysentery, 50. The greatest number reported any week was 4,671. During the last twenty-six weeks, beginning September 4th and ending March 4th, the mortality was 71,662. For the corresponding weeks of the last years it was 22,933.

An order appears in the newspapers forbidding the slaughter of horses after the 10th inst. Apparently there is now an abundance of provisions of all kinds in the city, but the poor who are out of employment are still dependent upon the soup kitchens for their daily allowance.

General Vinoy is evidently much concerned about the safety of the city. He discovers a growing disregard of authority. M. Thiers urges him and General d'Aurelle to avoid a collision with the *Communards*. It was certainly a mistake for the Germans to demand the surrender of the great citadel, Fort Valerien, the regular army and the mobilized guards, as it has placed the city in the hands of the worst elements of the faubourgs. The French government at this time is weak and the great fort is of no use to the Germans. They would not dare to open fire upon the city in case of an insurrection. The 200,000 Home Guards, armed or unarmed, are a dangerous element, and many of them are Communists or are in sympathy with them. The Government of National Defense constantly affirmed that the people should have entire freedom to choose their representatives to an Assembly, but the *Communards* were not willing to endorse this kind of republicanism. They were stupid enough to vote for Garibaldi and others who were not statesmen and could be of no use to them in parliament. Their representatives were, of

course, allowed to speak at Bordeaux, but they could gain no place of honor or of influence, and they now feel disappointed. They expected the Assembly to proclaim the Republic; they do not believe in M. Thiers as Chief Executive; they say he has never been a Republican and will betray them as they had been betrayed in former years.

Last Sunday I witnessed what was regarded as an act of insubordination—a company of soldiers hauling by hand a half dozen new cannon through Rue St. Honoré; they were taking them to the top of Montmartre.

Four days ago, while making an excursion in the afternoon, on the northeast side of the city, I saw a large but very poor dog running on the streets of La Villette. He had escaped the butcher's knife because he appeared to be only bones and hair. The boys seeing him exclaimed, *Le chien! Le chien!* I had not myself seen a living dog or cat in two months. Passing from one bastion to another along the walls, and seeing no sentinels on duty, I mounted to the top of them and walked along for a considerable distance. The siege guns had all been removed except a 12-pounder lying upon the grass. The gun-carriages had also all disappeared. To further satisfy myself I returned by the way of the Zoölogical Gardens and went straight for the houses of the elephants and giraffes; they were empty. These monsters of creation had really been sacrificed upon the altar of the Republic.

On the 6th inst. Count Bismarck set out for Berlin to arrange for the reception of the Emperor and General Fabrice has taken his place.

The weather has become delightful; the trees are covered with rich foliage and the birds are singing in the branches.

CHAPTER V.

BERLIN, MAY 16TH, 1871.

Excursion to Belgium and Prussia—Triumphal Entry of the Emperor into Berlin—The Illuminations—Places of Interest Noted—The Insurrection in Paris by the Commune—Its Causes given in Brief—The Assassination of Generals Thomas and Lecomte.

THE railroad, on the 9th of March, carried me northward from Paris up the beautiful valley of the Oise in full view of the village and castle of Ham. In this strong fort the ex-Emperor of the French spent six years of his eventful life, meditating upon the possibilities of the future. Farther on the train was delayed on account of the damage done to the bridges, and at one point I was obliged to balance myself on trestle work with my hand trunks, as we crossed the river. At Peronne I added another sleepless night to the many I had spent in Paris and the next day I set out for Douay, a walled town called by Caesar Duacum. Here I found a comfortable hotel and an excellent *table d'hôte* dinner. Twenty or more covers were laid for as many guests. Politics and the disasters of the war were the topics of conversation. Wine was freely used and much feeling was expressed. One of the guests, dilating upon the cruel sufferings of the Parisians, proposed to drink the health of the American who had eaten horse meat four months in the great siege. I dare say my haggard appearance made me an object of commiseration. I retired early and slept ten hours without

waking, which enabled me to take a more cheerful view of life. The next day I hastened on to Brussels and began to recuperate immediately. The Belgian capital is Paris in miniature. The chief objects of interest are the art galleries and the Houses of Parliament. The old palace contains many valuable paintings, but the works of Peter Paul Rubens and Van Dyke claim the first place, and are quite numerous. The Belgians do well to appreciate home talent when they can claim such masters in art. The Houses of Parliament are open to all, ladies and gentlemen. King Leopold and the representatives of the people, though they speak the French language, know much better how to govern themselves and their country than their ambitious neighbors, the French.

Who would not see the quaint old city of Antwerp when he is only one hour distant on the railroad, and see the masterpieces of Rubens in the great cathedral, the elevation of Christ upon the Cross and the Decensus? The latter is indeed a marvelous piece of art, never to be excelled. And who would not ascend the tower to see the mammoth chime of bells two hundred feet above the pavement and then look out upon the shipping in the bay and the picturesque town? Antwerp still presents evidences of former greatness.

The battlefield of Waterloo is a mile or so from the railroad southeast of Brussels, and my *valet de place*, who resides on the grounds, took great pleasure in pointing out the positions of the contending forces. A well macadamized road passed through the center of both armies as they stood on the right and left of it. The English, under Wellington, had the advantage of position, and they could wait upon Blucher. The French, under the great Napoleon, could not delay, and they were obliged to advance upon lower ground, and were defeated. From the top of the great mound upon which stands the British lion twelve

feet long in bronze, one has a magnificent view of the plain. I, however, took time to walk from one end of it to the other, a full mile and a half; and although fifty-five years have passed around since the great struggle I picked up on the way two round lead bullets, which have been turned over and over again by the plow of the Belgian farmer.

By the way of Nemur, Liége and Aix-la-Chapelle I reached Cologne, an old city called by the Romans Colonia. It is built close to the edge of the Rhine. So much is said of this river in history and song and of the city itself, that I confess I was disappointed in both. The former was apparently full of mud and the latter of filth. Colridge has celebrated them in the following lines:

“Ye Nymphs, who reign o’er sewers and sinks,
The river Rhine, it is well known,
Doth wash your city of Cologne;
But tell me, Nymphs, what power divine
Shall henceforth wash the river Rhine?”

The great cathedral which is not yet completed, and the church of St. Ursula, in which the bones of 11,000 virgins are kept on exhibition, are the only objects which need detain the tourist. The foundations of the cathedral were laid in 1248.

The distance from this point on the Rhine to Berlin, and the slowness of the train, prevented me from witnessing the most interesting part of the triumphal entry. The Emperor William I., the Crown Prince of Prussia, Prince Frederick Charles and Baron von Moltke were the lions of the occasion. Four *salonwagen* had been provided for them and their staff officers in France. The regiments that were to take part in the demonstrations were carefully selected and sent forward. Those which had suffered most in the great battles were honored.

Early in the morning of the 7th of March the Emperor set out from Versailles to attend a final review of the troops at Villiers on the east of Paris; in the evening, at 8 o'clock, he reached Ferrières where General Fabrice and M. Favre were to have a conference. At this meeting twenty additional articles were agreed upon, relating chiefly to the evacuation of French territory, to the payment of the five milliards and to the rations for the armies of occupation. M. Favre agreed to rations for 500,000 soldiers until the payment of the first half milliard; the rations are then to be reduced as every half milliard is paid until the first two milliards, when the army of occupation is to be reduced to 50,000 men. On the 13th the Emperor left the chateau of Baron Rothchild and advanced quietly through France by the way of Meaux, Chalons, Bar-le-Duc, Nancy, Metz and Forbach. The roads on each side were well guarded by German cavalry and no accident occurred. At Sarrebrück the demonstrations began and on the evening of the 16th the Imperial train reached Weimer by the way of Mainz and Frankfort. Here the Emperor, the Crown Prince of Prussia, Prince Charles and Prince Adalbert were welcomed by the Grand Duchess, amid the firing of cannon, the ringing of church bells and the cheers of the multitude. It was arranged to advance by the way of Magdeburg and Potsdam and to enter Berlin at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 17th, but the demonstrations at the several stopping places were so imposing that the train was delayed, though drawn by two locomotives. Decorations, especially at Potsdam, were immense, as I had an opportunity to observe, following, as I did immediately in the rear.

The railroad station in Berlin was also gorgeously decorated with bunting of all colors recognized in the German states, banners, flags and streamers, and shields with the words Paris, Metz, Sedan and Strasbourg embossed upon

them. The streets through which the procession passed were covered with arches of evergreens, music stands, stands for the *Ehrenjungfrauen*, and the multitudes on either side. It was nearly 5 o'clock when the Imperial train reached the station and the firing of salutes, the ringing of bells and the cheering of the multitudes began. The Empress-Queen Augusta, the Crown Princess Victoria, the Grand Duchess of Baden and the other princesses of the household, were the first to embrace the Emperor as he stepped upon the platform. Then followed congratulations by the Grand Duke of Baden, the Crown Prince and the other princes, Charles, Alexander and George, the Chancellor, the Minister of State, the Minister of War, the Governor of the city, and many others representing the Prussian and municipal governments as well as officers of the army.

The Chief of Police on horseback led the column. The Emperor and Empress followed in a plain open carriage drawn by two black horses ; next came the Crown Prince and Prince Charles and their wives in a four-horse equipage ; then followed the remaining members of the royal family in five coaches, each drawn by a span of horses ; afterwards General Von Moltke and his staff, and finally the white-haired field marshal Count von Wrangel on horseback. Leaving the Potsdamer Platz, the procession passed along Link Strasse, Koeniggratzer Strasse and through the Brandenburger Thor ; then upon the north side of the Unter den Linden, a full mile to the Palace. Congratulations followed and a long procession of citizens with bands of music. The lamps were soon ablaze, and every window in the city was illuminated. Millions of gas jets represented favorite mottoes in German characters beside the names of captured cities as Strasbourg, Metz, Orleans and Paris, and the words Gravelotte and Sedan. Several times the Emperor and Empress appeared upon

the veranda amid deafening cheers of the multitude. The illuminations continued to a late hour when the people retired to rest, hoarse with shouting, but well pleased that their much loved King had returned, hale and victorious. Five days later, March 22d, the Emperor completed another year of his eventful life. It was his 74th birthday occasion—a day of congratulations and rejoicing. Representatives of all the German states came to honor him. Kings, princes, dukes and grand dukes, high state officials and officers of the army, and many others less known were admitted into his presence. At 10 o'clock the equipages began to arrive at the palace and they continued to come until late in the afternoon. In the evening the illuminations were repeated, and, if possible, on a grander scale. The net work of gas tubing on the fronts of the public buildings will be retained for a grand military display when a larger body of soldiers shall be welcomed back from duty in France.

The hand of nature has done very little for Berlin. Art alone has made the city what it is. It is built upon a sandy plain which has scarcely sufficient fall for the purposes of drainage. A sluggish stream called the Spree flows through the side of it, upon the surface of which wood and coal are floated in barges. As a result typhoid fever and other zymotic diseases prevail in Berlin a portion of every year. The principal streets and avenues run at right angles to each other which give to the city, as compared with Paris and Brussels a stiff and monotonous appearance. The *Unter den Linden* upon which the royal palace, the university, the museum and other public buildings front, relieves the monotony very much. It is probably the broadest boulevard or avenue to be seen anywhere; unlike those in Paris, the center of it is used as a garden or park. Nevertheless the city contains many attractions. The public buildings are generally made of

brick. The Royal Palace is a large, plain and solid structure. The university buildings are likewise very plain and substantial. The museum is distinguished for its valuable collections, especially antiquities. In front of these are two pieces of art worthy of special notice—the equestrian statue of Frederick the Great, and the largest basin in the world. It is thirty feet in diameter cut out of red granite rock and beautifully polished. The public libraries are among the best in Europe ; the theatres and opera houses are much admired ; the churches are plain.

Two months in Berlin, the center of the greatest military and political power in Europe, have made impressions which are likely to remain. The Prussians, so much talked about in France, are indeed a remarkable people. I have now had an opportunity to see them in their own country, and under a variety of circumstances—in promiscuous crowds in the street where they are least of all under restraint—in parliament where the educated of the nation are assembled—in their churches, theatres, institutions of learning, work-shops, markets, restaurants, reading rooms, beer gardens, hospitals, and in their homes. Compared with other branches of the Aryan family they are a quiet, patient and unobtrusive people. In the uncultivated masses who remain at home these qualities often appear in excess which suggest a degree of stolidity or indifference not recognized in other nations. Apparently they do not care to become acquainted with strangers, and yet they are easily approached. In the uneducated French opposite mental characteristics are equally prominent. Their loquacious character and excitable temper are recognized by every observer. Education no doubt modifies these opposite traits, but they are often prominent even in the well-trained classes. The enthusiasm of the German is latent, and can only be aroused by some extraordinary occurrence ; in the Frenchman, it is on the surface, ready

to manifest itself at any moment. How these opposite temperaments originated need not concern us. It is sufficient to state that they are the basis of the sarcasm which each very frequently employs against the other and they may possibly be the ground work of the antipathy which has so long existed. Notwithstanding these opposite inherent characteristics the two nations have many traits in common which have given them prominence in the world; they are equally industrious, brave and patriotic. If at any time they have appeared aggressive and cruel in war, they are still foremost in science and art.

The Imperial Parliament or Reichstag was opened on the 21st of March by the Emperor himself. Dr. Simpson, whose name indicates an English ancestry, was chosen or appointed President. He is a tall portly man of rare parliamentary ability. On this occasion Count Bismarck was honored with the title of Prince. The hall is rectangular and plain with galleries at each end, the whole being lighted from the roof. Opposite the President's stand is a series of lobbies which the Prince occupies and a balustrade upon which he stands when he addresses the chamber. At no time does he appear more like a prince among men than on these occasions which are now quite frequent. His speeches are generally brief and pertinent, and as a result are listened to with profound respect. About 400 seats are provided for the representatives of the numerous German states.

Another place of interest to me has been the Zeughaus. It contains at present the trophies of the late war, including 500 pieces of brass cannon, which can be of no use to the Germans except in the construction of monuments in honor of their heroes. I counted also 76 mitrailleuses which are of still less value. General von Moltke's system of warfare does not embrace such cumbersome pieces of machinery. What will be done with the thousands of

siege guns and light artillery captured in France no one can tell, but for the present they are distributed among the numerous arsenals and armories of the Empire.

In this connection the armory on the Unter den Linden may be noticed. It is a beautiful building and contains many curious implements of war which were used in the early centuries of German history, such as slings, bows, arrows, spears, shields, swords, spurs, caseques, saddles and coats of mail of many kinds; also many curious specimens of fire arms invented since the discovery of gunpowder as well as thousands of muskets of more recent manufacture.

Those who are interested in the fine arts have here many opportunities for improvement, especially in music. No people have a greater love for this delightful accomplishment than the Prussians, and it is stated on good authority that the opera of Berlin has no equal anywhere.

But the branches of study in which I am most interested are more closely connected with the great university. This world renowned institution employs, as professors, a large number of the most scholarly men in Germany. About two thousand students are constantly in attendance upon the lectures in theology, law, philosophy, medicine and collateral branches. The department of medicine opens up a large field for original investigation and many come here from all parts of the world to engage in laboratory and hospital work.

Berlin has also its sources of demoralization which the tourist can easily afford to escape. The Orphum is a ball room in which the lower classes dance and the upper classes are spectators? The *Weisbier* saloon is generally an under ground place in which the demoralization progresses very rapidly. The *Biergarten* is a place where apparently every one goes on Sunday afternoon and on Monday morning has a swelled head. In the winter season the beer is served in large halls ornamented with evergreens. Several

thousand guests are often seated at once. The garden or hall is considered a success when the music is applauded and the beer is praised.

But there is an institution in Berlin which I can heartily commend to all resident-tourists who wish to receive the full benefit of their visit without violating the law of their conscience. It is open at all hours of the day and until 10 o'clock at night. I refer to the *Conditorei* of which there are several fronting on the Unter den Linden. It is usually a well lighted hall in which one can obtain a cup of coffee, fruits and cakes and the use of the daily newspapers on file for a few pennies. The telegrams come every day from the chief cities of Europe, as well as longer articles in the weekly and monthly magazines, all of which the tourist has an opportunity to read while he enjoys the rest of an hour.

The tourist will not think of leaving the city without seeing the Thiergarten and Charlottenburg, but he may be tempted to omit an excursion to Potsdam which he cannot afford to do. Here, within a circle of a few miles, are to be seen five of the royal palaces of Prussia—the New Palace, the Royal Palace, Sans Souci, the Marble Palace and Babelsburg, the Sarcophagus of Frederick the Great and the old wind-mill.

The Emperor and his family are at this moment very popular; they are all immediately recognized by the people. They have no need for armed grenadiers on each side of their coaches as they take their afternoon drives. Yesterday the Emperor, recognized by every one, drove close by me in an open carriage; his footman and driver alone accompanied him. They all attend church regularly Sunday forenoon where they are seen by the crowds and the theatre in the evening.

THE COMMUNE INSURRECTION.

I am now preparing to return to Paris. The Commune Insurrection has detained me a full month. Who could have predicted what we now read in the newspapers? The latest rumors are indeed frightful. Before I left the city fears were entertained by the members of the Government, though not publicly expressed, that the *Communards* might give the municipal authorities trouble, but no one supposed that they would be able to drag 200,000 loyal National Guards into rebellion with themselves. Louis Bonaparte made an apology for his *Coup d'Etat* when, as President of the Second Republic, he declared he could not govern the people, but the *Communards* are not willing that the people should have an opportunity to govern themselves. They are not willing that 650 representatives, honestly elected, should decide what is best for France.

In the remaining part of this chapter, I propose to give, in brief, the main facts which preceded and led up to the assassination of Generals Thomas and Lecomte. M. Favre and General Valdan, when they went out to Versailles to confer with Count Bismarck and General von Moltke, had to face two subjects very important to Paris. These were the disarming of the National Guards and the entry of the Germans. Both were insisted upon; but M. Favre said we cannot agree to either; if we do we will have an insurrection before a week passes. We will have no elections and no Assembly. You will have what is left of Paris and the war will go on. The Count and General von Moltke still insisted upon disarming the Guards, but M. Favre replied it will be impossible for us to do it; you come and disarm them. This is indeed what the Guards had been wishing for during the entire siege. On the 27th of January M. Favre gave notice that an armistice was not yet signed, but it would be in a few hours—that the National Guards would retain their arms, and that the Germans would not enter Paris. At the last moment, however, Count Bismarck compelled him to agree to Art. 4: “The German army will not enter Paris during the continuance of the armistice.” The last clause created considerable discussion; and many of the Guards said the Germans shall never enter Paris. The elections were held. The Assembly convened and the deputies elected M. Thiers, Chief Executive of the Republic; but they did not encourage demonstrations in favor of Garibaldi, Victor Hugo or Rochefort. These



A CLUB MEETING

things displeased the *Communards* and they replied, M. Thiers will betray us ; he has never been a republican.

In the discussion of the articles of agreement by Count Bismarck and the Commission, M. Favre, reinforced by M. Thiers, hoped to be able to induce the Germans to abandon their determination to enter Paris, but in this he failed. He entreated the Count not to irritate or provoke the Guards, but the latter replied that he could not obtain the consent of General von Moltke and fixed the hour for the expiration of the armistice. In the meantime the anniversary of the revolution of 1848 came, February 24th, and the demonstrations continued four days. On this occasion a large number of battalions obtained permission to visit Place de la Bastille without arms. The beautiful column of July was accordingly decorated, but there was scarcely anything in the display which was not in harmony with republican sentiment. Brief speeches were made before some of the battalions by orators selected for the purpose, and after filing in front of the column and around it, the battalions returned to their quarters and others went through the same evolutions. On the 26th an unfortunate occurrence took place. While a large number of battalions were marching in front of the column an individual was observed in the crowd of perhaps 20,000 persons with pencil in hand taking the numbers of battalions, and immediately he was seized. The crowd searched him and besides finding a revolver in his pocket learned that he belonged to the police. Efforts were made to take him to the prefecture but the crowd pushed him towards the river, crying *A l'eau ! à l'eau !* bound him hand and foot, and pitched him into the Seine. In the meantime some of the battalions which had control of batteries of light artillery, manufactured during the siege, took about 200 pieces to the top of Montmartre and declared the Germans should never have them. Four mitrailleuses belonging to the 215th battalion were taken on the night of the 28th to St. Pierre on the same heights. Barricades were also constructed at numerous points, but no one could tell by whose authority or for what purpose. The entry of the Germans took place as described without serious disturbance. Two things contributed chiefly to the prevention of a scene of carnage on this occasion. The first was the action of the Central Committee of the National Guards themselves. On the 28th they agreed not to make any resistance. General Vinoy and General Thomas would have failed without the timely action of this committee, so general was the dissatisfaction. The second was the prudence of General Kemecke in not attempting to visit the

Hôtel des Invalides. Had an effort been made to carry out the programme of General von Moltke, the visit would certainly have given rise to a collision. The fact that no blood was shed on this occasion does not prove that the people were not greatly irritated ; indeed many of the Guards were exasperated and made threats. General Thomas and his chief of staff, Colonel Montagu, were obliged to resign. General Vinoy also became as unpopular as his predecessor, General Trochu. General d'Aurelle was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Guards, and on the 5th of March reached Paris. He was ignorant of the city ; had never been a republican, and soon became unpopular. His appointment was a mistake. Only twenty battalions came to congratulate him.

This was a transition period for Paris and the need of a strong government was felt by every one ; the Assembly did not appear to appreciate the situation. Had the deputies adjourned immediately after the ratification of the treaty to meet in Paris, the capital of the country, no one would have thought of a rebellion. But they began to discuss the question of the *Decapitalisation de Paris* as the *Communards* called it, and this was interpreted as a certain indication of a fusion with the Bourbons. The Government of National Defense had no longer an existence, and the Government of the Assembly was divided. The Chief Executive was in Bordeaux with the Assembly, and the ministers were in Paris. M. Favre urged the President to return as soon as possible and to bring the Assembly with him, but a large number of the Bourbons and Imperialists, preferred to meet somewhere distant from Paris. The President made a strong speech of two hours length in favor of Versailles as a compromise. His effort is considered a masterpiece of oratory and persuasiveness and it had the desired effect. Once more he carried the Assembly with him. The Germans agreed to evacuate the town, and the theatre of the chateau was fitted up for the Assembly on the 20th. On the 14th the President met M. Favre at Versailles, where he hastened after the adjournment to confer with his colleagues in office and generals in command.

In the meantime the situation of affairs in Paris was becoming more and more serious every day, though the worst phases of it were not presented to the people. The occupation of a part of Paris by the Germans and the preparation for it produced a widespread dissatisfaction, a suspicion, a want of confidence in the Government and military leaders which the bombardment had failed to produce. Generals Vinoy and Thomas were required to enforce the orders of General Von Moltke and Count Bismarck. They

succeeded in preventing a collision, with the aid of the Central Committee, but a general demoralization followed, and they lost control of the guards. The Central Committee took their place. General Thomas was obliged to resign though he had been a Republican all his life and a proscrip under the Empire. General d'Aurelle was sent to restore confidence but he failed in his mission. The lines which had thus far separated the loyal battalions from the battalions of the clubs, disappeared. With the exception of about twenty battalions they all fraternized. During the siege about sixty battalions were supposed to be more or less in sympathy with Communism. They made loud professions of loyalty but they could not be relied upon to execute any order of the government. They took possession of the cannon under the pretext of saving them from the Germans, and finally took possession of the city.

After the elections in February the guards had time to discuss other subjects, and among these were the questions of receiving their semi-monthly pay and of disbanding. Naturally enough those who had other occupations desired to lay down their arms, and those who had no regular employment preferred to retain them and to receive their franc and a half a day. According to the articles of agreement the guards were to retain their organization and their arms, but this was of course only to continue a short time. They were to be disbanded as soon as possible. Some, however, said they would not lay down their arms, and gave as a reason that the Republic was in danger. As there was nothing definite on these subjects given out many battalions became restless and appointed committees to make inquiry. In this way numerous committees came into existence and secret meetings were held. The bolder and more reckless men of the battalions had opportunities to confer. A meeting of the provisional committees, so called, was held on the 15th of February in Waux Hall, which gave the chief agitators an opportunity to make speeches and to become acquainted with each other. On the 24th another meeting was held at the same place at which the *Comité Central*, or Central Committee, seems to have taken shape though the names of the members were not given to the public. At this meeting it was agreed to oppose with arms the entry of the Germans, though it is said a large minority voted against the resolution. Another resolution was passed with scarcely a dissenting voice, to resist every attempt to disarm the guards. Finally it was agreed to make a quiet demonstration at the column of July in commemoration of the Republic of 1848. The next few days many other committees came to join the Central Committee

and among these was the *Comité Fédéral*; and on the 28th it was agreed not to oppose the entry of the Germans. This movement was due to the united efforts of a few influential men among them who placarded a protest against a collision, the forts north of the Seine being in possession of the enemy. Nevertheless the Poste des Gobelins was broken open and a large quantity of cartridges were taken. Ernest Picard, Minister of the Interior, issued a proclamation the next day calling attention to the inevitable consequences of such violations of law; that the Germans had retired and were preparing to evacuate the forts, and that there was no longer any excuse for acts of insubordination. The *Communards* however continued their agitation and meetings at night. On the 3d of March a definite union of all the committees was agreed upon, under the name of the *Fédération Républicaine* of the National Guards. They claimed to have in this union 220 battalions or 220,000 men. The tenth article of their declaration of principles placed it under the direction of the guards themselves. Another point which they made prominent is the right to elect their own officers including the commander-in-chief. All this of course implied revolution and a disregard of the authority of the National Assembly. On the 5th General d'Aurelle issued a very carefully worded general order recognizing the authority of the Assembly, but it had no republicanism in it as the *Communards* claimed, and therefore it displeased them, though the General informed their leaders that he favored the Republic. The next evening a meeting was held under the presidency of M. Jules Favre, at which MM. Picard, Pouyer-Quertier, Generals Vinoy and d'Aurelle and M. Chopin, Prefect of Police *ad interim*, were present. The situation of affairs was fully discussed, and it was made apparent that the *Communards* had a word of order and a word of rallying of their own. On the same day General d'Aurelle and the mayors of the wards held a meeting at the Ministry of the Interior at which the General proposed that a place should be selected for all the cannon in the city and that the battalions in turn should guard them. This plan was adopted by the mayors but the *Communards* were not willing to agree to it. On the 10th it was known definitely that the Assembly would not hold its meetings in Paris, and this again was made the pretext for holding the cannon on Montmartre and Chaumont. In the meantime three military courts convened for the purpose of trying those who had taken part in the attempt at insurrection on the night of the 31st of October at the Hôtel de Ville. Pillot, Vermorel, Vésinier, and Le-français had been acquitted, but there were thirteen others to be

tried. Of these Blanqui, Flourens, Levrault and Cyrille were condemned to death. Goupil was sentenced to two year's imprisonment and Jules Vallès to six months. Ravnier, Joly, Eudes, Senart, Jaclard, Régère and Bäuer were acquitted. At the same time General Vinoy suppressed six communistic journals. Finally General Valentin was appointed Prefect of Police, which was doubtless a mistake. He had been a colonel of the gendarmes of Paris under the Empire, and although an excellent officer he was not the proper person at this time. Paris had become republican, and had sent too many radical deputies to Bordeaux. Seventeen of these, Peyrat, Elmond Adam, Edgar Quinet, Schoelcher, Longlois, Henri Brisson, Greppo, Tolain, Gambon, Loekroy, Jean Brunet, Floquet, Tirard, Clemenceau, Martin, Bernard, Farcy and Louis Blanc addressed a complimentary communication on their return to their constituents, in which they stated that they had opposed the removal of the seat of government from Paris. They did not, however, state in plain terms, as they might have done, that they disapproved of thirty or forty battalions seizing the cannon and mitrailleuses of the city and holding them in violation of orders. Under the direction of General d'Aurelle an attempt was made, on the evening of the 16th, to take, by surprise, the cannon, about sixty pieces, on Place des Vosges not far from the Bastille, but this failed. The *Communards* in charge of them replied that they could only be obtained by force. The detachment had no order to fire upon the insurgents and therefore returned to their quarters. The next day the Central Committee ordered the cannon to be removed to Chaumont where they were put in position.

At this time the members of the Government and generals in command of the guards were beginning to feel that they had indulged the *Communards* as long as it was proper. Accordingly on the 17th M. Thiers, as Chief Executive of the Republic, and the ministers associated with him, addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Paris in which the insurgents of the 31st of October are represented as having possession of the cannon of the municipality and now threaten the peace and quietness of the city. All citizens having good intentions are urged to separate themselves from those having bad intentions; notice is given that all persons disobeying the orders of those placed in command by the National Assembly will be punished without delay. General d'Aurelle followed the same day with an order in which he states that the object of the Government is to establish the Republic, to repress disturbances and to place the cannon which have been taken to

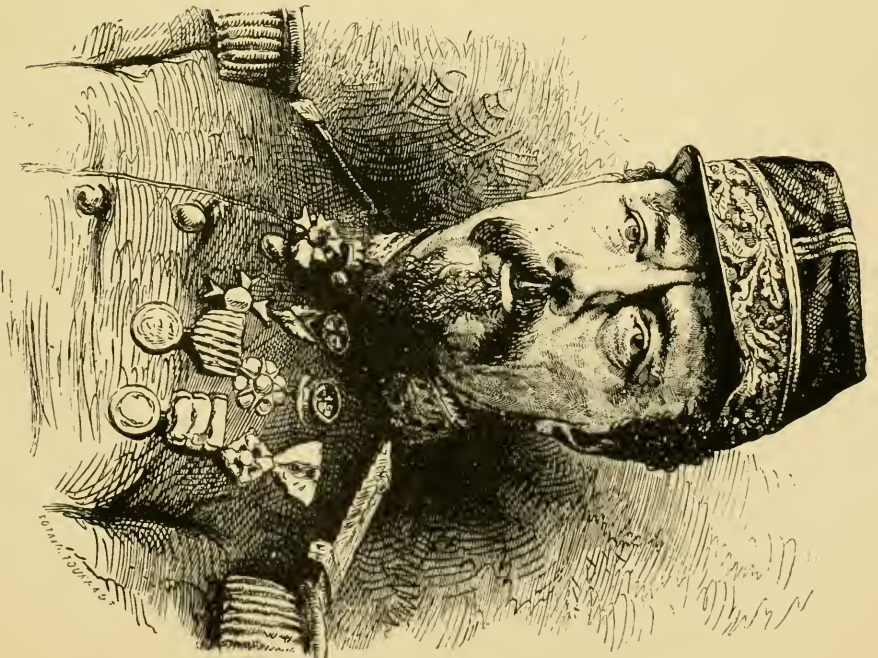
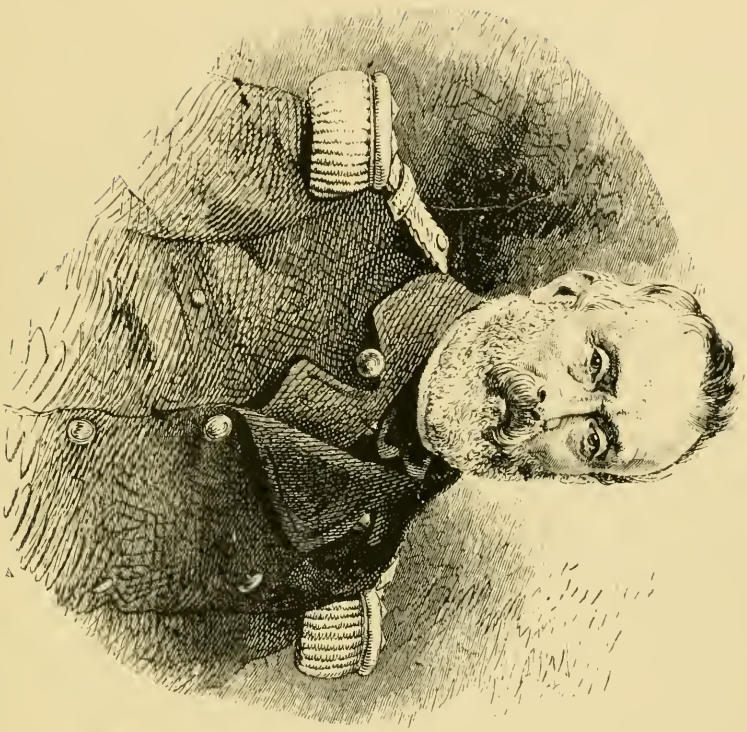
Montmartre, Clauumont and Belleville, in the arsenals where they belong. It was considered best to move quietly, and at 4 o'clock in the morning of the 18th about 3,000 picked men, whose loyalty was not suspected—troops of the line, national guards and gendarmes—surrounded Montmartre. Generals Vinoy, Lecomte, Susbielle and others were in command. Only a small number knew what was to be attempted. The troops of the Government were expected to take the insurgents by surprise. General Lecomte first came upon the pickets on Rue Müller and at 6 o'clock one of his men was severely wounded. Soon after the gendarmes fired upon a platoon of insurgents on Rue des Rosiers and took them prisoners; about a dozen of cannon were also taken. The alarm thus given, the *Communards* prepared for a resistance. About sixty of the loyal guards now at the foot of Rue Müller ascended the hill. Three guards advanced, one with a handkerchief attached to the bayonet as *parlementaire*, the other two followed. As the group advanced the sentinels fell back and announced the arrival of the guards who at this time were on the right of the tower of Solferino. Promiscuous crowds filled the sides of the street. The *parlementaire* spoke to the insurgents, but they refused to surrender the cannon. General Lecomte now advanced and ordered his troops to fire; they raised their guns, waited for the word which was given, but no one fired. The General repeated the order a second and third time, but the guards, without saying a word, stood quiet. General Lecomte and his staff were soon seized and taken, amid the insults of the crowd, to Château-Rouge at the foot of the hill, where the General was guarded in a room by himself. On other streets leading to the top of Montmartre similar incidents occurred during the forepart of the day. At Place Pigalle and on Rue Houdon the women and children assembled and prevented the loyal troops from advancing. General Susbielle ordered the cavalry to draw their sabers; they did so, but refused to advance, which produced a general hilarity in the mixed crowd. In the Passage Piemontesi a collision took place in which several were hurt. General Vinoy occupied a position on the Boulevard Clichy. At Place Blanche and on Rue Lepic similar scenes were witnessed, the Government forces fraternizing with the people and the insurgents. The cannon at Parc des Rosiers were with difficulty drawn through the streets, and finally they had to be given up to the crowd. Except the gendarmes they all refused to fire upon the people on account of the women and children. Sometimes they advanced with their arms reversed. In the meantime similar scenes were witnessed in the

streets of La Villette. The leaders of the Commune became bold as they found they could intimidate the loyal troops. At an early hour the large hall of the Marseillaise was crowded to hear the speeches that were to be made. About 11 o'clock two hundred lignards were taken to the hall, the object being to convert them by speech-making, but they refused to join the insurgents ; and to prevent a scene of blood they surrendered their arms. At Chaumont the streets were likewise blockaded and the circulation in this part of the city was entirely obstructed. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon it was discovered that the quarters of Montrouge and Montparnasse were in the hands of the Central Committee. The streets were barricaded at many points on the south as well as on the north. A half dozen cannon were placed before the mayor's office of the 13th ward.

At noon the Government made another call upon the National Guards, stating that the *Communards*, by an insurrectionary committee unknown to the public, have taken possession of parts of the city with the intention no doubt of pillaging it. This was signed by M. Thiers and by all the members of his cabinet in the name of the Republic. At the same time another proclamation was placarded and signed by the minister of the Interior and endorsed by General d'Aurelle. In this all loyal guards were called upon to save the Republic and France from anarchy and the domination of the foreigner in the country. The *rappel* was immediately beaten in all the wards not occupied by the insurgents ; but only a small proportion of the battalions rallied to the call. It soon became apparent to Generals Vinoy and d'Aurelle, as well as to the members of the Government, that a storm was gathering which no power on earth could control. At 5 o'clock the news spread in all the wards that two Generals, Thomas and Lecomte, had been arrested and shot.

The Central Committee at this time held its meetings as it is said on the top of Montmartre, and, like the gods of Olympus, hurled their thunderbolts upon the people. Those who arrested General Lecomte in the morning thought it their duty to remove him from Château-Rouge to No. 6 Rue des Rosiers, where the revolutionary committee of the 18th ward was in session. Here the crowd made an effort to improvise a council of war, but it appears that every one who was called upon refused to take the responsibility until late in the afternoon. A few officers finally agreed to constitute themselves a council with the hope of saving him. The General had a presentiment that the time had come for him to give up his life and he

only answered a few questions indirectly. To one of the questions he replied : "What I have done has been well done." The council disagreed, and it was proposed to take him to another place. At this moment General Clement Thomas was brought in through the crowd, and the excitement increased. Calls were frequently heard to delay no longer. General Thomas was not even honored with a mock trial. He had imprudently ventured up to Place Pigalle in citizens dress in search of an officer who he had heard was in danger and was recognized. One of the guards called out : "There is General Thomas," and he was immediately seized and taken away. The crowd around the house and in the streets now became furious, and the council found itself also at the mercy of the mob. The two Generals were hurried out into a garden at the rear of the house, and placed against a stone wall. A mixed group of soldiers, it is said, fired upon them, not even waiting for the word of command. General Thomas fell upon his face, and then in a moment General Lecomte. Thousands came into the garden to satisfy themselves that they were dead.



GENERAL THOMAS, GENERAL LECOMTE.

CHAPTER VI.

PARIS, JUNE 4TH, 1871.

Return to Paris by the Way of Dresden, Leipsic, Frankfort, Baden-Baden, Strasbourg and Chalons—Frightful Scenes—The Insurrection Continued—The Communards in Possession of the City—The Central Committee—The Government at Versailles—The National Assembly Meets—A Communard Election—Installation of the Commune—Ten Commissions Appointed—The First Conflict—Marshal MacMahon Reorganizes the Army.

BEFORE entering upon a further description of the frightful insurrection in Paris, the reader, I trust, will indulge me a few moments while I round up my experience in North Germany. On the 17th ult. I set out from Berlin, and on my way to Dresden I delayed a few hours at Wittenburg to inhale the pure atmosphere of this noted place. Before reaching the station I observed on my right a camp of French soldiers who had not yet been exchanged under the rules of the armistice. Here, on the banks of the Elbe, and in the breast of Martin Luther, was fought one of the greatest battles of the world. His ninety-five arguments against the church of Rome embossed on the strong iron doors of the Schloss-Kirche proclaim him a hero indeed. A plain marble slab marks the spot in the floor of the church where his mortal remains and those of his co-worker, Melanthon, lie. Here, too, are the old University buildings in which he taught the doctrines of the reformation, and the Gothic temple of iron which contains the bronze statue of the great man

who said : " If it be the work of God, it will endure ; if of man, it will perish."

In the capital, of Saxony there are four places of interest to each of which a full week should be given, but the average American tourist is likely to do them up in as many hours, the old *Schloss* contains in some respects the most valuable collection of crown jewels in the world. One of the eight vaults or rooms is valued at \$15,000,000. The *Picture Gallery* comes next in value, It contains the renowned Madonna of Raphael, which the lover of art always desires to see once more. *The Military Museum* has no equal anywhere. Lastly the *Japanese Palace* which contains not only valuable collections of Chinese and Japanese porcelain, but a collection of antiquities. There is at least one excursion which the tourist should make if he would know what is meant by the term Saxon Switzerland. We take the railroad to *Koenigstein*, a fort which has never been captured. We reach the top of it, 600 feet high above the river, by a winding carriage road. It has a level surface of sixteen acres from which the largest German cannon are pointing out in all directions. We return from this Alpine region in a small steamboat upon the Elbe.

At Leipsic, the center of the book trade in Germany, the tourist needs only to delay a few hours. Its University is its chief attraction ; two or three thousand students are always in attendance in it. Thence to Weimar where stands the beautiful bronze statues of Gœthe and Schiller, the one crowning the other. Then to Frankfort-on-the-Rhine, Mainz, Worms, Heidelberg and Baden-Baden where the people of fashion and the gamblers of every nation make and lose their thousands around the *roulette* table. Here, too, is the great bathing establishment where the water, comes steaming from the bowels of the earth, which the tourist should not fail to visit even if he declines a bath.

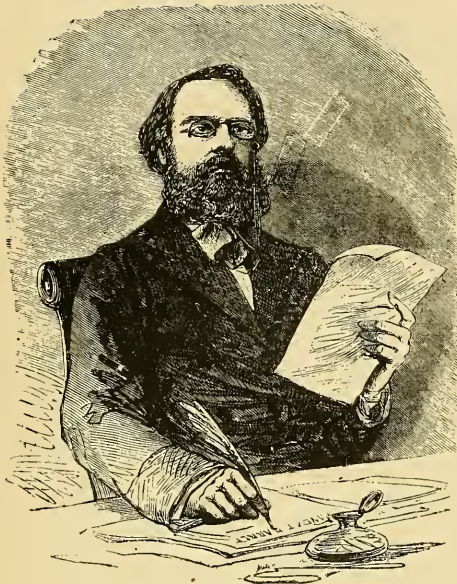
Strasbourg, a few miles up the Rhine, blackened and bombarded, is in a sorrowful condition. Everything lies in ruins as the war and the capitulation left it. My passport and general appearance secured for me a German officer who very politely conducted me through the ruins of the old city, and to the top of the great cathedral where there is ample room for fifty or more spectators. From this elevation, 300 feet above the pavement, men and women below appear like pawns on a chessboard. Those who are inclined may climb another hundred feet outside the brown sandstone spire of this magnificent Gothic structure, but fifty feet fully satisfied my curiosity. Two shells had struck the edge of the spire and carried away parts of the stone supports. What remains of the city, walls, forts and buildings, may here be distinctly seen, as well as the flat swamp lands in the distance. Strasbourg yielded to a concentrated fire of rifled cannon, as every city must do which can be surrounded. Scarcely more than a hundred houses remain which have not been injured by the bombardment. No city in modern times has suffered more. There stood the old Library, one of the most valuable in Europe; there the University buildings, and there the largest Protestant church in the city, *Temple Neuf*. Strasbourg contained about 80,000 inhabitants; it surrendered under General Uhrich 451 officers, 19,211 soldiers, of whom 7,000 were National Guards and 2,100 were sick or wounded, besides 1,843 horses. The Germans report that 193,722 shots were fired upon the forts and the city. This would give about 270 every hour, but on some occasions, as in Paris, the explosions occurred more frequently than the inexperienced could count.

A few minutes before 12 o'clock I descended to the interior of the *Munster*, to see the big clock, to hear the cock crow and to see the apostles rotate. The machinery

which produces these miraculous results every day at this hour is of course concealed ; nevertheless the rooster appeared, flapped his wings, and went through all the muscular effort necessary in the living species. Then came the apostles in miniature, dressed in the style which pleased the fancy of the inventor. A collection was taken up which is the most important feature of this kind of apostolic worship, and the audience dispersed.

Passing to another part of the magnificent cathedral, and while admiring the beautiful columns and arches stretching so far above me, I was surprised at the appearance of a procession of priests, twenty or more, arrayed in white gowns, four of them bearing on their shoulders a platform upon which sat Mary Queen of Heaven. She was gorgeously decked with a silver-colored robe, a golden crown, necklace, bracelets and jewels without number. If we did not know that the whole was a representation in honor of the Virgin Mother of Christ we could easily imagine that the patron saint of Strasbourg was at this time making a visit to the distressed inhabitants of the city. By some this may be called Mariolatry, nevertheless it is the christianity of Strasbourg.

I now set out in haste for Paris, hoping to reach the city in a few hours, but at Sarrebourg, west of the Vosges, the train was detained on account of a blockade, which, however, gave me an opportunity to visit, on foot, two villages in the neighborhood inhabited by French and German families. Thence across the Meurthe and the Meuse by the way of Nancy and Bar-le-Duc, and into the valley of the Marne. At Chalons I was again delayed, but it gave me an opportunity to see a part of the city. The valley of the Marne is a rich and beautiful portion of France, noted for its chalk-like soil, its delicious white grapes and its Champaign wine. On the 29th I reached the French capital, dishonored by the Commune, and the hotel which received me on my first visit.



RAOUL RIGAULT.



FELIX PYAT.



DELESCLUZE.



BERGERET, *lui-meme.*

THE INSURRECTION CONTINUED.

First of all I hastened to see the smoking ruins of the Palais Royal, The Tuileries, the Palais de Justice, the Légion d'Honneur, the Ministry of Finance, the Hôtel de Ville, and many other beautiful public buildings as well as private residences, burned out and completely wrecked. The Vendôme Column fell northward and broke into a thousand pieces. A crowd of people was constantly around the débris. The next few days were spent in sight-seeing along the track of the ruins, beginning on the southwest and terminating with the cemetery of Père Lachaise on the northeast. The illustrated journals assisted me very much.

My first section will carry the reader up to the inauguration of the Commune which took place on the 28th of March. We begin with the fatal day of the assassination. General d'Aurelle had invited the *commandants* of 30 battalions in which the Government had expressed confidence to a meeting late in the evening of the 17th at his headquarters. His object was to ascertain, by a personal interview, what was the feeling of the men in the ranks; and the reply was that "National Guards will not fire upon National Guards." These battalions were not included in the troops intended for the attack in the morning under command of General Vinoy; nevertheless the Government directed the General to beat the *rappel* in the morning at 8 o'clock. At 2 o'clock, March 18, while the President and the members of the council were assembled at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, five battalions of guards from Grenelle marched close by with music and flags and used disloyal and insulting language. Soon after M. Thiers expressed his opinion that the Government must retire to Versailles. His determination produced considerable discussion, but the President saw clearly his duty—that the only hope for France was in the National Assembly, and that he should be near it. A proposition was discussed to occupy part of the city, but M. Thiers would not listen to it. At three and a half o'clock in the afternoon he set out in a carriage with the Minister of Finance. A squadron of cavalry was sent before to be sure that the gate of Point-du-Jour was not closed. The 110th regiment of the line held the Hôtel de Ville and M. Jules Ferry, the Mayor of Paris, solicited the honor of defending it under the command of General Deroja. At 7 o'clock M. Ferry received an order to evacuate the Hôtel de Ville and the barracks, Lobau and Napoleon near by. At 10 o'clock these were surrendered to the insurgents. The news

spread in the evening that the Guards had assassinated two generals—Clement Thomas and Lecomte; but no one of the 200 battalions had courage enough to express a regret. The remaining members of the Government hastened to leave the city. When M. Favre inquired in the evening, if the 250 Guards at the ministry would defend him in case of an attack, the reply was in the negative. At 10 o'clock he joined M. Picard at the Ministry of the Interior, and they both went to the Military School where they found Generals Vinoy and Leflô. General d'Aurelle also left his headquarters saying there was nothing more for him to do. The insurrection was triumphant. General Vinoy who had yet a few thousand soldiers in Paris offered to escort the members of the Government to Versailles; but MM. Favre and Picard had hopes that the insurgents would rally around another group of men if they were put forward. They supposed that Dorian, Schœlcher and Langlois might control them if one was made Prefect of the Seine, another Mayor of Paris, and another Prefect of Police, but they soon found that there was no hope for the Government of the Assembly in Paris, and they joined their colleagues at Versailles.

At 3 o'clock in the morning of the 19th the President sent out a message to the departments stating that the Government was assembled at Versailles under the protection of 40,000 troops commanded by General Vinoy, that the authorities, civil and military, would execute no other orders than those of the Government of the Assembly, and that the deputies should make all haste to be present the next day at the opening of the session. About noon the ministers united in a proclamation to the National Guards of Paris and had it placarded by the mayors, as well as published in the journals in the city, in which they referred to the Central Committee taking possession of the cannon, erecting barricades in the streets, shooting upon the defenders of order, making prisoners of some and assassinating others. In it they make use of these words: "Who are the members of this committee. No one appears to know them. Are they Communists, Bonapartists or Prussians? Whoever they may be, they are certainly the enemies of order, of France and of the Republic?" These references were of course not very complimentary to the chief agitators. In conclusion they urged the Guards and the friends of order to rally around the Government of the Assembly and the Republic.

At the same time the Central Committee, making use of the press for the accomplishment of its insane and devilish purposes, commenced a series of proclamations. The first was addressed to

the people already distracted by thousands of proclamations and orders during the siege. It was well calculated to deceive the unsuspecting masses. It makes great pretenses to republicanism, but its communism is equally apparent. It declares the siege of Paris raised, and calls upon the people for a communal election. The names of the chief insurgents were given for the first time. An unknown man by the name of Assi appears to have been chairman. A bolder assumption of power was never attempted. At the same hour they issued an order for the election of a communal council on the 22d inst. to be hurried through in a few hours—24 members signing it. Then came a second proclamation addressed to the National Guards. It says: "We have undertaken to organize the defense of Paris; we have accomplished our mission with your generous assistance; we have driven out the government which has betrayed us. Prepare yourselves for a Communal Election; our object is to establish a veritable Republic." At a still later hour of the day, Sunday 19th, a third proclamation was issued by the Central Committee. It states that the people in three days will be called upon to elect a *municipalité parisienne*—that the preliminaries of peace will be faithfully adhered to, and that the Republic will be protected. It was signed by "V. Grélier, delegate to the Minister of the Interior of the Government." It was apparently issued to allay the fears of the people, as it contains a half recognition of the authority of the National Assembly. In all of these the assassination of the two generals was not even referred to. In the afternoon an incident occurred which requires notice. A detachment of Communists advanced upon the slope of Mont Valérien and sent forward a *parlementaire* to ask Colonel Lockner to surrender, but the Colonel gave him and his men ten minutes to retire, adding, if they did not, he would open his artillery upon them. This saved the great fort and eventually Paris. The mayors, in the meantime, were greatly concerned, and were devising means by which the dissatisfied insurgents might be induced to compromise with the Government. The Deputies of the Seine as intermediaries induced the President to appoint Admiral Saisset to take command of the National Guards.

On the 20th, according to adjournment, the Assembly convened at Versailles, more than five hundred deputies being present. At this hour they had received and read the *Journal Officiel* of Paris, and likewise the *Journal Officiel* of Versailles. The latter contains a proclamation of the Government of the Assembly, in which the principal acts of the insurgents are referred to—the assassination

of Generals Thomas and Lecomte, the arrest of General Chanzy and M. Turquet, at the Orleans railroad station on their way to the Assembly as deputies, the seizure of the cannon of the city, the erection of barricades in the streets, and the disregard of the representatives of the Government of the Assembly and their orders. The former contains a proclamation of the Central Committee which boldly ignores all acts of insubordination and violence, makes loud professions of republicanism, and urges the election of a communal council to take the place of the municipal government of Paris.

The deputies of the Seine and the mayors of Paris realizing the danger of an insurrection and possibly a civil war, agreed to present a bill, and to advocate its adoption, as the only means of allaying the irritation in Paris. Accordingly, eighteen deputies presented a bill authorizing the election of a municipal council, consisting of eighty members, who should nominate one of their number as mayor of Paris. The subject was ably discussed by Dr. Clémenceau, M. Tirard and M. Favre, but the result was the adoption of a resolution which promised the presentation and discussion of a general law including all the municipalities of France. At the same time twenty-seven editors of journals protested against the illegal action of the Central Committee in announcing an election on the 22d. General Schlotheim, on the 21st, addressed a communication to the *Commandant Actuel* of Paris, stating that if Paris should assume an attitude of hostility it would be treated as an enemy. The committee immediately delegated one of its members to reply to this communication. The delegate stated that the Central Committee had no other object in view than that of electing municipal officers. But the German General was not willing to believe the statement of the delegate, since the committee on the 20th had used the term "New Government of the Republic." On the same day General Fabrice at Rouen addressed a letter to M. Favre in regard to the means of communication between Pantin on the northeast, and the forts occupied by the Germans. The few Germans who had remained in the city during the siege were now more in danger than ever, and it was through Pantin alone they could escape. Mr. Washburne and others interested themselves in conducting these unfortunate residents of Paris out to the German lines. At the same time an effort was made by thousands of citizens, who for one reason or other, had not been in the ranks during the siege, to organize peace demonstrations. They marched through the streets and boulevards with banners on which were stamped these words :

Vive l'ordre! Vive la Paix! But on the second and third days the insurgents were fiendish enough to fire upon them and thus put an end to the demonstrations of peace.

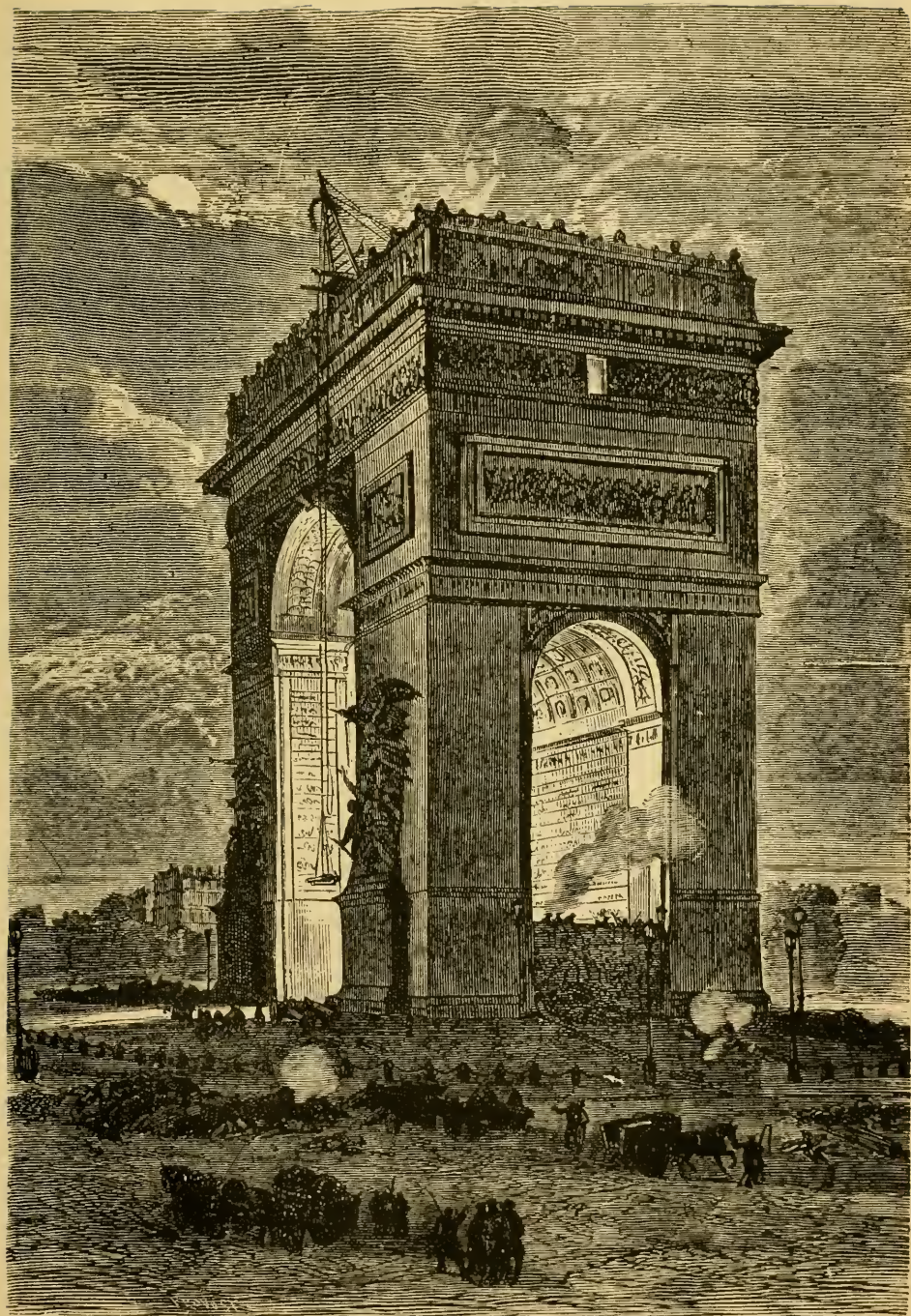
In the meantime Admiral Saisset issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Paris, in which he states that he has obtained from the Government a clear recognition of the right of the people to elect municipal officers for fixed periods. He also promises to remain at his post of honor to see that the laws of conciliation are enforced and the Republic established. On the 22d, the Central Committee in session in the Hôtel de Ville, issued an order postponing the election to Sunday 26th. Again on the 24th the Committee issued a proclamation reciting their claims and grievances too numerous to detail, some of which are undoubtedly just, but their ideal republic could never be anything else than a rope of sand. They wish, for example, the suppression of a permanent army, and the organization of the *garde nationale* with full authority to elect its own officers from the highest rank to the lowest. This would virtually place the people in the hands of a military power, which has created itself and which proposes to continue its existence by annual elections. No better illustration of the folly of this kind of government could be given than that of 250 battalions attempting to govern Paris. This is communism with an army of ignorant men behind it, to guard the polls and to enforce the will of the leaders.

As the time drew on for the election, the more intelligent classes became solicitous and showed signs of alarm. Even the delegates of the Central Committee, the mayors and deputies present at the meeting, March 25th, exhibited signs of fear. An impression prevailed among some of them, at least, that they were about to enter upon a doubtful adventure—a work which they would not think of undertaking if thousands of armed men were not urging them forward. They, however, agreed that the election should be held in all the wards. A proclamation was immediately sent to the Government printing office; copies of the same were sent to all the journals, and a delegation was dispatched to Versailles to notify the Government of the result of their deliberations. At a later hour another proclamation appeared, signed by Schoelcher, Floquet, Lockroy, Clemenceau, Tonin and Greppo, all deputies of the Seine. They claimed to be peacemakers; but their arguments set forth did not appear to the majority of voters in Paris to be sufficient. They urged all to vote and express their opinion, as the only means of preventing a civil war, and the only means too of saving the Republic. Finally another proclamation signed by delegates of the

Central Committee, deputies of the Seine and mayors appeared, urging the people to turn out and vote as an act of patriotism. This was signed by a majority of the mayors and adjuncts of 19 wards, 5 representatives of the department of the Seine and 37 members of the Central Committee. Two other items may be mentioned in this connection. On the 24th a call was issued for the chiefs of battalions and captains to assemble at the Grand Hotel at 11 o'clock Sunday. This was signed by a Colonel Beaufont, chief of staff. The other was an order signed by Admiral Saisset and counter-signed by his *Aid-de-Camp*, M. Clement, directing the Generals of corps, divisions and brigades, as well as colonels and chiefs of battalions, commanding the National Guards to return to their homes on Saturday evening at 7 o'clock, March 25th, and to remain there.

Nevertheless the polls were opened on Sunday morning at 8 o'clock and closed at midnight. The 20 wards elected 80 councilmen; two of them elected each 7; others 6, 5, 4, 3 and 2. Only 11 Republicans were declared elected. The election returns are given in full and no doubt accurately. Less than a third of the registered electors voted. Those wards in which the Communists are most numerous polled the largest vote. The 18th ward (Montmartre) contained 130,456 inhabitants, was entitled to 7 councilmen, had 32,962 registered voters, and it cast 17,443 votes. Its successful candidates were all ultra-radical. Blanqui, Vermorel and Paschal Grousset took the lead. Dr. Clemenceau, their mayor and deputy in the Assembly, was defeated.

Before leaving the pretentious, stupid and treasonable work of the Central Committee we may mention a few additional items. On the 20th of March, private telegraphic communication was suppressed. The Committee did not wish the people to be in correspondence with the departments. On the same day an order was issued, forbidding the owners of houses and proprietors of hotels from dismissing their tenants or occupants which was equivalent to living rent free. General Charles Lullier had been an active man during the siege, as a chief of battalion; and having a military education, he placed himself forward in the circles of the Communards. After the assassination of the two generals, he acted as if he had suddenly become insane. His omnipotence was of short duration. He was blamed for the arrest of General Chanzy and others, and his associates had him arrested. While in prison he wrote a letter in self-defense, which shows that he was probably a better man than some of his associates. According to his statements he had spent the greater part of ten days on horse-back and had



ARCH OF TRIUMPH ASCENSION OF GUNS TO THE PLATFORM

issued 2,500 orders. No doubt he did very much as he pleased up to the 23d of March, when he broke down. Another leader suddenly appeared at this time, but no one ever knew how he obtained his title or appointment. He signed himself General du Bisson, Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards of Paris. On the 24th the Committee placed the military authority of Paris in the hands of three delegates—Brunel, Eudes and Duval, with the title of general. They were directed to act in concert until the arrival of General Garibaldi, whom the Committee had invited to join them. On the same day the employés of the Government, who had left Paris for Versailles were invited to return to their places or they would be forever deprived of them. Finally the *Journal Officiel* of Paris, March 26th, states that the Committee unanimously agreed to liberate General Chanzy and General Langourian. An eye witness states that Sunday was an unusually quiet and solemn day in Paris. Except those who intended to vote, very few ventured out upon the streets. There was no opposition made to anything that was done. During the night and every morning after the 18th shots of the cannon on Montmartre were heard, reminding the people that the city had only changed its form of despotism—that the cannon still governed Paris.

THE INSTALLATION OF THE COMMUNE.

Preparations were now made for the Installation of the Commune. The Committee proposed to place all its power in the hands of the representatives of the people. This appeared to be very democratic, but the leaders had no thoughts of not controlling the Council. They also proposed to make a grand display and that the installation take place on the 28th. A stage was accordingly erected in front of the Hôtel de Ville, large enough for the Central Committee and Councilmen elect. A strong table with a bust of the Republic was placed upon it, and the whole was decorated with red bunting, flags and banners. The Place de l'Hôtel de Ville was crowded with spectators and the streets with National Guards. The beautiful equestrian statue of Henri IV., was covered with red cloth. At 4 o'clock the members of the Committee and Councilmen appeared, some in plain black suits and white cravats, others in the uniform of the National Guards, but all wore the red sash of the Commune. M. Assi, Chairman of the Committee, introduced the ceremony with a few remarks. M. Reñvier announced the names of the Councilmen elected; the cannon sounded and the spectators

cried : *Vive la Commune ! Vive la République !* M. Lavalette then made a short speech and the Commune was proclaimed. The bands played, the crowd shouted, and the cannon once more thundered. The closing speech was made by the oldest man elected, M. Charles Beslay, who had occupied a seat in the House of Deputies in 1830, and afterwards became the founder of the International Association of Workingmen. His age, he stated, prevented him from taking any further part in the government of the city and he resigned. MM. Desmeret, Ferry and Nast also resigned as soon as they heard of their election, and the election of others with whom they would be obliged to associate.

At the first meeting it was discovered that another election would have to be ordered in several wards. Enough councilmen were however elected for organization and the transaction of business. In accordance with the theories of communism, a certain number of commissions were agreed upon. These were called the Executive Commission, the Financial Commission, the Military Commission, the Commission of Justice, the Commission of General Safety, the Commission of Subsistence, the Industrial Commission, the Commission of Public Services, the Commission of External Relations and the Commission of Instruction. These ten immediately began their unhallowed schemes, each acting independently of the other. The Military Commission was required to act with promptness, and Pindy, Eudes, Bergeret, Duval, Chardon, Flourens and Renvier were selected. The other Commissions urged forward their work and before the third meeting had closed many impractical and stupid opinions were expressed. As a result twelve more of their number resigned, making in all sixteen. The Council, when it came together, appeared to be composed of the odds and ends of society, incapable of directing any branch of government. Citizen Lefrançais was elected President.

Until the 1st of April scarcely any one in Paris believed that a serious conflict was impending. M. Thiers had been so much opposed to bloodshed during the siege, and had already made so many conciliatory propositions that the National Guards and the people (a large proportion of them) did not think he was in earnest ; and besides they did not believe that Frenchmen, in this case, would fire upon Frenchmen. He had even gone so far as to offer an amnesty to all the guards except assassins, and full pay up to the time of their discharge, if they would quietly lay down their arms. They had forced every branch of the National Government out of the city. The postal service was the last to go. M. Rampont, the

director of the Grande Poste, packed up everything on the night of the 30th of March and set out for Versailles. He had temporized with the authorities sent to confer with him, and apparently they were willing he should remain at the head of so important a branch of service. The ministers of foreign countries, of course, followed the Government. Mr. Washburne, who had done so much for the belligerents during the siege, did not consider himself safe in Paris. The Commune immediately deposed the dean of the faculty of medicine as well as the dean of the faculty of law. Why such action should be so hastily taken no one could explain, except on the supposition that there was a determination to make a radical change in every department of the government of Paris. As a last effort at conciliation, Admiral Saisset was sent into the city to announce himself as Commander-in-chief of the National Guards. He made the Grand Hôtel his headquarters and issued several proclamations and orders. He received many loyal citizens and friends of the Republic, but soon discovered that it would be prudent for him to return to Versailles. There was now no one in Paris to represent the Government, and to those best informed a crisis seemed to be at hand. M. Thiers had invited all the National Guards to rally around the standard of the Republic at Versailles, and some had left the city. He had also made an earnest call upon all the friends of order in the departments to hasten to Versailles. M. Favre likewise exerted himself to the utmost to secure an exchange or release of prisoners in Germany. He insisted upon 80,000, but General Fabrice agreed to 50,000, and intimated that more might be obtained on certain conditions. The Minister of War had, however, collected an army sufficient to take possession of the railroads and telegraph lines and to surround the city. In fact Paris was once more besieged. Mail communication was entirely cut off and all business with the outside world was suspended. What the Communards themselves failed to do to secure this result, the Government, aided by the Germans, speedily effected. The insurgents began to realize that the period of conciliation had expired. On the 31st the Commission on Public Safety, headed by the heartless Raoul Rigault issued an order requiring all persons desiring to leave the city to first obtain a passport at the Hôtel de Ville. The next day hundreds of people were in line waiting their turn, and many were obliged to return home on account of the crowd. On the 1st of April the Executive Commission, consisting now of Eudes, Felix Pyat, Tridon, Bergeret, Lefrançais, Duval and Vaillant, ordered a second election for the 1st, 2d, 6th, 8th, 9th, 12th, 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th wards

on the 5th, but it was afterwards postponed to the 16th. Another of their numerous orders may be mentioned. They concluded that the title and functions of general-in-chief should be suppressed, and it was so ordered. They seemed to believe that it was better for them to fight *en masse* without organization.

THE FIRST CONFLICT.

Sunday, April 2d, was a delightful day, and the Parsians, except those who had become insane on the subject of politics, were making an effort to enjoy themselves in the open air as their custom is. I had left them three weeks before in a depressed and dissatisfied condition, brooding over the misfortunes of their country. They had all passed through a period of extraordinary excitement, suffering and starvation, and a large proportion of them had apparently lost their mental balance. The camp and barracks in Paris, besieged and flooded with newspaper gossip, made a bad winter school for the National Guards. The press had abused its privileges to such a degree that it became the chief agent in producing demoralization. Truth perverted day after day for eight months, and falsehoods repeated a thousand times, at length induced a belief in the necessity of the Commune and communal elections as the panacea for all the ills of the French people. What a monstrous belief! Two hundred thousand men ready to fight for it! They had not only possession of Paris and the forts on the south, but they were erecting barricades on the roads leading to Versailles, and some of them were proposing to go out and capture the Government. M. Thiers could no longer endure the impudence of the insurgents who now called themselves Federals, and he concluded to move upon them with such troops as were at hand, lest their infatuation should reach the departments. Accordingly a considerable force was dispatched on the south side of Paris—cavalry, infantry and artillery—to prevent a raid upon Versailles, which was not impossible. At the same time, 8 o'clock in the morning, General Vinoy directed General Daudel's brigade to advance in the direction of Bougival and Rueil on the west, and General Bernard's brigade to move in the direction of St. Cloud and Montretout. The insurgents had only four or five thousand men at these points and they were taken by surprise. Round Point is in a straight line with Porte Maillot and the Triumphal Arch on the great road leading to St. Germain. The two brigades were thus under the protection of Fort Valérien. At 10 o'clock Daudel's brigade reached Rueil, but before engaging in fratricidal

strife, General Vinoy considered it proper to request an interview. An officer of the gendarmes was therefore sent forward in company with a squad of cavalry, and likewise the commandant of the 118th battalion of insurgents advanced. After the usual civilities the latter was requested to surrender, which, however, he promptly refused and they both retired. The insurgents believed that the Government troops would not fire upon them. At this time Dr. Pasquier, Surgeon-in-Chief, well known in Paris, advanced alone, unarmed, in the interests of peace and humanity, but before he had gone far he fell from his horse mortally wounded. The Government troops immediately unmasked their artillery, which sent confusion in the ranks of the rebels. They soon fled but made a stand at the bridge of Neuilly. At the same time thirty or forty shells were thrown from the side of Mont Valérien, which, likewise, caused a precipitate flight. The Federals were not expecting such treatment. In September the French had thrown down the statue of Napoleon I. at this point, and now at 1 o'clock they raised a white flag upon the pedestal, indicating a cessation of hostilities and a desire to gather up their dead and wounded. The booming of cannon alarmed the people in Paris and a large number of battalions of National Guards hastened to the walls on the west. The gates were closed and thousands of men were put to work upon the ramparts. The insurgents became satisfied that M. Thiers was in earnest. Flourens took command on the right at Porte des Ternes intending as soon as possible to march upon Versailles. In a short time the avenue of the Grand Army and all the streets leading westward were crowded with artillery, cavalry and infantry. Groups of women, more excited than the men, came together and formed columns, declaring their intention to march out to the Assembly and demand a hearing.

April 3d was a disgraceful day for the Federals. They forgot that they were contending only for municipal rights. They had advanced during the night and erected barricades. At the dawn of day three generals took the field heading as many columns. What generals they were! Bergeret, a type setter for fifteen years; Duval, a third place actor in a low Paris theatre; Eudes, a pharmacist and an occasional contributor to communistic journals. The center column, starting at Bellevue, took a straight course for Versailles through Sèvres. The right advanced upon Rueil and Bougival. The third advanced on the left between forts Vanves and Montrouge, expecting to reach Versailles by the way of the plateau of Châtillon. Cluseret seems to have had command of all, under the

direction of the Executive Commission. He claimed the title of general in our late civil war; was expelled from Paris at the beginning of the siege; spent the winter at Marsailles and Lyons, and was charged with being a spy in the service of the Germans. In his official relations he signed himself Deputy of War General G. Cluseret. An opinion prevailed among the insurgents that the Government troops would not fight with vigor and that Mont Valérien would allow them to pass at Bougival, but in this they were entirely mistaken. As soon as the insurgents could be seen the guns on both sides of the great citadel opened upon them, and they were soon put to flight. Flourens, with a body of crazy Communists, had crossed the Seine at Puteaux and had advanced in the direction of Montretout. He had even entertained the thought that he could, by a bold movement, capture the citadel. From one point to another the insurgents were driven back, some crossing the river, others retreating along the peninsula of Gennevilliers, whilst others were taken prisoners to Versailles. Most of the dead and wounded fell into the hands of the Government troops. Flourens made an effort to conceal himself in the house of a friend, but Captain Desmerets discovered his place of retreat and boldly entered the house. Flourens hastily rose from his seat, fired his revolver but missed his assailant. The next moment the Captain split his head with his saber. Thus ended the career of this noted Communist and agitator. In the center, and at an early hour, the Government troops advanced upon the insurgents. The latter occupied the heights around Sèvres. At 10 o'clock the battle became an artillery duel between Fort Issy and the batteries on the heights of Meudon. But a bloody strife was kept up at numerous points in the center until night came—gendarmes and Federals using the saber and bayonet upon each other. On the left there was also heavy fighting during the entire day. Not less than 40,000 insurgents advanced with the hope of joining the center at Petit Bicêtre. Had they been better organized and supplied with provisions and ammunition they doubtless would have succeeded. General Vinoy sent Dupreuil's cavalry far upon his right which did excellent service. Among the thousands killed were General Duval, as is reported, and two members of his staff. Night closed the scene of carnage, demonstrating to all patriotic men that M. Thiers had not acted a moment too soon. Not less than 100,000 National Guards were this day in rebellion whose object was to capture the Assembly at Versailles and to set up a government of the Commune in France. And what is not less a matter of history thousands of

women followed in the rear and cheered their husbands, lovers, brothers and friends on to battle.

Fighting continued the next day at the redoubt of Châtillon and many prisoners were gathered up and taken to Versailles. In three days the Federals lost, in killed, wounded and prisoners, about 40,000 men, including several distinguished leaders. Fatigued and discouraged they fell back upon the forts and redoubts and modified their policy. Many who were dragged into the rebellion by false representations now regretted their rashness; while others abandoned themselves to every kind of disgraceful conduct. On the 5th the Commune adopted the barbarous law of retaliation—that for every prisoner taken and shot, three hostages would be shot. General Cluseret made a report of the military situation of Paris to the Executive Commission. General Bergeret also addressed a letter to the Commission which was not well received. On the 6th the Commune in session suppressed the title of General, and Citizen Dombroski, the Pole, became Commandant of the city. It was maintained that the title of General is incompatible with democratic institutions. In the meantime more or less fighting was done every day and the cannon could be heard at all hours. The Government troops pressed upon the insurgents at all points around the semicircle from Choisy-le-Roi to Rueil. Admiral Roncière proposed a vote of thanks in the House of Deputies to the army, the National Guards, and the gendarmes of Paris, for their patriotic conduct on the 2d, 3d and 4th of April. On the 7th Generals Montaudon, Giliffet and Besson directed their cannon upon the bridge of Nueilly, the Avenue and Porte Maillot. General Bisson was killed in the engagement and Montaudon was wounded. General Péchot was also mortally wounded. On the 8th there was heavy fighting on the south in front of the forts Issy, Vanves, Montrouge and the redoubt of Hautes Bruyères.

On the 5th of April it became apparent to M. Thiers and his cabinet that any further efforts at compromise with the insurgents would be useless. Their rebellious attitude at the time when M. Favre was under the necessity of providing 500,000 daily rations for the Germans and 20,000,000 of francs every week, placed them outside the limits of mercy. The President, therefore, concluded to call upon the old soldiers of the Empire and to make all haste to suppress the insurrection. This enraged the Communards, and they never ceased to call the members of the Government, the deputies, the officers of the army and soldiers *Royalists*; they resolved to fight and to die if necessary for the Commune. Accord-

ingly Marshal MacMahon was invited to Versailles to reorganize the army. Prince Bismarck now agreed to release 80,000 prisoners, to be used for the suppression of the insurrection. Two armies were organized—the active army and the reserves. The Marshal was made commander-in-chief of both; the reserves were given to General Vinoy. The former consisted of three corps; General Admirault commanding the first, General Cissey the second, and General Barail the third, being cavalry. The Marshal, however, was not ready to take the field until April 11th. An exchange of sentiments with the Germans was necessary. Nevertheless the rapidity of the organization under the President, the Minister of War and MacMahon was a matter of astonishment. The Communards themselves were astonished and they began their policy of retaliation which has condemned them and their system of government forever. We can only refer to three or four of their decrees which follow in rapid succession: First, an accusation was made against MM. Thiers, Favre, Picard, Dufaure, Simon and Pothuau, that their property be seized and held until they appear before a court of justice. Second, that all church property be seized and put at the disposition of the State. Third, that all male citizens, married or unmarried, shall be enrolled in companies for the defense of the city. Fourth, that all persons who appear to be in complicity with the Government at Versailles shall be incarcerated—that a jury shall be instituted within twenty-four hours to inquire into the crimes for which they have been arrested—that all persons retained by verdict shall become hostages and that every execution of a prisoner of war by the Government at Versailles shall be immediately followed by an execution of three times the number of hostages. In these circumstances the Communist deputies could no longer retain their seats in the Assembly, and seven of them, Floquet, Lockroy, Malon, Razoua, Cournet, Tridon and Delescluse resigned. At the same time, Citizen Assi, President of the Central Committee, was arrested by his colleagues and placed in prison. Thus a second Reign of Terror began in Paris.



MARSHALL MAC MAHON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FRENCH FORCES.

CHAPTER VII.

PARIS, JUNE 9TH, 1871.

Visit to Versailles—Marshal MacMahon in Command of the New Army—The Archbishop, the Chief Justice and Many Others Imprisoned by the Commune—A Second Election—A Committee of Public Safety Appointed—The President's House Destroyed—The Vendôme Column Pulled Down—Prince Bismarck Dissatisfied—Fort Issy Captured—Paris Bombarded—The Versailles Army in the City—The Deviltry of the Communards—The Palace of the Legion of Honor, the Tuileries, the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville and Many Other Buildings Burned—A Hundred Hostages Assassinated—The Communards Surrender.

IN pursuing the history of the insurrection, it seems proper to introduce a third chapter with a few paragraphs of personal experience. I am now preparing to leave Paris a second time, but not with any clearer vision of the future than three months ago. My desire is to make a hasty tour through Spain, Italy and Austria and to return by the way of Switzerland. Beside the inspiration of sight-seeing in these old countries, the unusual activity of the great volcano, Vesuvius, strongly inclines me to undertake this somewhat extensive and hazardous adventure.

A few days ago I ran out to Versailles in search of letters in the *Poste Restante* department of the mail service, and was fortunate enough to find a bill of exchange which I have been needing very much. I preferred, on this occasion, to take with me a letter of credit. The excursion to the present seat of government gave me an opportunity

to see the damage done, first, by the French and Germans, and afterwards by the insurgents and Government troops. Going out I took the railroad on the south and passed between forts Issy and Vanves in front of the park and burned out palace of Meudon and the town of Sèvres. Returning I came by the park and burned out palace of St. Cloud, the town of Suresnes, Mont Valérien, Courbevoie and Courcelles on the north. Everywhere on this portion of the exterior of Paris there seemed to be a total destruction of all that human hands had made. I doubt much if the demon of war ever exhibited his hellish temper on a grander scale. Towns, villages, palaces, villas, forts, bridges, manufacturing establishments, all battered down, blown up or burned out !

The chief objects of interest to me at Versailles were the Palace of Louis XIV. and the wretched crowds of communists awaiting trial. We cannot undertake to give a description of this magnificent palace and grounds attached to it. Previous to the reign of Louis XIV. Versailles was a hunting station. Becoming tired of St. Germain as a residence, this monarch determined to construct a palace which would command the admiration of the world. It stands on a beautiful eminence facing eastward and westward. On the east are the principal fountains, statuary and gardens ; on the west the world renowned park and the large and small Trianon. The palace itself presents a front of 600 feet, more than a quarter of a mile. The façade of the central building is 300 feet long ; one of the galleries is 400 feet long, another is 242 feet long, and recently the pit of the theatre was covered over with boards so that the 600 deputies of the National Assembly may be accommodated. The whole is said to have cost two hundred millions of dollars ! At present the *Orangerie* is filled with hundreds of communists, men, women and children, who are charged with the crime of attempting to

burn Paris. They are a wretched looking crowd of criminals, many of whom will, no doubt, be shot. Thousands more occupy the numerous prisons in Paris, at Vincennes and at Sèvres.

I have been kindly received by Mr. and Mrs. Olcott, of the American consulate, and by Dr. Benjamin Ball, who remained at their posts of duty during the terrible reign of the Commune. These have all thrilling experiences to relate.

Mr. Washburne and his corps of assistants deserve great credit for their courage, sympathy and aid, not only in behalf of the Germans and other foreigners who survived the siege, but in behalf of the hostages arrested, imprisoned and brutally murdered by the Commune.

MARSHAL MACMAHON IN COMMAND.

On the 11th of April the Army of Versailles, so-called, was ready to move upon the insurgents. It consisted at this time of about 80,000 men including all branches. General Admirault commanded the 1st corps which embraced Maudhuy's, Montaudon's and Granier's divisions. These occupied that portion of the semi-circle on the left around Asnières, Courbevoie and Puteaux. General Vinoy, with three divisions of reserves, occupied the center, around Meudon, Sèvres, St. Cloud and Versailles. General Cissey, commanding the 2d corps, stood in front of the forts on the south, and General Barail, commanding the cavalry (the 3d corps), supported Cissey. All these under the command of Marshal MacMahon began what has been called the Second Siege of Paris, though the circle had been completed two weeks before by the aid of the Germans on the north and east. MacMahon had, at his command, 48 batteries of large and small calibre, including 60 marine pieces and 8 batteries of mitrailleuses. As usual the siege was commenced by gradual approaches, but occasionally a point had to be gained with the bayonet. Up to the 16th these several corps had made steady advances using the artillery chiefly.

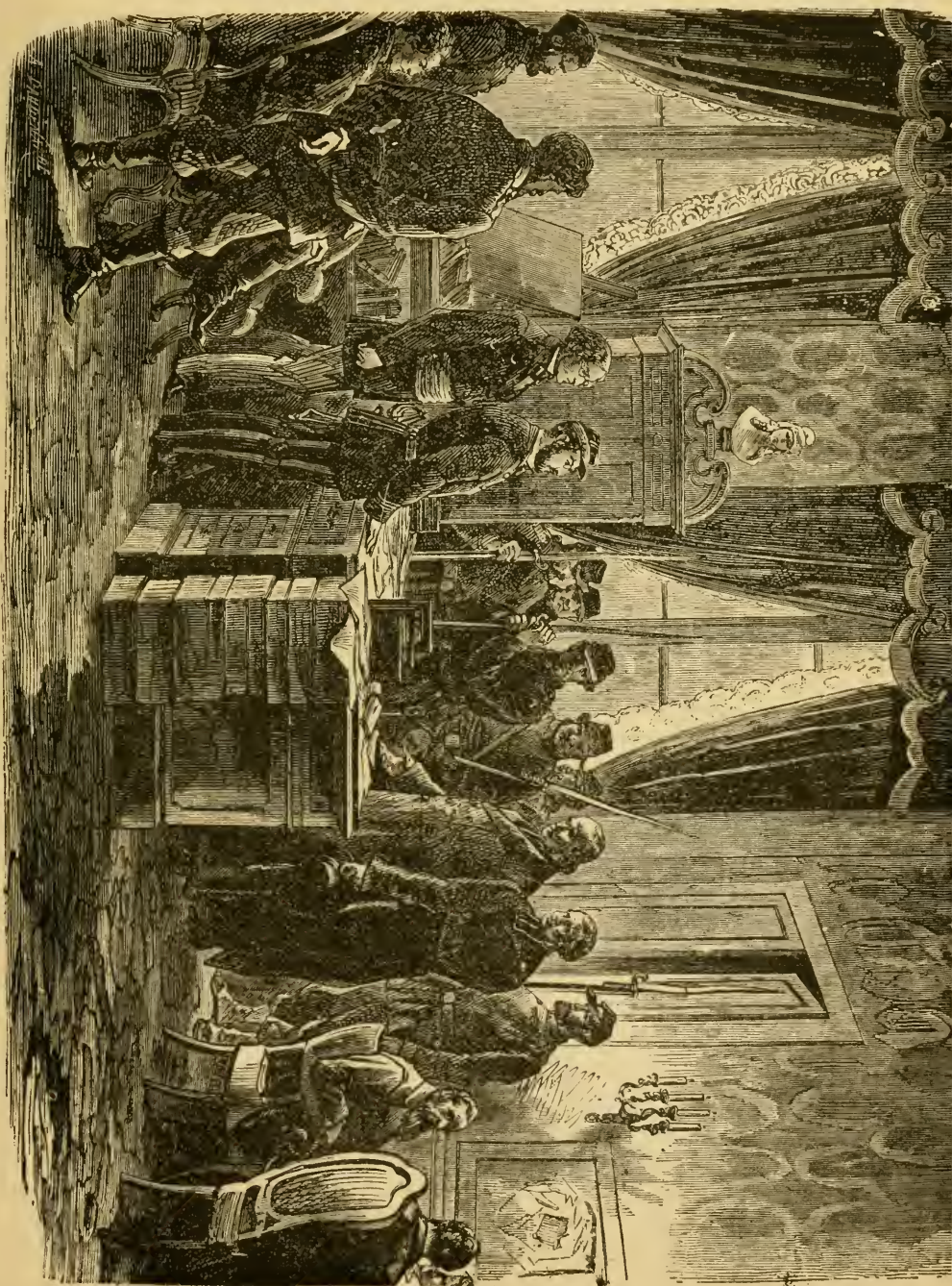
We have already given some account of the installation of the Commune and of their system of municipal government. As the mayors had convened every day in the Hôtel de Ville, so the members of the council continued to meet there every day. The Exec-

utive Commission, which consisted of Bergeret, Eudes, Duval, Lafrançais, Felix Pyat, G. Tridon and E. Vaillant, occupied an adjoining room. The other nine commissions held meetings frequently, but some had much more important work to do than others. On the 5th of April Delescluze, Cournet and Vermorel were added to the Executive Commission on account of their alleged superior ability. To complete their system of municipal government it was necessary to communicate with the ministers, and so delegates were appointed—one to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, one to the Minister of the Interior, one to the Minister of War, one to the Minister of Finance, etc. General Cluseret was appointed delegate to the Minister of War. Up to the 6th of April Jules Bergeret was apparently commanding general, when he was succeeded by General Dombrowski. At this meeting it was agreed that the rank of General is incompatible with democratic organization and institutions, and therefore we shall hereafter only hear of Citizen Bergeret, Citizen Cluseret and Citizen Dombrowski, as these and other citizens continued to send exaggerated and false reports to the Council and the Executive Commission.

On the 6th of April Raoul Rigault, at the head of the Commission of General Safety, began his diabolical work. He had an ambition to become a Prefect of Police, a *procureur*, and as soon as the decree was issued he proceeded to arrest, condemn and imprison all persons suspected of being in sympathy with the Government at Versailles—whether Bonapartists, Bourbons or Republicans. Monseigneur Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, was the first to be dragged off to Mazas, and the Abbé Deguerry of the Madeleine was soon taken to the Conciergerie. The Abbé, on the 7th, addressed a very respectful letter to the members of the Government protesting against the executions which were reported in the newspapers. The next day the Archbishop addressed a much longer letter to M. Thiers in which he also stated what was reported, that many prisoners after surrender were immediately shot. He begged the President to interpose on account of the effect this would have upon the Paris government.

These letters being received M. Thiers addressed a very respectful reply to the Archbishop in which he uses these words: "The reports to which you call my attention are *absolutely false*, and I am really surprised that a prelate, so well informed as you, should admit, for a moment, that these rumors have any truth in them." The President agreed that in the heat of battle the allegations were not impossible, but in no other circumstances. Duval and his *aides de camp*, he said, were killed in battle.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS, BEFORE RAOUL RICHAULT.



When the Archbishop was brought before Raoul Rigault, the former is reported to have responded in his paternal manner—"My child;" but the latter immediately interrupted him with these words: "Citizen, there is no child here; there is only a magistrate here." The jury condemned the Archbishop and the Abbé as hostages. At the same time President Bonjean, of the Supreme Court, and M. Chaudey, one of the editors of the *Siècle*, were arrested. Many journals were suppressed as the *Cloche*, the *Soir*, the *Opinion Nationale* and the *Bien Public*. In the meantime a Republican league was organized and three delegates were sent out to Versailles. M. Thiers received them kindly, and after hearing their plea for peace pledged himself that he would defend the Republic as long as he was at the head of the Government, that Paris, under a general law, should have all the rights of other cities in France. He stated, however, that he could not enter into a treaty, but if the National Guards of Paris would not fire another gun, the Versailles troops would not fire a gun. He further stated that if the National Guards of Paris would lay down their arms and return to their homes no one of them would be called to account, except those who had engaged in the assassination of Generals Thomas and Lecomte, and he further stated that all would receive their pay for at least a month afterwards.

On the 7th of April an incident occurred which may be here noticed. It was known that a guillotine had been stowed away in one of the government buildings, and the Commune decreed that it should be burned. The place selected for this ceremony was before the statue of Voltaire in the 11th arrondissement. Accordingly it was set up and then surrounded with wood and other combustibles. A great crowd assembled to witness the spectacle, to hear the speeches and to swear eternal hostility to emperors and kings.

The distinguished painter, Courbet, had suggested, during the siege, the demolition of the column on Place Vendôme. The Communards regarded it as a symbol of imperialism and hence it was ordered to be pulled down.

It now became evident that Paris would be again bombarded, and possibly destroyed. Shells from Fort Valérien and Montretout were falling around Porte Maillot, the Triumphal Arch, and the American Embassy. Another stampede was thus produced; foreigners, who had returned to Paris, once more packed their trunks and hastened out of the city. They again found it necessary to apply to Mr. Washburne for assistance.

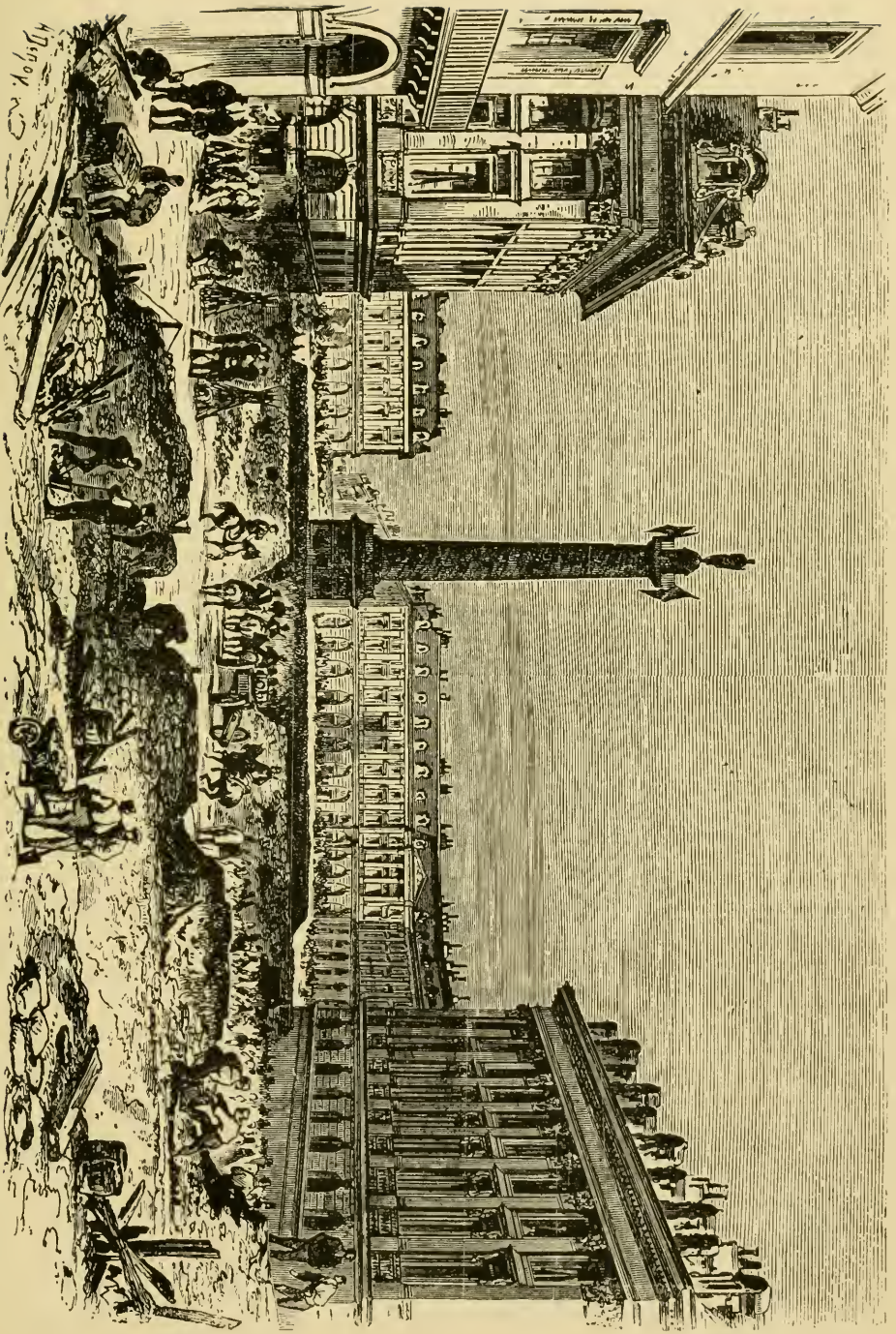
At this time M. Thiers and his cabinet were greatly embarrassed

and had it not been for the magnanimity of General de Fabrice, who now represented Imperial Germany, the insurgents would have succeeded in their fiendish purposes. It was necessary to have a large army to suppress the Insurrection and Prince Bismarck was unwilling to give up more than 60,000 prisoners until after the intervention of the general. The Minister of Finance was pressed with the responsibility of raising 20,000,000 francs every week to make up the first half milliard. The Minister of the Interior was likewise under the necessity of providing supplies for 500,000 Germans besides rations for 100,000 Frenchmen. Added to all this was the revolt in Algeria which threatened to be serious.

A SECOND ELECTION.

The supplemental election, several times postponed, took place on the 16th of April in eleven wards, notwithstanding the fact that a large majority of the people were opposed to elections. Twenty-eight editors of newspapers had protested against the first election on the ground that a few men had no right to issue such an order. As a further protest twenty-one of those elected resigned. The ridiculously small number of votes cast in the eleven wards may be taken as a still more emphatic protest. Four councilmen were elected in the first ward : Vésinier received the largest vote, 2,626 ; Cluseret, the adopted American citizen, and Menotti Garibaldi, the Italian, were barely elected. Citizens Briosne and Rogeard refused to serve on account of the small number of votes cast for them—less than one-eighth of the registered voters in the wards.

Once more the leaders attempted to formulate the principles to which the Commune adhere. Their programme appeared on the 19th. They have not hesitated to place a heavy responsibility upon the Government of National Defense as well as upon the Government of the Assembly, charging both with treason and crime. They declared boldly for the Republic and for the absolute autonomy of the Commune embracing every part of France. But it is apparent to every statesman of well-balanced mind that their kind of a Republic would soon lead to anarchy. They did not believe that the majority of the representatives of the nation, honestly elected, should frame the constitution and the laws. If they had believed in this principle they would not have rebelled. Their programme represents exactly the confusion and contradiction of ideas into which the several groups of communists, federalists and socialists are divided. It was evidently prepared for the occasion and under pressure.



PLACE VENDÔME BARRICADED

In this section we may include what occurred on both sides up to the 1st of May. The Government troops made gradual advances and were reinforced by two other corps, the 4th and the 5th, which reached Versailles April 24th. These were organized at Cherbourg, Cambrai and Auxerre and placed under the command of Generals Douay and Clinchant, each corps consisting of two divisions. They were the old soldiers of Gravelotte and Sedan, and had seen hard service. Paris was thus once more surrounded—the Germans being on the north and east, and the French, with six corps, including the reserves on the south and west.

MM. Bonvalet, Stupuy, Adam and others of Paris asked for and obtained an armistice for Neuilly on the 25th, that the inhabitants of the town might have an opportunity to escape, either into the city or into the country. On this part of the great semicircle the cannonading ceased from 9 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock in the evening. Afterwards the bombardment of the forts and the walls began in earnest. Three lines of batteries opened fire upon forts Vanves and Issy. The abandonment of Neuilly which had not been touched by German cannon, was a sorrowful scene. Most of its 20,000 inhabitants took refuge in the northwest portion of Paris. The Government troops had gained possession of all the towns on the peninsula of Gennevilliers, and now it was necessary to bombard Neuilly. On the 26th and 27th the Government troops entrenched themselves within a thousand yards of the insurgents and from Meudon to Neuilly the cannonading became incessant. On the 28th Marshal MacMahon determined to capture forts Issy and Vanves, and for this purpose sent forward one division after another to take the place of those exhausted. The insurgents fought on three days with desperation, and many of their bravest men were sacrificed. As usual, the leaders, Rossel, Dombrowski, Wroblowski, Beaufort and Cecilia continued to make exaggerated and false reports which many intelligent people believed. These were published in the *Officiel* and other communistic journals. It became apparent, however, that the Government troops were making advances every day and the Commune determined to divide their forces, giving those between St. Ouen and Point-du-Jour to Dombrowski and their remaining troops on the south to Wroblowski. These two foreigners took command of the forces in Paris on the 28th and kept up the fighting until midnight. At a railroad embankment and culvert between forts Issy and Vanves, there was a great slaughter, but the insurgents were forced back, leaving their dead and wounded. On the Government right there was also a

fierce struggle extending as far as the bend in the Seine at Choisy le Roi. Citizen Mégy fearing that he would be surrounded in Fort Issy abandoned it on the night of the 29th, but Eudes hastened to take possession before the Government troops entered. The next day Citizen Cluseret, the adopted American, was arrested by order of the Commune for his failure which put an end to his usefulness in Paris. Citizen Rossel took his place as Delegate of War. On the 26th Citizen Raoul Rigault was made *Procureur* of the Commune, and Citizen Voncken was made President of the Civil Tribunal.

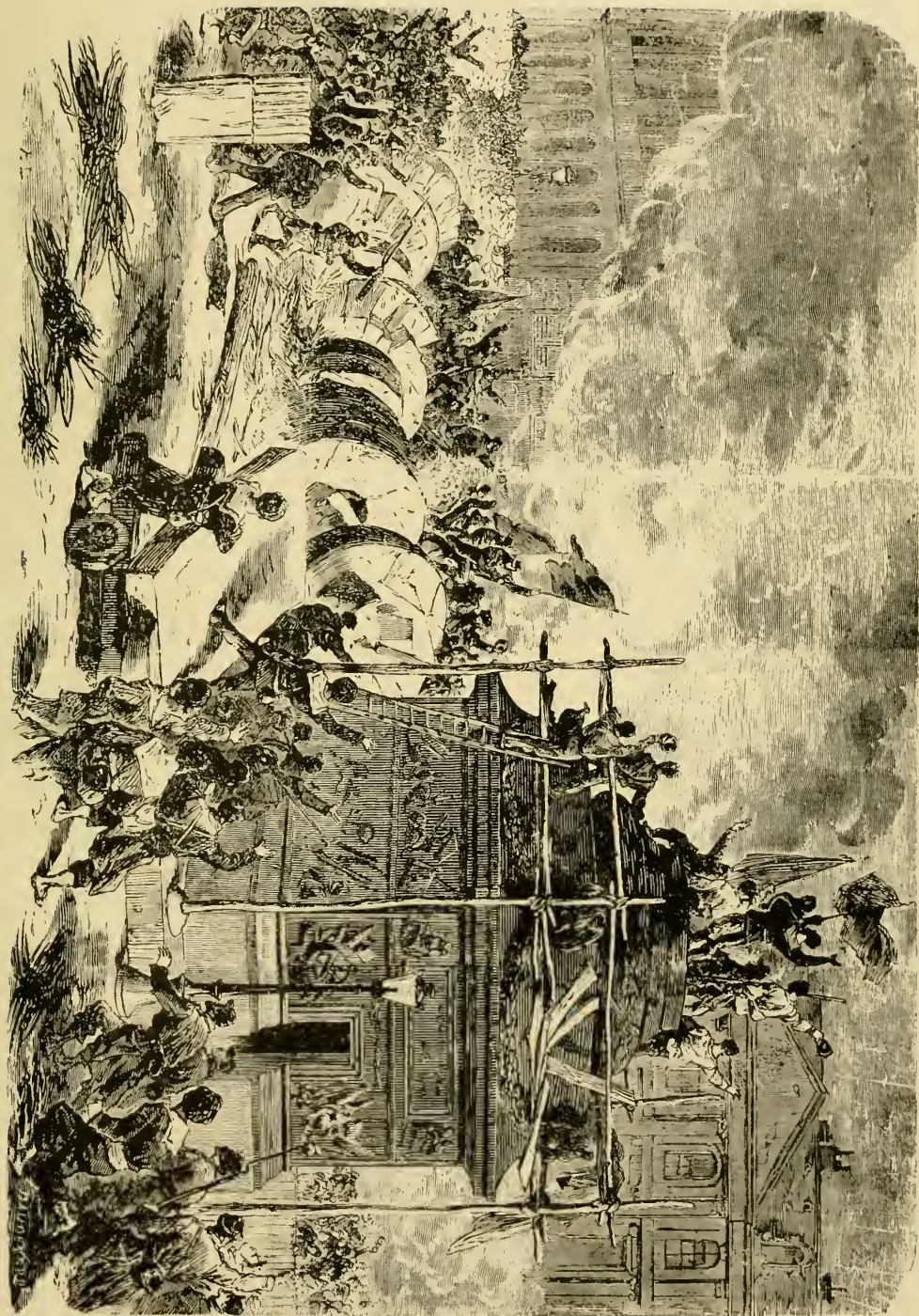
THE FIRST OF MAY.

At this date all hope of conciliation vanished, and the Government wisely enough determined, at every risk, to crush the Commune. All around the semicircle the Army of Versailles advanced upon the insurgents and hundreds every day lost their lives. We cannot enter into the details of each day's work. The divisions of the several corps exchanged places every few hours for rest and sleep, and thus the siege was continued. On the 2d of May the red flag was pulled down and a white one was raised over Fort Issy, but a body of insurgents, under the command of Eudes again rushed in and restored the red one. The bombardment was immediately renewed and it soon became furious. The Government forces concentrated the fire of 70 pieces of cannon upon the fort. The town of Boulogne was completely destroyed. On the night of the 8th Fort Issy was abandoned, and in the morning the red, white and blue of the French waved over it.

On the 12th Marshal MacMahon issued an order congratulating his soldiers for their courage and patriotism in circumstances so painful, stating that they had successively taken Meudon, Sèvres, Rueil, Courbevoie, Bécon, Asnières, Moulinaux and Moulin-Saquet, and finally Fort Issy. But they had not done all that France required of them. He called upon them to deliver Paris from the hands of the insurgents who had the pretension to set up a government against the will of the representatives of the people.

In the meantime the Commune, becoming dissatisfied with the work of the Ten Commissions, organized a Committee of Public Safety. It consisted of five members who were placed over all the commissions and deputations. It was responsible to the Commune alone. Antoine, Arnoud, Leo Meillet, Ranvier, Felix Pyat and Charles Girardin were selected. Citizen Rossel, delegate of war, could not endure this kind of interference with his work, and, on the 9th, tendered his resignation. He ventured upon a lengthy criticism

THE FALL OF THE VENDÔME COLUMN.



of the administration, and ironically asked for the honor of a small cell in the prison of Mazas. Like Cluseret, he was ordered before a court martial. Citizen Delescluze was appointed war delegate in his place.

On the 11th it was decreed to raze the dwelling house of President Thiers, situated on Place St. George, to the ground. It was also ordered that every male citizen above the age of eighteen years enter the ranks, and that all such obtain a card of identification, containing his full name, occupation, age, residence, number of his legion, battalion and company. Suspected persons were every day arrested, including priests and nuns, and sent as hostages to the numerous prisons of Paris. At the same time it was ordered that the Expiratory Chapel of Louis XVI. be demolished. Thus the reign of terror progressed.

When Citizen Delescluze entered upon the duties of his office he immediately made a report to the Commune. He could do no better than compliment the soldiers under the command of the two foreign generals. Although the insurgents were soon compelled to abandon Fort Vanves they fought with desperation in the trenches and behind barricades until they reached the walls. On the 13th General Clinchant crossed the Seine and entrenched his forces in the race course and in the Bois de Boulogne; and soon after the troops, under the command of Generals Vinoy and Douay, followed at St. Cloud and Bellevue. On the 16th Marshal MacMahon issued another order in which he stated that the Communards had pulled down the column on Place Vendôme; and to encourage his army, he made free use of this act of vandalism. The cannonading now became frightful, and the citizens of the 15th, 16th and 17th wards abandoned their homes. Fort Valérien, Montretout, Issy, Vanves and the batteries of St. Cloud and Meudon rained projectiles upon them without mercy; the cannon on the walls responded feebly. The gunners could no longer endure the storm and they fled into the city. On the 20th small cannon on wheels, *batteries de brèche*, were pushed forward to play upon the iron gates with solid shot. Meanwhile the insurgents raised small pieces of cannon to the top of the Arc de Triomphe, but, like other expedients adopted, this one was of little account. The arch was, however, used as an observatory, but Marshal MacMahon had a much better one, Mont Valérien, from which, with the aid of the telescope, he could take in the whole field of operations.

At this time the leaders of the Commune lost all hope of ultimate success, and they became devilish. Of the 250,000 which they

claimed at first, many were killed or wounded, or were taken to Versailles as prisoners ; but a larger number threw away their guns, escaped from Paris or concealed themselves in the city. The original number was now reduced one-half, and of these 50,000 were pretending to be on the police force in the several wards. The registration of unwilling citizens was not an easy matter, and to gather up deserters required itself an army. It was necessary to surround every ward and then to search every house.

In the two elections 106 councilmen were chosen. General Garibaldi, who was not in Paris, and Rogeard immediately declined to serve ; soon after the organization 21 others resigned ; Flourens and Duval were killed ; Girardin and Rossel escaped ; Blauqui was condemned to be shot ; Clement, Bergeret and Cluseret were arrested by the Commune. In addition 21 others declined to meet in council, preferring, as they said, to die with arms in their hands which left only 54. Some were opposed to the organization of the Committee of Public Safety, and they now had seldom more than 30 members present at their daily meetings. The leaders had counted upon dissensions in the assembly and uprisings in the departments, and now finding themselves between the Germans and the Army of Versailles they determined to make a virtue out of their folly and die under their chosen flag.

Two sensations occurred which we may here notice. On the 10th a grand concert was held in the gardens of the Tuileries and in the palace itself. The whole was under the direction of the Commune ; many bands of music were employed. It was Sunday afternoon, and the music and dancing were kept up until a late hour of night. Though the object, as announced, was to raise money for the poor of the city, it afforded the Communists an opportunity to criticise the lavish expenditure of the revenue of the state under the Empire.

On the 17th the Cartridge Factory at the southeast corner of Champ de Mars was blown up. One apartment after another exploded with terrific effect until all disappeared. It is said to have shaken the entire city.

Meanwhile all the newspapers recognized by the Government of National Defense were suppressed, except the *Vérité*. Some recognized by the Commune were also suppressed. Hundreds of citizens and foreigners were imprisoned as *suspects*, including priests, monks and nuns. The convents were closed ; some of the churches were demolished, others were used as club rooms.

The Communards had a flotilla which, however, was of very little use to them. They had also batteries mounted on wheels which

they ran out upon the railroads, but they were likewise of very little use.

Up to the 10th of May Prince Bismarck and, no doubt, the Emperor of Germany himself, were greatly concerned as to the future of France. Germany was really tired of the war and did not wish to see it renewed, but there were many young officers who were quite willing to have it continued. General Fabrice, under instructions from Berlin, had again and again urged M. Favre to make greater efforts to suppress the insurrection. The Prince and the Emperor entertained serious doubts as to the ability of the French to comply with the condition of the armistice and had more than once instructed General Fabrice to suggest the use of the German forces on the north and east of Paris. M. Thiers could do nothing else than decline an interposition. He had witnessed the demoralization of the National Guards by the entry of the Germans into Paris, and he could not agree to the use of means which would demoralize the National Assembly, destroy his own usefulness, unite all Frenchmen against a common enemy, and renew hostilities with the certainty of a greater loss of territory. After the return of Prince Bismarck to Berlin M. Favre agreed to 20 additional articles on the 11th of March at Ferrières. The Minister of Finance also agreed to 4 articles at Rouen, March 16th, and finally the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Finance concluded a treaty of peace with Prince Bismarck at Frankfort on the 10th of May. The zig-zag boundary lines through the Vosges were fixed and an estimate was placed upon the railroads in the territory surrendered. During these discussions the Prince and his associates were pleased to learn from the Minister of Finance that the first half milliard of francs (\$100,000,000) were ready and that Fort Issy would be taken in a few days.

THE ARMY OF VERSAILLES IN PARIS.

We come now to the last act in the drama. Seven days of street fighting—Frenchmen against Frenchmen—100,000 loyal soldiers against 150,000 insurgents—the destruction of millions of property—an attempt to burn the city—the assassination of hostages—all this to be represented in the briefest manner!

On the 21st of May the storm continued to sweep over the walls. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the artillerists abandoned their guns at Point-du-Jour. They could no longer endure a concentrated fire. The bombardment at this point slackened, and M. Ducatel,

in sympathy with the Government, mounted the walls and displayed a white flag. Being recognized, he passed out through Port de St. Cloud, and conferred with a *parlementaire* who approached. The former assured the latter that the Government troops could easily enter. Captain Trèves immediately advanced with his marines, and one by one they climbed over the broken down gates, abattis and *pont-levis*. A brisk fusilade took place in front, but the bombardment kept the insurgents at bay until other companies, under the command of General Vergé, entered. Soon after the whole corps, commanded by General Douay entered and occupied the quadrilateral bounded by the river, the walls and the railroad. Under a continuous rain of shells from Mont Valérien and Montretout, the forces commanded by General Clinchant, Admirault and Vinoy followed. The artillerists and engineers going before succeeded in breaking down the gates on the west. At 4 o'clock in the morning the heads of the columns reached the Trocadéro and the Triumphal Arch. At the same time General Cissey, under the protection of Fort Vanves, which had been captured a few days before, entered Porte de Versailles.

General Admirault now pressed on northward by the railroad from street to street and from barricade to barricade, and likewise General Cissey upon the south. Skirmishing continued all night in the semi-circle. The insurgents were forced back; hundreds lost their lives and thousands were taken to Versailles as prisoners. At the Château de la Muette 600 surrendered. Here, the brother of the insurgent leader Dombrowski was killed. Mr. Washburne remained in the midst of the skirmishing, and in the morning was delighted to see the red, white and blue of the French and the still more graceful emblem of his own nation wave proudly, the one over the Triumphal Arch and the other over the American Embassy. The red flag of the Commune disappeared from the forts and the walls, but the storm continued inside.

At noon all the Government troops, except the cavalry, under General Barail, and a few detachments of infantry, had entered Paris—70,000 regulars and 30,000 reserves. The points of resistance seemed to be Montmartre, Place de la Concorde and the Hôtel de Ville. The Marshal had now entered the city and occupied the Trocadéro. North of the Seine and on the left, three corps advanced, Admirault's, Clinchant's and Douay's, and in the evening reached Porte d'Asnières, Parc de Mouceau and the Industrial Palace; south of the river and on the right, General Cissey and part of the reserves advanced and in the evening reached Champ



PRESIDENT BONJEAN.

de Mars and the railroad station of Montparnasse. All day the siege guns on top of Montmartre thundered upon the advancing forces, and cannon and mitrailleuses swept the streets in every direction. Barricade after barricade was taken, and when night closed the fratricidal scene it became apparent that an obstinate and devilish resistance would be made by the Communards. The dead were gathered up and hastily buried; the wounded were taken to the hospitals and the prisoners were marched off to Versailles. Two hundred pieces of cannon were captured as well as a large amount of ammunition and supplies. The loyal troops had possession of nearly one-fourth of the city.

Of the numerous proclamations and orders printed and placarded on the walls by the Communards we may notice the following:

"Let all good citizens arise! To the barricades! The enemy is inside the walls! Let there be no hesitation! Forward for the Republic, for the Commune and for Liberty! To arms! To arms!"

Signed by five of the Committee of Public Safety.

Another signed by the same Committee reads thus: "Citizens: Port de St. Cloud, bombarded by Mont Valérien, Montretout, Moulineaux and Fort Issy, has been surrendered by treason. Parisians! The strife in which we are now engaged should not be abandoned. It is a strife for the future against the past; liberty against despotism; equality against monopoly; fraternity against servitude; the solidarity of the people against the egotism of oppressors. To arms! To arms!"

Another read as follows: "Citizen Raoul Rigault and Citizen Régère are charged with the execution of the decrees of the Commune relating to hostages." (Signed) Delescluse and Billioray.

At 4 o'clock, May 23d, after a few hours rest and sleep, the Government troops advanced. With the exception of the cavalry and a few regiments of footmen, all were arranged in a semi-circle inside the walls. General Admirault, commanding the 1st corps moved close along the walls upon the north and swept the artilleryists from the bastions. At noon his forces reached Porte Clignancourt, Boulevard Ornano and the Merchandise Depot, and were prepared to ascend the heights of Montmartre. General Clinchant, commanding the 5th corps, advanced upon the west and south side of Montmartre. These two corps marched side by side and at many points a desperate resistance was made, but the Government troops had an unexpected advantage over the insurgents. The latter were obliged to fight in the open streets and behind extemporized breastworks, while the former were cheerfully admitted into

the houses where they shot from the windows. The shells from the great fortress of the Commune fell as often among the insurgents as among the loyal troops. The gunners on the heights abandoned their guns on account, as it is said, of a want of ammunition, but it is much more likely that they did not wish to be taken prisoners. The two corps rapidly ascended from street to street, and at one o'clock a company of Admirault's planted the tri-colored flag upon the tower of Solferino. In this heroic assault many brave and loyal men lost their lives.

At the same time the 4th corps commanded by General Douay moved forward; his left followed Boulevard Haussmann and Rue de La Fayette; his center moved upon the Madeleine, while his right moved slowly upon Place de la Concorde. These points were strongly fortified and the Marshal was wise enough to spare his men.

South of the Seine were the reserves commanded by General Vinoy, and the 2d corps commanded by General Cissey. The left wing of the former moved slowly up the river on account of the numerous barricades, whilst the right wing of the latter moved more rapidly along the walls in the direction of the subterranean reservoirs and Parc de Montsouris.

At 8 o'clock in the evening the Government troops had possession of half the city; they occupied two sides of the triangle, with its apex at Place de la Concorde. An obstinate resistance was made at many points on both sides of the river and thousands of misguided Frenchmen lost their lives, were wounded or were made prisoners.

The proclamations and orders which appeared in the morning on the walls were numerous. We may also translate a few of them that the reader may be brought as close as possible to the devilish leaders of the Commune.

A reporter of the *Officiel* makes the following statements: "Butte Montmartre did not remain inactive during the night. It cannonaded without ceasing all the positions of the Versailles troops, the College Chaptal, the Church of the Assomption, the Barracks of Pépinière and the Trocadéro. The two quarters, Batignolles and Montmartre, have formidable defenses. I went as far as the Mayor's office which is occupied by a strong force. Vermorel and La Français are in the midst of the Federal battalions. A little further on I met Cécilia and afterwards Cluseret. I cannot speak in detail of the numerous barricades. They are at every street corner, but there is one which deserves particular notice. It is

erected upon Place Blanche on the side of Montmartre. It is well constructed and is defended by a battalion of 120 women. As I approached the barricade a black form appeared, a young woman with a Phrygian *bonnet* set on her ear, a chassepot in her hand, a belt around her waist and a cartridge box attached to it. 'Halt there, citizen; no one can pass here.' I stopped, astonished and showed my passport; she permitted me to approach on foot. General Cluseret was there; he congratulated the women."

A *Bulletin* also appeared which contains the following: "Our enemies have entered the walls, rather by treason than force. The courage and energy of the Parisians will repulse them. At the time when the great *Communes* of France are rising to vindicate their liberties, to unite with the people of the holy city, the focus of revolution let there be no hesitation. Let us open our ranks to those who have been enrolled by force and who wish to unite with us to defend the Commune, the Republic and France; but let there be no pity shown to traitors—the accomplices of Bonaparte, Favre and Thiers. * * * * Let the women unite with their brothers, their fathers and their husbands. Those who have no arms will take care of the wounded and will carry pavement stones into their houses to crush the invaders as they enter."

The following also appeared on the 23d of May:

"Brothers, the time has come for a great struggle of the people against their oppressors! Do not abandon the cause of the Workingman! Do as your brothers did on the 18th of March. Unite yourselves with the people of whom you are a part. Leave the aristocrats, the privileged classes, the executioners of humanity, to defend themselves, and the reign of justice will soon be established."

(Signed)

"THE COMMUNE OF PARIS."

"The Committee of Public Safety authorizes the chiefs of the barricades to require the opening of the doors of houses where they think it necessary, and to requisition all kinds of provisions and objects needful for defense.

(Signed)

G. RANVIER."

"Citizen Millière at the head of 150 incendiaries (*fuséens*), will burn the houses suspected and public buildings on the south side of the river. Citizen Dereure with 100 incendiaries has charge of the 1st and 2d wards. Citizen Billioray with 100 men, has charge of the 9th, 10th and 20th wards. Citizen Vésinier with 50 men, has special charge of the boulevards from Madeleine to the Bastille. These citizens ought to confer with the chiefs of the barricades to

secure the execution of these orders. Signed, *Delescluze, Rège, Ranvier, Johannard, Vesinier, Brunel, Dombrowski.*"

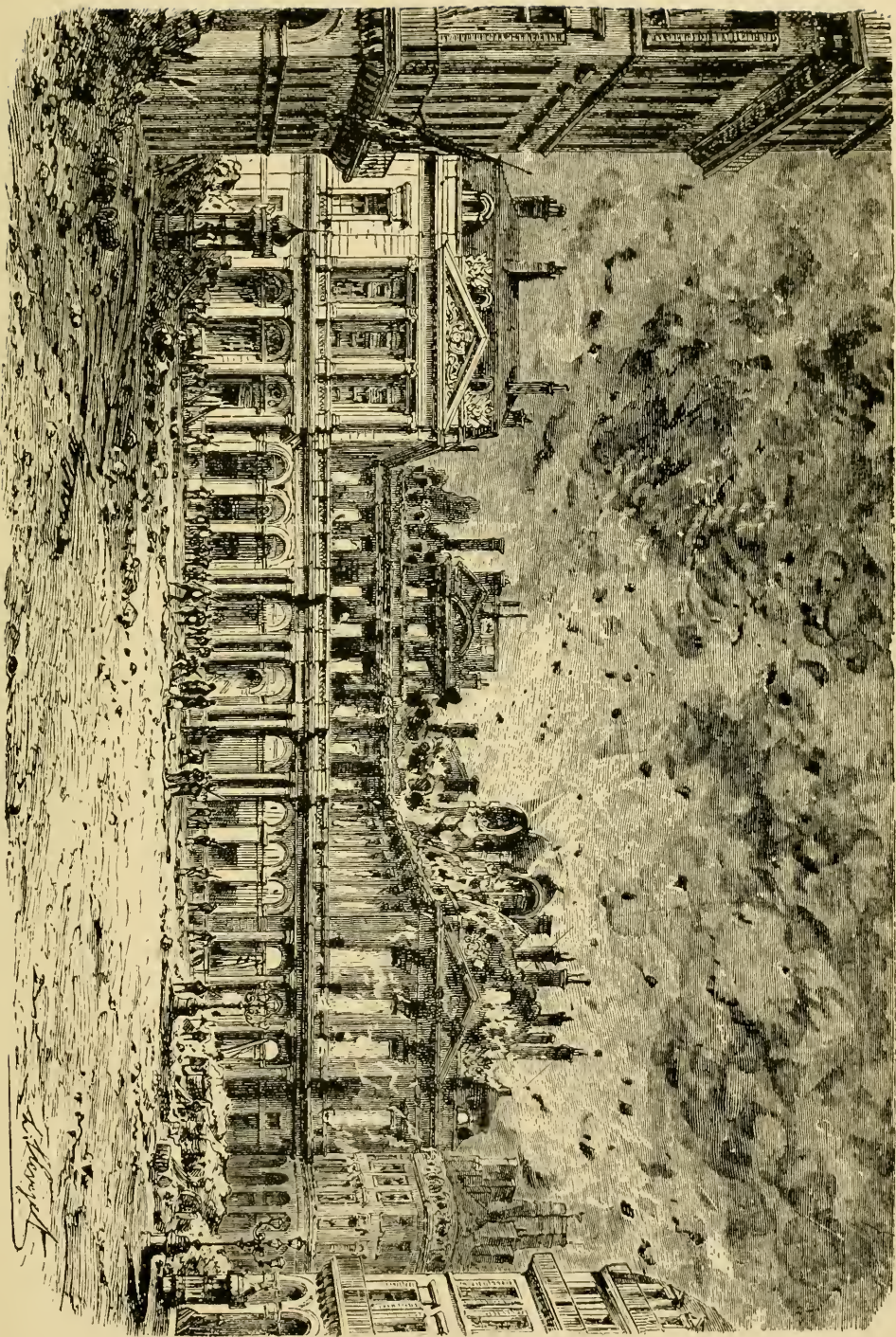
"Shoot upon the Bourse, the Bank, the Post Office, Place des Victoires, Place Vendôme, the Garden of the Tuileries, the Barracks. Leave the Hôtel de Ville under the command of Pindy and the Committee of Public Safety, that the members may transfer their headquarters to the Mayor's office of the 11th ward.

(Signed)

E. EUDES."

In the evening at 6 o'clock the Palace of the Legion of Honor, on the south bank of the Seine, was fired, and soon after a dense smoke arose from the Court of Accounts and the Council of State. At 10 o'clock the Tuileries on the north side of the river were likewise on fire. This was a new phase of the diabolism of the Commune. Marshal MacMahon had thus far proceeded with moderation, but he now saw clearly that the central part of Paris would be destroyed if a prompt movement was not made. The insurgents occupied half the city; every street was blockaded with pavement stones; cannon would have to be used to scatter them; charges would have to be made, a great slaughter would possibly result, and many innocent lives would be lost. There was no alternative, neither rest nor sleep could be thought of. At 12 o'clock the Palais Royal, the Ministry of Finance and many business houses on Rue de Rivoli were enveloped in flames.

In the meantime orders were issued to the several commanding officers to prepare for a movement at 2 o'clock. General Douay, occupying the center, advanced upon Place Vendôme, then upon the Palais Royal, which compelled the insurgents to abandon Place de la Concorde and then upon the Louvre to save the valuable collections of art. Meanwhile General Clinchant advanced upon the Bourse and likewise General Admirault, after taking possession of the two railroad stations on the north, pressed upon Château d'Eau. General Cissey was ordered to save the Luxembourg Palace on the south and to occupy the important quarter of the Pantheon, whilst the reserves hastened up the left bank of the Seine to save the School of Fine Arts, the School of Medicine and the Sorbonne. These rapid movements cost many lives but saved much property. The horrid night scene was continued through the entire day. A dense smoke filled the atmosphere and obscured the sun. Revolutionary Paris, in its long and varied history, witnessed many evil days, but none that can be compared to the 24th of May. The insane devilry of the insurgents enflamed the warm blood of the loyal troops, and there was no mercy shown them. Dombrowski,



PALAIS ROYAL.

A. Del.

the insurgent leader, was killed. Hundreds of women and children who carried coal oil in cans and explosives in boxes were shot down like dogs in the streets,

At noon the Council, the Committee of Public Safety and their Delegate of War, who sat in adjoining rooms, fearing that they might be captured, abandoned the Hôtel de Ville, and soon after the flames leaped from the windows. Pindy and his group of incendiaries had arranged the coal oil cans and the explosives. At the same time smoke and flames issued from the windows of the Palais de Justice, a magnificent structure near by. MacMahon, in the meantime, advanced his headquarters to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the evening the line of battle extended from wall to wall in a direct course fully six miles. Though the communards had abandoned the main points of resistance they had lost none of their fiendish ambition. The fires, the explosions and the fighting continued. Sabres, revolvers, chassepots, mitrailleuses and cannon were all used. Thousands fell in the bloody strife and were taken to the cemeteries, the morgues and the hospitals. Many of the prisoners captured during the day were shot down unceremoniously. The rebels, including the women and children who took part, were evidently intoxicated, as they appeared not to care whether they exposed themselves or not.

The *Comité Central* still continued to hold meetings and on this eventful day issued two proclamations. One was addressed to the people and was signed by thirty-nine of its members. The other was addressed to the soldiers of the Army of Versailles and was signed *Comité Central*. These were the last efforts of the rebellious National Guards who originated the insurrection, and never were such stupid propositions given to the public.

Delescluze, Delegate of War, and Brunel, one of the Committee of Public Safety, joined in the following orders which were also placarded—there being no newspaper published in Paris after the 21st except a half sheet called the *Vérité*.

1. "Citizen Jacquet is directed to require all persons, male and female, to construct barricades and to shoot down all who refuse to work.

2. "The chiefs of barricades shall cause all suspected houses to be searched and requisitions to be made of all useful objects.

3. "They shall cause fires to be kindled as the enemy approaches and all suspected houses to be burned at the first signal.

Brunel alone signed the following :

"The Commandant of the Barracks of Château d'Eau will fur-

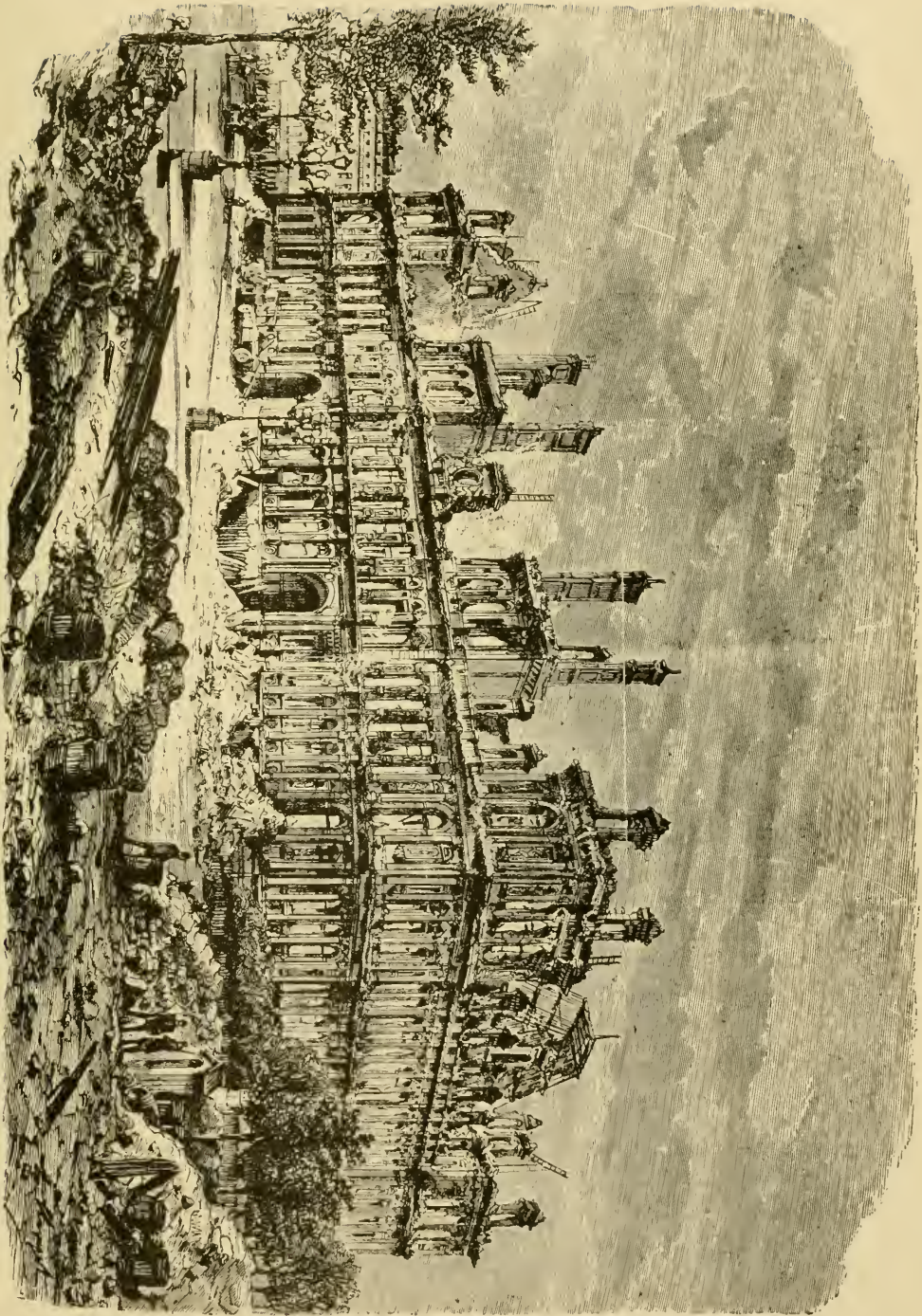
nish a full supply of coal oil to Von der Hoosen, chief of barricades, in the Faubourg du Temple."

THE ASSASSINATIONS.

We come now to another phase of the horrid drama. General Thomas, General Lecomte and Doctor Pasquier had been wickedly assassinated, and from the time that the blood-thirsty Raoul Rigault entered upon the work assigned him as *procureur* he had incarcerated about 225 persons. The advance of the Government troops forced the insurgents to determine what they would do with the hostages, and it was agreed to make a wholesale slaughter of them. That their fiendish purposes might be more certainly carried out, they transferred, on the evening of the 22d, those who were in Mazas to Roquette. This being accomplished Rigault proceeded to make arrangements for their assassination. But as though he had fears that his men whom he had selected would disobey orders, he determined to make his first experiment upon one victim. On several occasions he had expressed an intense hatred of Gustave Chaudey who had criticised some of the acts of the Commune in the *Siècle*. The latter was a brave man, a well-known editor, a loyal citizen and a life-long republican. On the 23d his wife, an accomplished lady, taking her only child by the hand, sought an interview with the cold-hearted monster, but her pleadings and tears were only rewarded with insults. Laying his hand upon the head of her darling, he said: "In a few hours, my boy, you will hear that we have killed your father." That night at 11 o'clock, Rigault, at the head of a band of National Guards, demanded admission into the prison of Sainte Pélagie, and going direct to his cell, said: "Wake up, Chaudey, your time has come." The good man protested, saying, "I have a wife and a child," but he was hurried down to the prison yard and placed against a stone wall. As the order was given Chaudey raised his right hand to heaven and exclaimed, *Vive la République!* The soldiers fired above his head, no one wishing to be guilty of his blood; a single ball pierced his arm. Rigault, fearing that his men might turn their guns upon him (for he knew that he was unpopular) ordered two of his lieutenants to advance with their revolvers and complete the work of assassins. Thus fell the brave Chaudey, a martyr to the principles of republican government.

Early the next morning fifteen monastic brethren (*frères hospitaliers*) were shot down at the Butte-aux-Cailles. They had often exposed themselves to the fire of the Germans during the siege

THE HOTEL DE VILLE.



while gathering in the dead and wounded and they merited a better fate.

But the murderous career of Raoul Rigault was soon to terminate. He had occupied a subordinate place in the Prefecture of Police under the Empire, and his ambition was to become its chief under the Commune. Soon after his appointment he assumed the airs of a dictator. Forced to change his quarters by the rapid movements of the loyal troops, and having occasion in the afternoon of the 24th to visit his former place of lodging, he was suspected, arrested and shot down in the street like a dog. His broadcloth suit and gold lace betrayed him. Ferré, his associate, who was scarcely less a fiend-incarnate took his place in the Commission, and, as far as possible, carried out the programme, upon which they had both agreed. The frightful day closed with fierce encounters all along the line, fires, explosions and assassinations. At 8 o'clock a group of blood-thirsty villains carefully selected, appeared at the prison of Roquette where a large number of suspects were imprisoned. Their demand was the delivery of every hostage, but the director of the prison as sternly refused. Then came a volley of oaths and threats to bombard the prison and to shoot down all who made any resistance. Finally it was agreed to deliver six of the hostages. The first called was the Archbishop, the second was the Chief Justice, the third was the Abbé Deguerry and then three Jesuit priests. They were all taken down to the prison yard, and, like brave and good men, they bade each other a solemn farewell. The Archbishop, after pronouncing a benediction, took his place at the head of the line, and next to him stood the Chief Justice. Their bodies were taken in carts to Père Lachaise where they were thrown into a ditch.

A horrible night succeeded, with cannonading, conflagrations, hand-to-hand engagements and the loss of many lives. The demon-like strife continued in which thousands of women took part. No quarters were shown on either side, all taken with arms or coal oil cans in their hands were shot down.

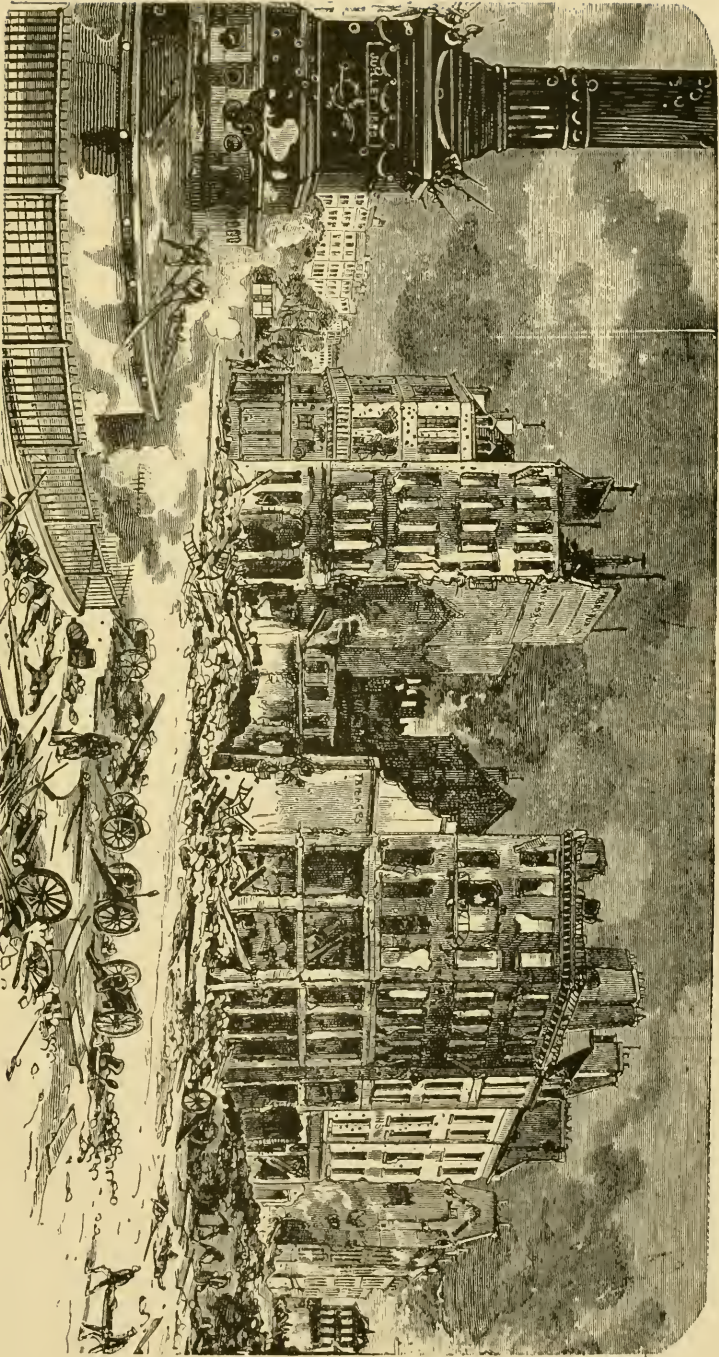
The work of May 25th may be thus briefly outlined. The Marshal saw that the left wing of the insurgent forces was the weaker and therefore he proposed to drive them into the 19th and 20th wards on the northeast. First of all it was necessary to capture the redoubt of Hautes-Bruyères, and the forts of Montrouge and Bicêtre. This was accomplished by the detachments outside. At the same time General Cissey opened fire upon Place d'Italie and the Butte aux Cailles, batteries having been placed, during the night at Bas-

tion 81, at the observatory and Place d'Enfer. At noon a body of infantry and artillery advanced along the railroad from Montsouris, and in the evening, with heavy losses, reached the entrance of the Seine. Meanwhile the insurgents made a desperate resistance at the Gobelins Works, but were forced to abandon their defences, leaving their cannon, their dead and wounded and many prisoners behind. At Place Jeanne d'Arc another obstinate resistance was made, but they were again forced to abandon their barricades. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the reserves, under the command of General Vinoy, crossed the river and moved in the direction of the Bastille, whilst the division commanded by General Bruat moved upon the Lyon railroad station.

The three corps on the north likewise advanced, but not with the same rapidity, on account of the numerous barricades and the obstinacy of the insurgents. Douay and Clinchant continued their movements upon Château d'Eau and the Prince Eugene Barracks. These points and the Bastille covered the last resort of the Commune and they defended them with the desperation of death. It was necessary to take the barricades at the street corners, one by one, by shooting from the windows and roofs of the houses. The insurgents seemed to care but little for the shells thrown into their midst. General Admirault operated between the walls and the canals, his objective point being the Buttes Chaumont. In the evening the loyal troops occupied all of Paris south of the river, all the bridges, the prison of Mazas, Place de la Bastille and Château d'Eau. Thousands fell on each side, many new fires were kindled and many prisoners were taken to Versailles.

In the meantime the Committee of Public Safety changed its quarters to the prison of Roquette for the purpose apparently of making sure that the hostages would be shot. Orders were given to this effect in the afternoon, but M. Pinet, one of the keepers, determined, at the risk of his life, to give those in his part of the prison a chance to save themselves. He hastened to unlock the cell doors and directed them to barricade the entrance with their iron bedsteads, chairs, tables, mattresses and anything else they could find, and to defend themselves. Thus a siege of two days was begun in which every effort was made to burn or smoke them out, but without success. In other parts of the prison the hostages barricaded their cell doors and refused to surrender.

On Friday, 26th, the insurgent forces were driven into still smaller bounds. On the east were the walls, on the north and northwest were the two canals, the Ourcq and the St. Martin, on the west the



PLACE OF THE BASTILLE RUE DE LA ROQUETTE SIDE.

boulevard Richard-Lenoir, and on the south Place de la Bastille and Place du Trône. The principal points included in these were the Buttes Chaumont and the cemetery of Père Lachaise. Upon these the insurgents planted their cannon; on the other hand the siege guns of the Government thundered from Montmartre. It now became apparent that every street would have to be taken by force, and there was no time to lose. At 2 o'clock in the morning Admirault, on the extreme left, was ordered to move, and likewise Vinoy on the right, the former to press close along the walls upon the northeast, and to take possession of the abattoirs and the large cattle yards, and the latter to ascend the Seine, take possession of Place du Trône and to press close along the walls upon the east. Clinchant and Douay were to operate in the left and right centers. Every inch of ground was contested, and every street was drenched with blood. In the evening the loyal troops occupied a semi-circle from Porte de Vincennes on the right to the entrance of the Ourcq canal on the left. At several points there was a great slaughter, especially at Place du Trône, and in the triangle bounded on two sides by the boulevards Voltaire and Richard-Lenoir.

According to M. Jules Favre thirty-eight *gendarmes* and sixteen others were taken out of Roquette in the afternoon, placed in a line along the wall of the cemetery of Père-Lachaise and shot down in cold blood. Of these eleven were priests and one was a well-known banker by the name of Jecker.

Another horrible night was spent. The fires, the explosions and the cannonading continued; half the city was covered with smoke. Saturday, the 27th, came. At 2 o'clock in the morning the left wing of Admirault's corps and the right of Vinoy's were ordered to advance along the walls and to meet somewhere in the neighborhood of Porte de Romanville. At the same time Admirault's right wing, assisted by Clinchant's left, made a heroic assault upon Chaumont and at 7 o'clock in the morning planted the tricolored flag upon the heights. The insurgents fought all day with a demon-like spirit. They surrendered in squads but only when death was certain. In such circumstances there was generally no mercy shown by the Government troops. In the evening the line of battle formed three-fourths of a circle. General Cissey was detailed to disarm the inhabitants on the south and to gather up all who had taken part in the insurrection.

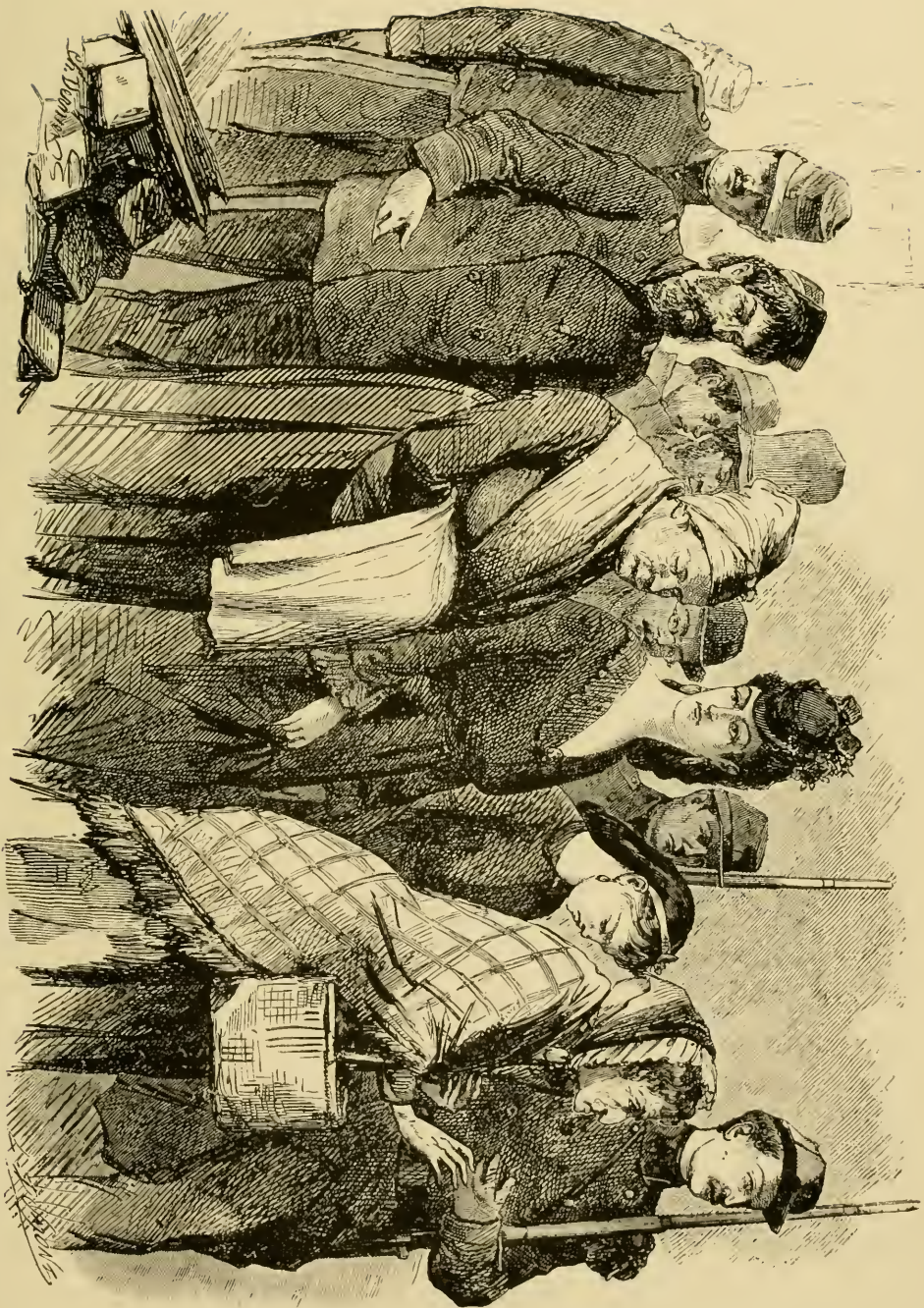
Many thrilling incidents occurred on this, as on previous days, but we can only refer to the assassination of the hostages. Orders had been issued to shoot all of them, but the keepers were unwill-

ing to assist in such barbarous work and the director of the prison protested against it. The Committee, however, by false representations and promises to liberate them, induced twenty-four to give themselves up. At 6 o'clock in the morning volleys of musketry were heard in the prison yard. The hostages were betrayed. Soon after a devilish effort was commenced to subdue and murder those who had refused to surrender.

One more horrible night was spent in Paris and in the prison of Roquette. For the insurgents there was nothing left, "but a certain looking for of judgment and fiery indignation;" for the loyal inhabitants there was yet anxiety, sleeplessness and fear. Sunday morning at 4 o'clock Admirault, on the left and the reserves on the right, advanced and soon after completed the circle. The forces of Clinchant and Douay joined in the engagement, and for ten hours the most sanguinary battle of the insurrection was fought. The cannon upon Montmartre and Chaumont were turned upon the rebels; on every street the loyal troops advanced. By fifties and hundreds and thousands the insurgents surrendered until they were crowded into the area of a square mile. The last efforts were made at the hospital of St. Louis in the cemetery of Père Lachaise and in the intervening streets. At 3 o'clock all resistance ceased and soon afterwards a proclamation was issued by Marshal MacMahon.

Until 5 o'clock in the morning the Committee of Public Safety occupied the prison of Roquette, hoping that the soldiers in their employ would be able, with fire and sulphur, to overcome the remaining hostages. The latter, believing that they heard the ring of the chassepot, took courage and defended themselves in their wards and in their cells to the last moment; whilst the assassins, fearing they might be surrounded, abandoned the prison. At 8 o'clock the loyal troops rescued 120 brave men who had endured a painful and unmerited imprisonment.

The Marshal immediately issued an order that every house on the north, as well as on the south, be searched for arms, and that all who had taken part in the insurrection, men, women and children be arrested. The people, it is said, complied with the order without a murmur, so much disgusted had they become with the outrageous conduct of the Commune. MacMahon, in his report, states that on the last day 25,000 prisoners were taken. In all about 1,500 pieces of cannon and 400,000 stand of arms which had been used were gathered up. On the part of the loyal troops the Marshal reported a loss of nearly 500 officers and 7,000 privates killed and wounded. It is impossible to give with any degree of accuracy the



INCENDIARIES.

loss of the insurgents, though it was very great, on account of the necessity of exposing themselves in the streets. It is estimated that not less than 8,000 men, women and children were paid as incendiaries to burn the city. Fortunately, Paris can only be burned by deliberate and persistent efforts. The loss in property, in and around Paris, caused by the insurrection was probably equal to that caused by the war with the Germans. Both losses summed up are, no doubt, equal to the indemnities paid to Germany which would give a total loss to France of 10,000,000,000 of francs or two thousand millions of dollars !

Besides the public buildings referred to which were destroyed, others may be named as the theatres of Porte St. Martin, the Lyrique, the Châtelet, the Church of St. Eustache which was used as a club room, the Chapelle Expiatoire, the large store houses for grain and the docks of La Villette. Thousands of private residences and business places were demolished, besides libraries and valuable pieces of art. The Hôtel des Invalides and the Panthéon were saved by the rapid advance of the Government forces. The incendiaries, no doubt, intended to destroy the greater part of the city, but they found it a much bigger job than they supposed.

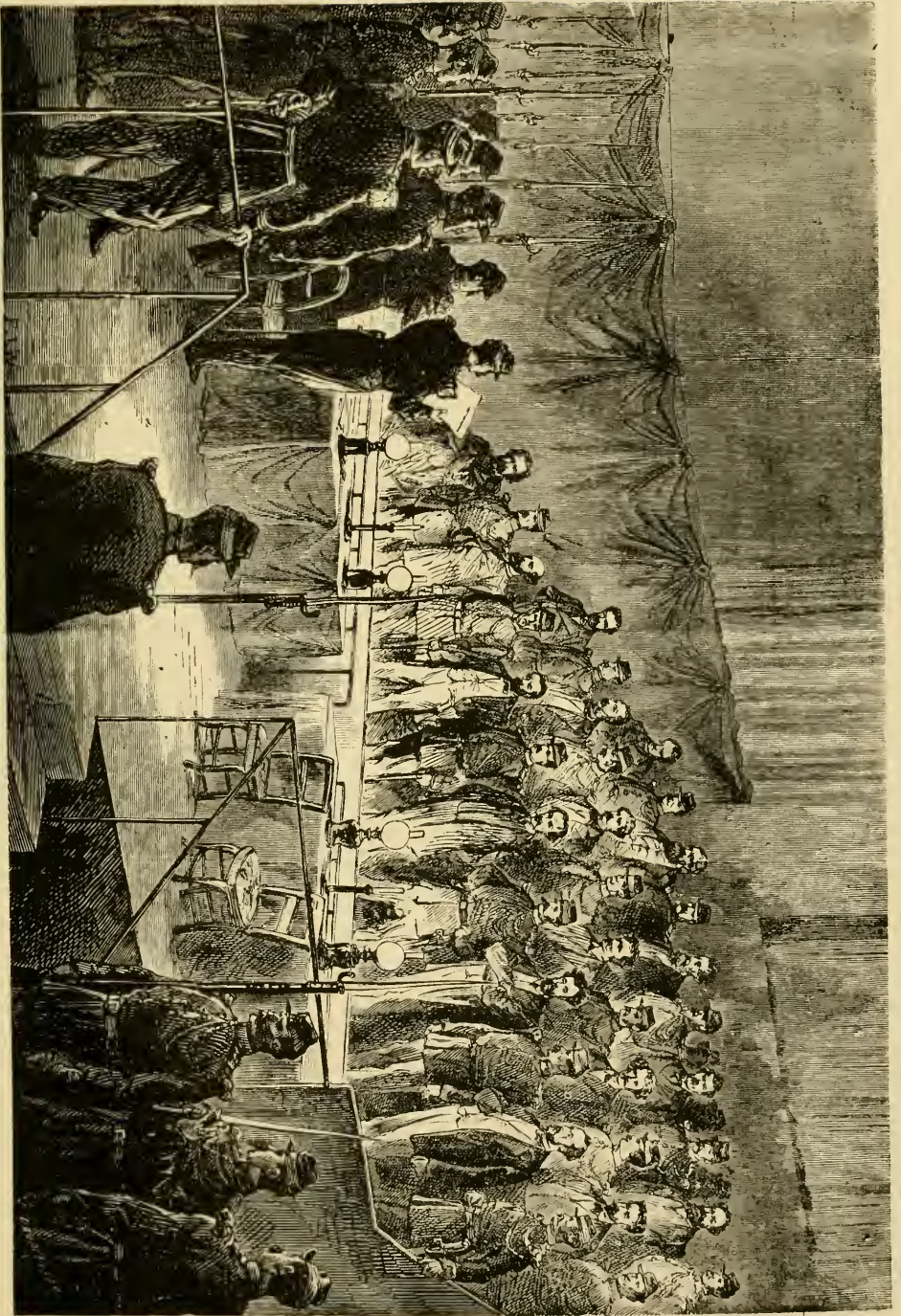
The fate of a few more of the insurgents may be added. Assi, President of the Comité Central, was banished to New Caledonia. Rossel was condemned and shot at Versailles. Delescluze died game behind a barricade in the street. Courbet was imprisoned and fined. Eudes escaped to London. Paschal Grousset was banished to New Caledonia. Bergeret, who made himself a laughing stock by signing his name General Bergeret *lui même*, escaped to Belgium. Lullier was imprisoned. Johannard was discovered in Paris and shot. Piquet, who set fire to the Tuileries, was shot. Girardin, a member of the Commune, escaped to Belgium. Cluseret, the American General, escaped to Switzerland in the guise of a priest. Charles Beslay, already referred to, was one of the best of the Communards. The *Comité Central* appointed him Dean of the Bank of France and on account of his faithfulness in saving this institution M. Thiers gave him a passport to Switzerland.

A few additional facts may be given concerning the Bank of France. It contained about three thousand million francs when the Communards took possession of the city. The *Comité Central* had need of money ; they asked for 1,000,000 francs on the 22d of March and it was promptly paid. Afterwards the Commune obtained 6,200,000 francs. M. Beslay seemed to understand the insurgents ; at the same time he coöperated with the regents of the bank and

saved them not only from being taken as hostages, but the credit of the greatest financial institution in the world. On several occasions the insurgents were on the eve of entering the bank by force, but Jourde and Varlin, the deputies sent, were coolly informed that the moment the Commune took possession of the bank the large amount of notes in circulation would not be worth the paper upon which they were printed. This seemed to satisfy the representatives of the Commune ; the fact is the insurgents did not know what to do with so much money, although a large part of it was in gold and silver.

On the 7th of June the funeral services, connected with the interment of the Archbishop and the other victims of the insurrection, took place in the Notre Dame. The members of the Government attended in a body and the Assembly paid the expenses. It was a most solemn and impressive occasion. One hundred fellow-citizens taken from the Cathedral to their last resting place!

With this chapter we close our account of the great war, the great siege and the great insurrection. It is to be hoped that the beautiful motto, *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*, may be better understood by the French people in the future, and that the frightful scenes of eleven months may never again be witnessed. Imperialism in the state and in the church has been reprov'd and the demon of Communism has been slain.



READING THE VERDICT

CHAPTER VIII.

ROME, JULY 12TH, 1871.

A Tour Through Spain—Madrid—The 25th Anniversary of Pope Pius IX.—A Spanish Bull Fight—Seville—Cadiz—Gibraltar—An Excursion to Tangier in Africa—Five Days on the Mediterranean Sea—Genoa—Naples—Vesuvius in Full Blast—A Night Scene—Buried Pompeii—Rome and Italy.

AT last I have reached the renowned city of the Cæsars and am safely housed in the Anglo-American Hotel. The season is well advanced and nearly all foreigners have escaped to a cooler atmosphere and soil. One cannot venture out in the hot sun without an umbrella. Dr. Gould, with whom I have become acquainted, advises me not to delay many days; but I cannot think I should hasten away until I have seen at least part of the old city built upon seven hills.

It will be most convenient to give some account of my experience in Spain and of the condition of the country in its relations to the war between France and Germany. On the 12th of June I set out from Paris by the way of Châteaudun and had a good opportunity to see the ruins of the heroic town. Until I reached Tours there were many evidences of the tramp of hostile forces. At Bordeaux I could only delay a few hours, though it is the second commercial city of France. Its quay is three miles long and the Garonne, at this point, 60 miles from the ocean, floats the largest steamers. At Bayonne, 120 miles farther south, I could likewise not delay. It is one of the few cities in Europe which has never capitulated. The railroad keeps close to the bay of Biscay, and at several points I had a delightful view of the water. Not far from San Sabastian, a noted place in the north of Spain, we left the bay, and entered a series of

tunnels too numerous to remember. Nor could I delay to visit either of the celebrated watering places in this neighborhood—Pau on the left and Biarritz on the right. At the latter the Emperor Napoleon III. had erected a beautiful villa called the *Villa Eugenie*, where the Empress and the Prince Imperial were accustomed to spend several weeks each year.

At a station in the snow-capped Pyrenées our train stopped and we all prepared to exhibit our passports and to expose our trunks to the government agents. He is a happy tourist who keeps his temper while the inspectors are making an effort to see how much they can legally confiscate. On we went by the way of Vittoria Burgos, Valladolid and Madrid which we reached at 7 o'clock in the morning. An hour before we had a fine view of the Escorial which may some day be torn down by the mob, because, as the Bastille and the Tuileries, it is the symbol of Bourbon royalty. It was constructed under the reign of the religious bigot Philip II., and was built of black granite, very abundant in this neighborhood. It is 700 feet long and 564 feet broad, and is regarded as the eighth wonder of the world. Though it is an immense and durable structure, it has none of the beauty and cheerfulness of the royal palace at Versailles.

Madrid is situated in the center of the peninsula of Spain on an elevated plateau consisting of a black granite stratum 2,200 feet above the level of the sea. On this account it has a low temperature most of the year, as well as a variable climate. It is a comparatively modern city. Philip II. preferred it as his residence. I put up at the Hôtel de los Embasadores, and I soon found a very clever *valet de place*, who is an International and speaks English well. Amadeo had taken possession of the Royal Palace in December, but there was no admittance to any part of it. The Cortès, or Congress, which is composed of a Senate and House of Representatives had adjourned. The Royal Stables, however, were open to the public and I greatly enjoyed myself in inspecting the fine specimens of Arabian horses, as well as the old chariots, harness and saddles of the crown. Spain is yet in an unsettled condition. Marshal Prim had just been assassinated in a narrow street into which I was shown. He was returning from the Cortes at night. The horses were seized, the carriage doors were opened and revolvers were used.

After spending several days in the public art galleries, parks and other places of interest, Sunday, June 18th, came which has left impressions not easily effaced. At sunrise I was awakened by the ringing of church bells, a thousand seemed to be chiming at once.

It was the 25th anniversary of the coronation of Pius IX.—a notable day in the Catholic world everywhere. It has seldom been the fortune of any one to sit in the chair of St. Peter a full quarter of a century. My *valet de place* appeared at the usual hour, but I had many questions to put to him before we set out. Puerto del Sol, the Prado and the principal streets were literally packed full of sight seers and we made but slow progress in the crowd. The fronts of the houses of the faithful were decorated with representations of the Roman Pontiff on red damask wrought with gold or silver thread. Others were hung from cables across the streets with his smiling face wrought on both sides. We pressed into the cathedral and to my surprise the walls, the ceiling, the pillars and the altar were completely covered with scarlet red cloth. The service continued several hours but to me it seemed to be a supreme effort at man-worship. In one part of the immense building a wooden cross was lying upon the marble floor and a life-size wooden Christ was nailed upon it. We cannot say that it is more idolatrous to kneel before such a representation and to kiss it than to kiss a smaller one made of porcelain or ivory, but it appeared to place the worshippers, especially the women, in an ungraceful attitude in a crowded assembly. Viewing this act of devotion or worship in the light of sanitation, it is not difficult to see how infectious diseases may be communicated.

A bull fight in Madrid can only be seen Sunday afternoon, and I directed my *valet de place* to secure two seats in the bull ring. He selected places on the right of the royal box which is reserved for the representatives of the government. At 3 o'clock the amphitheatre was crowded and the spectators clamored for the *entrèe*. Beneath us were the gates of the principal entrance, in front the gates for the bulls to enter, on the left the gates for the picadores, and on the right the gates through which the dead horses and bulls were dragged out.

The presentation is the first part of this brutal performance. Of the bull fighters or *Toreros* the following synopsis may be given : They enter in procession and place themselves in rows in front of the King, the Queen or other representatives of the government and managers of the ring. They are known as *Matadores*, *Banderilleros*, *Picadores* and *Chulos*. They first appear in regal style with straight swords, white feathers, diamonds and gold trappings ; the second, in a somewhat less expensive attire, the third on horseback, decorated in fantastic style—long spears, broad-brimmed hats, brass corsets, silver leggings, high boots and immense spurs ; the fourth,

wear bright colors but nothing to interfere with their agility. All advance before the royal box, salute the representatives of the government and then separate.

At 3:30 o'clock the bugle sounds, the gates fly open and a Castilian bull enters. He looks to the right and then to the left, and seeing no way of escape plunges into one of the blindfolded horses. The picador has no time to use his spear ; the horse and the rider are thrown upon the sand. The chulos hasten to save the picador, for the horse has fallen upon him. The bull, however, is diverted by the red and yellow blankets of the chulos and he pursues one of them ; but the chulo throwing his blanket at the bull, leaps over the high fence and is safe. The disappointed bull now turns upon the other picador who advances with drawn spear, but the enraged animal pierces the breast of the timid horse and the warm blood gushes from the wound. His long horn has touched the heart and the poor trembling animal falls and dies. In the meantime the first horse regains his feet, drags his entrails on the sand, staggers with the loss of blood and falls. But another picador has entered the arena and with well-poised spear advances. His half frightened horse shys, but is pressed forward with the long spurs while the bull stands panting for breath. One stroke of the spear arouses him and he once more uses his horns. The horse and the picador are tossed in the air. The chulos attend but the bull remains master of the ring. He has killed three horses and the spectators applaud.

The scene now changes. One of the banderilleros, with barbed arrows, concealed beneath his red and yellow blanket, enters the ring with two chulos at his side. The bull, with glaring eyes and protruding tongue, stands panting while his tormentors approach him and he knows not which to attack. Slowly and cautiously the banderillero advances and plants a dart in his left shoulder. This is sufficient for the bull soon clears the ring ; runs, bellows and attacks the dead horses until he has shaken loose the barbed arrow and has proved to the audience that he will stand and receive the *coup de grâce*.

The matador now enters and advances slowly. His handsome form, graceful step, chapeau and white feather, diamonds, gold buttons and double-edged sword, concealed partly by his red and yellow blanket, make him the admiration of all. Fatigued, or perhaps blinded with rage, the bull again stands panting for breath while the matador, immediately in front, raises his right arm, and quick as lightning plunges the sharp steel into his wither and touches the heart. The bull drops upon his knees, the crimson blood gushes

from his nose and mouth and in a moment he is dead. Ten thousand voices applaud—Bravo! Bravo! Costly presents and bouquets of flowers are showered upon the matador who gracefully recognizes the compliment.

The gates on the right fly open and three mules abreast enter as rapidly as possible. They drag out the horses and the bull; the blood is raked into the sand and the first act is ended.

Then followed five more acts, each one differing from the others. Some bulls refuse to fight until they are goaded when they become furious; others are treacherous and shy. The third one was a coward; he would run and bellow and shake the arrows from his hide, but he could not be induced to attack either horse or man. He was nervous and would not stand to be killed. He carried a sword in his neck around the ring until he shook it out upon the sand, but the next stroke brought the crimson blood to his nose. In this brutal entertainment three picadores, six bulls and thirteen horses were killed.

The Continental Sunday, so called, provides for half a day of amusement. In Berlin it is the circus and the beer garden; in Paris it is the hippodrome and the Jardin de Mabille, and in Madrid it is the bull fight. In these capitals the theatre and opera houses are all open Sunday evenings, and the cathedrals and churches are closed.

My next stopping place was Seville, on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, 300 miles southwest of Madrid and 60 miles from the ocean. It was a charming day when I reached the capital of the old province of Andalusia, and I was eager to ascend the Giralda, a name given to the tower of the great cathedral, and to look out through the crystal atmosphere. It is said that the frost never touches Seville and that the sun shines upon it every day in the year. My *valet de place* soon discovered that I was in sympathy with republican government and he took pleasure in showing me the most interesting features of the city and its surroundings. From this high point Seville seemed to me to be set in an immense orange and lemon grove. The well-preserved aqueduct, built by the Romans on stone arches, brings an abundance of pure water from the distant hills. This is distributed to the 150,000 inhabitants on the backs of donkeys. During the occupancy by the Mohammedans the present high walls were erected, from the top of which the promenaders still look down upon orange groves and fair women. The cathedral is regarded as the most beautiful structure of the kind in Spain. It has 9 entrances, 93 painted windows and 37 chap-

els. The royal palace, called the Alcazar, is a magnificent specimen of Moorish architecture. Here the religious monarchs of Africa lived and reveled 500 years with their thousands of wives and concubines. Here also Isabella gave audience to Columbus when he sought assistance.

While on the tower my *valet de place* pointed out a group of old buildings outside the walls which were long used as a monastery, but the new government has confiscated them and they are now whitewashed and used as a segar factory. One of the industries of the people is the manufacture of segars, and he took me to a large establishment of this kind inside the walls in which 5,000 girls and 1,000 men are employed. In relation to the recent changes in the policy of the government he spoke with pleasure. One of the oldest and largest monasteries in Europe stood in the center of Seville and on the flight of Queen Isabel, it was confiscated and torn down to the last brick and stone as a useless ornament. A park or garden has already taken its place. Young trees have been planted and a fountain is throwing water from the center of a large basin. He also informed me that hundreds of monasteries and old churches have likewise been confiscated, torn down, sold for other than religious purposes, or used as barracks for the army. Thousands of monks have been turned out and required to enter security that they will earn their own living and not beg. Under the eloquent appeals of the Republicans, led by Castelar, these changes have been effected. The people, though adhering to the church, demand free schools, the taxation of large estates owned by the church and the abandonment of the monasteries. My *valet de place* insisted that I should remain another day, as Americans, he said, seldom visit Seville. He had much more to show me than can be here referred to. It is sufficient to name the Museum, the University and the Casa de Pilatos which is said to be the *fac-simile* of the house of Pontius Pilate at Jerusalem.

Cadiz, the oldest city in Europe, next received me, but only for a few hours. The Phœnician traders founded it 1,100 years before Christ. It is built upon a tongue of land extending five miles into the sea. It is noted for its magnificent bay, its balmy atmosphere, its handsome women and sherry wine. At present Cadiz contains 75,000 inhabitants. It has two cathedrals, the new one is very beautiful, being constructed entirely of snow-white marble. It has two theatres and, like all Spanish cities, a bull ring.

The American consul informed me that it was uncertain when a steamer would sail for Gibraltar, and as a *diligence* or mail coach

set out at 6 o'clock in the evening across the country I concluded to take the risk of a night journey. The distance is about 50 miles over a hilly and mountainous district covered with vineyards, olive and orange trees. The road was rough but well guarded with soldiers, and as there were six of us, including the driver, I had but little to fear of the brigands. A bright star-light night was spent in silence, no one of my companions being able to speak a word of English, French or German. At 10 o'clock in the morning we reached the bay of Gibraltar and were soon rowed across it. The term Gibraltar is applied to the bay, the town and the straits, as well as to the bold promontory or peninsula projecting three miles into the water. The English and the apes equally occupy this noted place. The former fear no man or nation, but the latter run and hide themselves in the gray limestone rocks of which the mountain is chiefly formed. It is 1,400 feet high. On the African side of the straits, which are fifteen miles broad, is another promontory called Abyla, and the two were once called the Pillars of Hercules.

On entering the town I was directed to a comfortable hotel conducted on the English plan, and I was delighted to hear my own language spoken by the people. What I particularly noticed during my brief stay at the "Inn" was this, that great quantities of ripe figs were placed before us not only at dinner but at every meal. The taste for this wholesome fruit must be cultivated, but when once acquired we ever after relish it.

My first two days were spent in gaining a clear impression of the great fortress and its surroundings. The top of it is reached by a well macadamized zig-zag road upon which the great Armstrong breech loading cannon, munitions of war and provisions are carried to the numerous emplacements and quarters of the artillerists. The signal station and lighthouse at the end of the mountain are at least 1,200 feet above the water. Our consul introduced me to the officer of the day, and by one and another I was taken to some of the more interesting points and into the casemates hewn out of the solid rock. In these rifled cannon are placed and the gunners are entirely safe. Galleries connect them with each other, and port-holes on the east and west look out upon the water. About 1,000 large and small cannon are kept in constant readiness. The garrison, in ordinary times, consists of 5,000 men. The colony, including the garrison, numbers 25,000.

My next two days were spent in a visit to Tangier on the African side of the straits, the distance diagonally being 40 miles. An English trading vessel makes an excursion every day. The Emperor

of Morocco has no need, as he thinks, of school houses, railroads or telegraph lines or even of a landing place for traders or tourists. Our steamer anchored in the bay and immediately two or three dozen row boats surrounded us with a regiment of half-naked natives bellowing for employment. An Englishman who hoped to be able to purchase a horse accompanied me, and the captain advised us to wait until the traders were landed and the excitement was over. He then directed one of the boats to come forward and receive us ; at the same time he instructed us how to behave, and how much to pay the half-naked seaman. Their boats are constructed with deep keels so that we were each obliged, as the traders, to take advantage of a relay in the deep water and to mount astride the neck of a native, and be carried to the shore for a few extra pieces of *back-sheesh*. How the women of Europe reach Africa, at this point, I am unable to explain.

Mr. Scott, an assistant at the American consulate, came to our relief, and took us to a small but comfortable hotel. The landlord, a native of the town, had spent several years in England, and had returned to open a house for the accommodation of English traders. The inhabitants are chiefly straight-haired Moors and curly-headed Negroes, but there are also mulattoes, quadroons and octoroons. They are great smokers of hashish or Indian hemp. The population numbers about 10,000. The natives are Mohammedans, the foreign residents are generally Jews and Roman Catholics. The women very seldom appear in public, and when they do they are heavily veiled. Mr. Scott, in the absence of Colonel Mathews, would not allow us to go out into the streets alone, so after lunch we each mounted a horse, rode about town to see the old Roman bridge, the Jewish synagogue, the Catholic church and the prison which is nothing more than four high stone walls with a strong iron door in one side and a small opening into which the keeper permitted us to look. Almost every day orders are received from the Emperor to chop off a few heads. This is the only way he can govern his people and he does it in the "name of Allah."

I retired early, slept well and was wakened at sunrise by the inhabitants repeating their prayers. We were soon again on horseback for a ride into the country. What a glorious morning it was—a balmy atmosphere, beautiful fields of grain and trees laden with figs. The land really produces rich harvests of wheat after centuries of half cultivated and no fertilizers. Four miles out we reached the old Roman aqueduct, or what is left of it, and the battle field on which the English were literally massacred. Here, in Morocco, no one dies of consumption.

In the afternoon I returned to the "Rock" and had the pleasure of witnessing an illumination of the town in honor of the Queen, as well as a display on several men-of-war and other English steamers in the bay. During the night a Glasgow trading vessel, the "Spartan," Captain Upton in command, reached Gibraltar. He was bound for Genoa and Naples and I concluded to take a sail upon the Mediterranean. I had now time for reflection, letter writing and rest which I needed very much. We sailed close by the Island of Majorca and in the evening of the 4th of July entered the harbor of Genoa. I had all the next day to do up this noted and picturesque city.

During the night we cut loose and sailed between the island of Corsica and Elba, and in the afternoon struck a ground-swell. We had experienced no rough weather from the time we left Gibraltar; the surface of the sea was scarcely disturbed and yet our boat was incessantly rolling from starboard to larboard and *vice versa*. It was necessary for me to hold on to the railing. The Captain ordered the heavy anchor chains lying on deck to be fastened, as they were sliding from one side to the other. Several times I feared that we would all be engulfed. Twenty miles distant the Captain and I, standing on the bridge, could see the smoke rising from Vesuvius, and when the bright sun set, and we approached nearer, we could see the fire and smoke belching up as from a mighty engine. A pilot came on board and at 10 o'clock we were safely anchored in the beautiful bay of Naples.

First a hotel, a *valet de place* and then a general view of the city. The bay, which opens southward into the sea, has on three sides an irregular environment of mountains or bluffs, the highest of which is Vesuvius. From the old Castle of St. Elmo and other elevated points we had a picturesque view, which I really believe has no equal—the sea with its green islands and white villas, the bay with its shipping, and the city close by it with 300 churches and 600,000 inhabitants. Naples has many beautiful fireproof residences with flat roofs on which the people promenade and enjoy the atmosphere of the sea. The principal streets are broad and well paved with square blocks of ancient lava cemented together.

I had but four days to spend in this noted city, and the first I gave to the celebrated National Museum. Here are to be seen collections of statuary in stone and bronze, beautiful mosaics, copies of mural paintings, earthenware of many kinds, steel, iron and brass, copper, silver and gold coin—mechanical, culinary and surgical implements—jewelry of the highest style of art; vases, lamps and

candlesticks, all taken from buried Pompeii and Herculaneum. Of the thousands of relics stored here the bronze watercock and pipe which contains water hermetically sealed up 1,800 years is, perhaps, the most wonderful. I was inclined to disbelieve the statements of the books until I lifted it and shook it from side to side. Loaves of bread as found in the ovens, wheat and other cereals, skeletons of men, women and children, horses, dogs and cats, as well as many articles of minor importance, are here kept in glass cases and jars. The Secret Cabinet is only open to men; no woman of refinement would care to enter it. There is also here a gallery of the finest bronze statuary in the world. It contains the Sleeping Faun, the Dancing Faun, the Drunken Faun and other pieces of great value.

There is no Sabbath or rest day in Naples, it is only Sunday. I went to the Cathedral in the forenoon. What a splendid structure! What beautiful paintings and statuary! Incense filled the temple and music reverberated among the arches. A thousand wax candles lighted up the altar. It was a mixture of saint worship and art worship. In the afternoon I went to a Protestant missionary meeting. It was a plain hall. What a contrast in every way! They sang hymns, prayed and spoke of Jesus and his gospel. It is an error to suppose that the Neapolitans are not religious. They are indeed too religious or superstitious. Before the dawn of christianity they were apparently Pantheists; they worshiped every thing—the sun, the moon, the stars, the air, the earth, the sea, the groves and even the reproductive functions of men and animals. Nature is so prolific and exuberant in this region that the people love and worship it. Hence the extreme desire to represent every thing in art that is visible.

The next morning the railroad carried us to Resina on the east side of the bay, built near the site of old Herculaneum. Only a small portion of this once famous city has been uncovered. Gravity, no doubt, carried the hot lava down from the great cleft in Vesuvius whilst the storm blew the hot ashes in another direction upon Pompeii. To excavate Herculaneum may require centuries, as the lava buried it from 70 to 100 feet deep. The city must have been large, for the amphitheatre is supposed to have held 10,000 spectators.

Another train carried us on to Pompeii, six miles farther east. My *valet de place* procured a ticket and an officer took charge of us. We entered the Herculaneum gateway in the walls, 20 feet thick, and the same in height, built of hewn blocks of lava. Streets opened to the right and left, and we were soon in the center of an old city undergoing a slow resurrection. Nothing ever appeared

to me so real and marvelous. The streets are crooked and narrow, paved in places with blocks of lava in which wagon and cart wheels had worn ruts. There, in an open space, is a stone water trough from which horses and cattle drank two thousand years ago, and a bronze pipe brings water into it. We went direct to the Forum where the crowds assembled in the center of town. This is, by far, the most spacious and imposing spot in Pompeii. Here we have a view of some of the finest specimens of Pompeian architecture, a single view may be here inserted. The Temple of Jupiter, the Temple of Venus, the Temple of Fortune, the Temple of Neptune, the Temple of Augustus, the Basilica, the House of Apollo, the House of Diana, the House of Pansa, 300 feet long by 121 feet broad, in which the skeletons of five females were found, the House of the Dancing Faun, the largest and most elegant of the Pompeian houses, the House of the Vestals in which was found the skeleton of a dog, the House of Castor and Pollux, the House of Adonis and the House of Sallust, are all in a good state of preservation. I was specially interested in the mansion and wine cellars of old Diomede, the barracks in which many skeletons were found, the mills which show how two women turned the upper mill stone, the Soap Factory, the Tombs of the rich, the Public Bath Houses and the Tragic Theatre which held 5,000 people. Outside the walls is the great Amphitheatre which accommodated 10,000 spectators, and the lions den which opens into the arena. About one-fourth of the city is yet uncovered. Women were engaged carrying the ashes out over the walls in baskets on their heads. Before taking leave of these most astonishing scenes, I turned my eyes in the direction of Vesuvius, a cone-like mountain on this side, 3,500 feet high, and I wondered what explosives forced such quantities of ashes into the atmosphere and then dropped them down five or six miles distant upon wicked Pompeii.

The next day I was again at Resina, from which point I was advised to make the ascent of Vesuvius. A proprietor living here engaged to provide a horse and a guide who could speak English. To obtain a good view of the three streams of lava which were descending, I preferred an afternoon and evening excursion. Accordingly I set out at 3 o'clock, but instead of one I had two guides. The tourist in Italy can easily have a half dozen trotting after him with the hope of being useful and of picking up a five-franc piece. I permitted only one to accompany us and I would have been better pleased if he had been less officious. A gentle slope carried us along through vineyards planted in the ashes and over large patches

of rough scoria a full mile ; afterwards the ascent became more difficult. At several points we crossed a macadamized carriage road which led up, years ago, to the Hermitage. Now it is covered, in places, with rough black cinder, and we can only ascend on foot or horseback. At last we reached the Hermitage, used chiefly as a halting place for tourists, about 2,000 feet above the sea. It may be regarded as a bluff extending from the side of the cone whose base is forty miles in circumference.

With the Hermitage as a pivotal point, we may more easily represent the outlines of the situation. Facing the west we have far down before us the beautiful bay of Naples, the populous city and the sea with the bright sun hanging over it. On the right is a hot stream of lava descending to San Sabastian, now forming pools, now cascades and now burning the vineyards and cottages in its way. The stream on the left is much larger and about a mile down forms two branches, one flowing in the direction of Resina and the other still farther to the left, in the direction of Terre del Greco. The reported distances of the three streams from a common exit out of the crater are six, eight and ten miles. Great damage has been done in these several directions ; many vineyards, orchards and cottages, during the last ten months, have been buried forever from the sight of man. Far around on the extreme left is Pompeii lying in silence.

Facing about we ascended between the two streams over great heaps of rough scoria until we reached the highest point in this direction. Here we could look up through the deep cleft in the mountain at least a mile and a half. The cone-shaped summit of Vesuvius rose on our right 1,500 feet, covered with fire and smoke, and on our left rose Monte Somma, 1,000 feet. Half way up the side of the cone we could see the red lava escaping and running down as from a great furnace. It was from this deep cleft or gorge, no doubt, that the hot ashes were blown out upon Pompeii in 79. Retracing our steps we came to a point where the greater part of the hot lava was running under large heaps of scoria, and there we crossed over. The six-foot pole which my guide placed in my hand now became useful. Climbing over these heaps of cinder is what one cannot undertake except at the risk of his boots and life itself. My guides saved me more than once. One stream flowed in an open channel and we were obliged to leap over it. To obtain a full view of the bright streams of liquid fire which were precipitating themselves from point to point it was necessary to ascend the crater side of the great mountain. A full mile brought us to a point on

the side of the cone beyond which my guides thought it not prudent to venture and I agreed with them. I could only maintain my position from step to step by holding on to the short scrub oaks which grow in the loose sand and ashes among the rocks. My long staff could not always be relied upon, as it would sink into the ashes. At last I reached a piece of porphyritic rock which afforded me a brief resting place, though it might, at any time, have given way. Looking now downwards upon the hot streams of lava, and now upwards upon the bright stars, I said to myself, "What a strange place this is for an American who has no possible excuse for risking his life." We descended, but with even greater danger of falling headlong into the ashes and among the rocks. Again we leaped over the open stream of lava, and in doing so it occurred to me that I might, with my long staff, hook out a small quantity of this tenacious product of nature. It has a greater density than that of any former eruption, more like iron but when cold it is much blacker. It easily received the impression of one of the Pope's copper coin, and it is here represented with three other specimens, one of which floats in water. Every eruption produces a new variety of scoria. At 12 o'clock I reached Resina, and an hour after my hotel in Naples. The next day the railroad took me rapidly northward, 110 miles distant from the home of Sallust, Virgil and Tacitus, and placed me in Rome where I am trying to give my friends some account of what I have recently seen.

This chapter may be closed with a brief account of recent events in Italy. Out of many conflicting elements which had sprung up, two have become prominent. These are represented by Pope Pius IX., who announces himself a prisoner in the Vatican, and King Victor Emanuel who, at this moment, is taking possession of the Quirinal. Both have been desirous of the unification of Italy, but the means which they proposed to use to accomplish the result have been radically different. The Pope has not only desired to remain at the head of the Roman Catholic church, but he has had the ambition to exercise all the powers of a political and military sovereign. On the other hand the King believes in a separation of the church from the state. He believes, too, in a liberal monarchy in which the people choose their representatives in parliament, in free schools, in a free press, in the freedom of worship, in the confiscation of monastic estates and in the equal taxation of property. As a consequence the Pope excommunicated him.

In 1846 Pius IX. became the successor of Gregory XVI. and gave evidence of becoming a liberal ruler and head of the church. But

in 1848 he was obliged to flee from Rome to a castle in the neighborhood of Naples. In the meantime the Austrians advanced upon northern Italy which stimulated the people to revolution as they were without a leader. Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, however, offered his services, but was defeated at Novara in 1849. The King immediately abdicated in favor of his son Victor Emanuel. These were revolutionary times. France and Venice had become republics and the Italians felt the power of their oppressors. Many of them were working for a republic. The Pope, however, returned to Rome in April, 1850, and Italy was soon after governed, partly by Austria, partly by Victor Emanuel, partly by Reggio, King of Naples, and partly by the Pope. Count Cavour and the Crimean war brought Victor Emanuel to the front. The policy of his government was highly approved by the Italians. In 1859 the Emperor Napoleon III. and Victor Emanuel declared war against Austria and the result was the battles of Magenta and Solferino, the Peace of Villafranca and the surrender of Lombardy. A further result was that by a vote of the people in 1860, Tuscany, Modena, Parma and Romagna were to become subject to the King of Sardinia. At the same time the Emperor Napoleon pledged himself to defend the Pope in his claim to the Papal states. In the meantime Joseph Garibaldi, "the hero of the red shirt," took possession of Sicily in the name of Victor Emanuel, and soon after defeated the army of the King of Naples at Melazzo. Thus the King of Sardinia and Piedmont became the sovereign of the greater part of Italy with his seat of government at Florence. Ten years later, in 1870, the Emperor of France had need of all the troops he could collect, and he withdrew his support from the Pope. Victor Emanuel embraced the opportunity to unite all Italy under one liberal government, and while General Von Moltke was placing his forces around Paris General Cadorna was surrounding Rome. Paris resolved upon a heroic defense; Rome surrendered after a few hours of bombardment. Italy thus became united under a liberal Prince and King, whilst Germany became united under a much loved King and Emperor. Meanwhile France, after immense loss and humiliation, chooses what she will never regret—a republican form of government.

CHAPTER IX.

VENICE, AUGUST 2ND, 1871.

A Brief Description of Rome—The Seven Hills—The Old Temples—
The Ascent of the Palatinus—The Capitolinus—The Quirinal—
The Vatican—The Catacombs—Visit to Leghorn, Pisa, Florence
and Venice.

BEFORE taking leave of bright and sunny Italy I may venture upon a few additional paragraphs. Right glad am I that this land of heroes, orators, poets, artists and scientists can now adopt the American motto—*E Pluribus Unum*—from many governments one government. The long conflict between liberty and ultra montanism has been decided, and I doubt not in favor of liberty. A few months ago Pius IX. gathered up his crown of universal dominion, his glittering vestments and keys, his crucifixes and crosiers, his bric-a-brac and tinsel, his choice works of art, his bed and bedding and transferred them to the Vatican. The Quirinal had been his summer residence many years. The Italian people were once proud of the name Roman citizen, because they were united and were respected everywhere in the world, but afterwards were distracted and divided. In September last a new power entered Rome—a power born of the people—and Italy became a new nation. Victor Emanuel has not been in haste to change the seat of government from Florence to Rome. He has desired to treat the Pope with the highest respect and has given him, as a permanent residence, the most costly palace in the world. Italy, Sardinia, Sicily and the African provinces are united. The King now occupies the Quirinal.

As the season of the year was unfavorable for a lengthy stay in Rome, the Eternal City, I concluded to limit my sight-seeing to some of its most important features. Tourists, who have spent a portion of their earlier years in the study of the Latin classics, desire, first of all, to see what remains of the Seven Hills, the Old Temples, the Forum and the Via Sacra. Horace, in his graphic account of his journey to Brundisium, begins thus: "Aricia receives me going out of Magna Roma;" and Byron, many years afterwards on entering it, exclaims, "I am in Rome." When I entered my hotel and looked out of a fourth-story window I could only say, "Is it possible that I cannot remain here a full month?" The reader may never enter this historic city, but he may accompany me in imagination a few minutes.

Ancient Rome was built on the east side of the Tiber which, at this point, flows southward, and then westward, 16 miles into the sea. Irregular zig-zag walls about seven miles in extent surrounded the hills upon which the old city was built. The walls are known as those of Servius Tullius. Modern Rome is built on both sides of the Tiber. It includes several other hills, and it is surrounded by a much larger circuit of walls. Let us now ascend the Palatinus, near the center of the city. It is a four-sided hill, having a girth at the base of about 2,000 yards, and in the earlier centuries a height of about 110 feet. At present its summit measures about 1,000 feet in every direction and is chiefly used as a flower garden. The palaces of the kings, the consuls and the emperors crowned it many centuries. One of these buildings is said to have been seven stories high. At several points you may descend into the basements and be well satisfied that the occupants lived here in splendor.

The river forms the letter S and one of its curves approaches very near the hill. Swamp lands existed here and the Cloaca Maxima was constructed to drain this part of the city. Around the base of the hill many exciting and cruel scenes were witnessed during long centuries. Nowhere in the wide world have the depraved passions of men been exhibited so fully. On the north were the old Forum where the promiscuous crowds assembled, and the Via Sacra, part of which has been recently uncovered, 30 feet below the present pavement. This name was given to the street on account of the numerous temples on either side of it. Here stood the Temple of Saturn, the Temple of Vesta with its eternal fire, the Temple of Venus and Roma, the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the Temple of Concordia, the Temple of Fortune and many others, as well as triumphal arches. On the south was the great Circus Maximus, one

of the oldest institutions of Rome, enlarged at different periods to seat 350,000 spectators. On the east is the celebrated Appian Way, and over it, on stone arches, the aqueduct carried water to the Palatinus. Near-by still stands a portion of the great Colosseum. From the top of this magnificent piece of masonry 157 feet high—four-stories—Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite—you have a fine view of what remains of past centuries and of what now exists. Looking down into the arena where 5,000 wild animals and 10,000 captives were torn into pieces for the amusement of the people and in honor of Titus, you shudder and feel thankful that you live in a better age. This celebration lasted 100 days. Here, in this elliptical amphitheatre, 85,000 spectators could be seated to see the gladiators fight each other, as well as wild animals. On the west is the river and the old bridge, the Pons Palatinus. Here was the cattle market of ancient times, the slaughter shops and indeed the market for everything, because near the river.

Let us next ascend the Capitolinus and take another view of the city. This is the smallest of the Seven Hills, but historically the most important. It was well suited for a citadel and hence Romulus established his asylum here. The Temple of Jupiter was built upon the top of it, and at a later period the Temples of Juno and Minerva. These temples were afterwards destroyed and Monasteries and Christian churches took their place. The Palace of the Conservatori and the Capitoline Museum were built at a still later period, and here are preserved many valuable pieces of ancient and mediæval art—bronze and marble. This hill is northwest of the Palatinus and at one time a bridge connected them. On the side next to the Forum was the Tarpian Rock from which criminals were hurled. From this place the ancient Romans had a fine view of the Via Sacra, the temples, the palaces, the other hills and the yellow Tiber. Facing the north you have before you the greater part of modern Rome. Here was the Camp of Mars and here stands the Pantheon, the best preserved structure of ancient times. It is an immense dome representing the whole of the visible heavens, 140 feet high, with a round opening in the zenith by which it is lighted. Another mile northward, at the walls, is the Piazza del Popolo where the avenues radiate southward. Running northward from your standpoint is a long ridge or hill called the Quirinalis, on the summit of which stands the Royal Palace or Quirinal. Near the palace is the Ministry of War, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Finance. Still nearer the walls are the bath houses of Diocletian and the Pretorian Camp. Farther towards the east is another ridge

or hill called the Viminalis, on it is the oldest and largest of the 80 churches in Rome dedicated to the Virgin. It is called S. Maria Maggiore and beyond it is the great railroad station in which all the railroads center. Due east from the Capitolinus is the Esquilinus. On it stood the Baths of Titus and Nero. Part of it is now used as a vineyard. Turning towards the southeast you have before you the Colosseum, and beyond it is the Caelius, the highest of all the hills. At one time it was densely peopled, now it is almost deserted. On the south of it and near the walls stands the Lateran Palace, a magnificent structure, and before it stands the largest Obelisk of red granite that has been brought from Egypt. At the base of this hill and the Palatinus flows the Marrana, a small stream which was once conveyed in aqueducts; part of it supplied the famous Bath Houses of Caracalla. Last of all is the Aventinus on the south near the Tiber. It is now occupied by monasteries and vineyards.

But we must make several excursions before leaving the old city. The Vatican and the great Cathedral stand on the west side of the Tiber. The former contains several thousand apartments, but the ordinary tourist cares only to see the art galleries, the libraries and the Sistine Chapel. Anyone of these will repay a visit to Rome. Near by is the great Temple dedicated to the memory of the Apostle Peter, who, it is supposed, was crucified here. We admire the massive pillars in front, the great bronze doors, the immense dome inside, the sarcophagi of the Popes, the numerous chapels and the bronze statue of St. Peter. The last named is that of Jupiter Capitolinus in a sitting position with a new head placed upon the body. The big-toe of one foot is prominent on the pedestal, and it has become bright by the people kissing it. A mother with two children came while I was standing by; she stooped a little and kissed the toe, then she lifted the children and each one smacked its lips upon this part of the image in imitation of the mother.

An early drive, four miles out upon the famous Appian Way, was necessary to see the equally famous tomb and monument of Cecilia Metella and the Catacombs of the early Christians. The former, on the left, is the best preserved of all the sepulchral monuments of importance in the neighborhood of Rome. The latter on the right shows nothing more than underground passages cut out of the soft rocks and crypts in which the dead were laid. Returning by the same way my *valet de place* pointed out a few spots in the walls where the shells, ten months before, had struck, though the greater part of the bombardment took place at Porta Pia on the northeast side of the city, not far from the Quirinal, the offices of the ministers and the railroad station.



THE POPE—FROM EUROPE IN CALM AND STORM.
By CHAS. A. NICHOLS & Co.

In this brief sketch we have necessarily omitted many important points that might be interesting to the reader. Every foot of ground in the city seems to have a history. Its monasteries, churches, palaces, villas, arches, pillars and statues are too numerous to mention. We leave the historic city with sincere regrets, but deeply impressed with the thought that the union of church and state, for many centuries, has kept the people strangely in ignorance and superstition. A large proportion of its adult population can neither read nor write. As a result many of the immoralities of heathen Rome remain. The city is still infested with evil spirits which have not been exorcised. Its crowded police courts, its large non-producing classes, its hospitals for the debauched and unfortunate, its high rate of taxation and high death-rate, all show the importance of a higher degree of general intelligence, that is to say, free schools, an open Bible and a free press.

Though I assured Mr. M., an American clergyman, that he was not taking the Roman fever, he insisted that I should accompany him to Leghorn, otherwise I would have delayed a few days longer in Rome and then gone direct to Florence. We had a pleasant ride on the railroad in full view of the sea at several points. The fresh sea breeze inspired him with hope and the next day he felt much better. I bade him farewell and hastened on to Pisa, where I stopped off between trains to see the Old Cathedral in which Galileo studied the movements of the great chandelier, and also to ascend the Leaning Tower. Of all the extraordinary things in art, the latter is certainly the most astonishing. It is built of pure white marble, 190 feet high, with eight stories, seven of which are surrounded by pillars and every one seems to be falling. The upper story, it is said, extends 15 feet over the base on one side. To ascend the tower requires great self-possession and courage, for every step you take, whether ascending or descending, you imagine the whole structure is tumbling down. Every pillar, arch and floor is set so as to incline in the same direction and yet the center of gravity is kept 10 feet within the base.

In the evening I reached Florence, a city which, for an all-the-year residence, is the most delightful in Europe, the temperature varying only 30 degrees F. It is situated on both sides of the Arno and has long been regarded as the nursery of the fine arts. King Victor Emanuel II. made it the seat of government in 1865. The history of Florence, in many respects, is like that of Athens; it has been the home of many distinguished artists, scholars, poets, orators, philosophers, theologians and martyrs. Here religion and science

have had many conflicts. Its art galleries are scarcely second to any in the world. In the center of one room is a table in mosaic which is valued at 200,000 dollars. The Duomo furnished Michael Angelo a good pattern when he undertook the construction of St. Peter's at Rome.

I hastened on to another famous Italian city, passing on the right and left Bologna, Modena, Parma, Ferrara, Verona, Ravenna and Padua. These have each an interesting history, but no city in the world can be compared to Venice. It is built in the sea upon 72 islands. A Grand Canal, from one to two hundred feet broad, separates them; on either side are palaces whose varied architecture gives to the city an indescribable charm. Fancy yourself in a gay gondola with an agreeable companion, sailing along with hundreds of others in this serpentine channel at sunset. Beautiful marble structures are seen at every turn—Grecian, Roman and Mediæval—built at a time when the wealth of Venice was only surpassed by that of mighty Rome. A famous bridge, the Rialto, spans the channel and upon it busy hucksters, in one-story shops, sell a thousand trinkets. Then 306 other bridges must be added which cross the numerous smaller canals. Over these 100,000 inhabitants daily walk, while beneath them boats with merchandise and gondolas float from place to place. The people have no need of horses or carriages, and there are none in the city.

We go next to Piazza San Marco, 600 feet long by 300 feet broad. It is the only large square in the city, and it opens into the sea. On the one side is the old Palace of the Doges, and on the other are the Mint and the Library of St. Mark. Two magnificent granite columns, each of a single block, stand near the sea. Public executions take place between these. The crowds are accustomed to assemble here, to promenade and to witness the feeding of the pigeons at 2 o'clock every day. An old lady, years ago, left a large sum of money for this purpose, and now it is considered a religious duty. The old Ducal Palace, built in 829, was afterwards changed into a Cathedral. Venitian Art, which ranks among the highest, is very abundant, but can not be even referred to.

This famous maritime city was, for many years, the capital of the Republic of Venice. It was founded in 452, the inhabitants of Lombardy and Venitia being compelled to flee before the army of Attila took refuge on these islands and built the city. We hasten on to Vienna by the way of Gratz.

CHAPTER X.

GENEVA, APRIL 28TH, 1872.

Seven Months in Vienna—The Austrians a Mixed People—Preparations for War—One Month in Munich. A Tour Through Switzerland—Ascent of Mont Rigi—Visit to the Valley of the Chamouni.

SEVEN months spent in Vienna at post-graduate medical studies, in the great University and Hospital, have added much to my experience in Europe, but the reader must be content with a very brief account of the city and of the Austrian government. Vienna, like Berlin, has about one-fourth the population of Paris. It is much more like the French capital than any other city in Europe, except Brussels. The old walls have been removed and a great circular boulevard has taken their place called the "Ring." The Danube is about three miles from the center of the city, but a branch, which is used as a canal, passes through it. The Prater is the favorite place of resort for the Viennese, corresponding to the Bois de Boulogne of Paris. The Imperial palace is a confused mass of buildings, occupying a large extent of ground, and including the Imperial Library, very valuable, the Museum of Antiquities, also very valuable, and the Imperial Riding School. The Belvidere Picture Galleries are scarcely second to any in Europe. The churches and theatres are large and handsome. The Government has recently spent large sums of money for the advancement of education, following in this, as in other respects, the example of Germany. If the city is noted for its licentiousness, it is also noted for

its provisions for the sick and the unfortunate. The Imperial and Royal Hospital connected with the Medical Department of the University is an immense affair. It occupies about sixty acres of ground. The catalogue of 1870 shows that over 21,000 patients were treated in it that year. Here a large number of foreign medical students assemble to take advantage of the superior opportunities presented. Rokitansky, Hebra, Braun and Billroth may be mentioned as distinguished professors.

As the present Empire of Austria is made up of large provinces, inhabited by separate nationalities, so there are many languages spoken in the capital. Of these the German, the Hungarian, the Bohemian and the Italian are the chief. The study of languages is therefore an everyday work of the inhabitants. The German is the language of the schools. Educated people very generally speak several languages; and it seems necessary for the trading and commercial classes to speak a half-dozen, imperfectly, at least. Music is the study in which all can engage, and the people are exceedingly fond of it. Beer and wine are the national beverages, and it would be useless to say that they are not used in great excess. The city is also noted for its excellent hotels, restaurants and cafés which are well supplied with foreign newspapers. Living is not extravagant unless the resident wishes to make it so.

The Austrian government, though now at peace with all mankind, played a very important antecedent part in the great war between France and Germany. It was necessary for Prussia to test her needle gun, her steel cannon, and her improved system of military organization and drill, before inciting a quarrel with France. The victory of Sadowa was to precede that of Sedan; but the Austrians claim that they have now the best musket on the continent, and they are making them in large numbers. So, also, they claim to be making a better field piece and siege gun than the Prussians. My friend, Dr. S., who spent seven months with me in Paris, and also seven months with me in Vienna, accompanied me on two occasions through the great artillery works outside the city. Franz-Josef, who is Emperor of Austria, and King of Hungary is determined not to be caught napping again, and he is spending millions of florins in preparing for war. It is reported that he will soon have 600,000 men ready to march against his enemies. Prussia has taught the

workingmen of Europe that the only way to live in times of peace is to pay one man to stand with a musket in his hand, while two others are working to provide food for the three. She has also taught the continental nations that wars in the future cannot continue long; and that during these weeks or months all able-bodied men must enter the ranks, and that the women must work in the fields.

I spent the month of March in Munich, the capital of Bavaria. It is situated on the left bank of the Isar, a branch of the Danube, which flows from the Alps. Here one has a good opportunity to study South German character and manners. Munich is a handsome little city of 170,000 inhabitants. It is noted for its art galleries, its colored glass works, its manufacture of bronze statuary, its porcelain works and its breweries. It is astonishing what quantities of beer are brewed in this city and sold in all parts of the kingdom and elsewhere. Its Public Library is next to that of Paris, containing 800,000 volumes, besides valuable manuscripts. The statue of Bavaria, outside the city, is one of the largest pieces of bronze ever cast. It is 64 feet high and its nose is 2 feet long.

The Imperial government has agreed upon certain changes in the coins, weights and measures of Bavaria, as well as other parts of the Empire; and night schools are now held in all parts of the city. The trading people must be instructed in the use of them. As every tourist knows, there is great need for a more uniform currency in the German states.

The Bavarians are full of their exploits in France. They were quite willing to sacrifice themselves for the sake of German unity. They will now have an opportunity to support not only a Royal family at home but an Imperial family at Berlin.

Passing hastily along the Southern border of Wurtemberg, and crossing Lake Constance, known in Germany as the *Boden See*, through which the Rhine flows, I entered Switzerland. This land of the *Schweizer* cheese is not all mountains; it has many beautiful valleys, lakes and rivers. Its inhabitants are a liberty-loving, industrious and frugal people. Their 22 cantons are independent of each other, and yet they are united, and form a confederacy or republic. Three languages are spoken by the people. In the cantons bordering on Germany, the German is spoken; in those bordering on France, the French, and in those bordering on Italy, the Italian. Apparently, the persecuted and oppressed of the surrounding nations took refuge here, in this mountainous district, where they could conceal themselves more easily from the blood-hounds of the church and state.

The railroad carried me first to Zurich, the birthplace of the reformation under Zuinglius. It is also noted for its university and especially at present for its medical school, but I could delay only a few hours.

Lucerne was my next stopping place. It has long been a popular resort for tourists; hotel accommodations are good. The high mountains on the north, covered with snow, and a broad valley on the south, dotted with silver lakes, towns and villages make this portion of Switzerland the delight of all visitors. We took a steamer in the afternoon and sailed to Vitznau, and from there, by a novel kind of railroad, ascended the Rigi, 6,000 feet above the level of the sea. Large hotels are here, that tourists may have an opportunity to witness the sun rising upon the Alps and lifting the clouds from the valley below. Certainly no spot in Europe can present to the beholder so much magnificence and beauty—snow-capped mountains in the background, and a beautiful valley filled with lakes, green fields and villages in front.

Berne, though the capital of Switzerland, shares the honor with Zurich and Lucerne. It is situated in the midst of lofty mountains, of great diversity and grandeur. It is also noted for its bear pits. Apparently the inhabitants idolize the brown bear as the Venetians do the pigeons.

The Hotel Gibbon, in Lausanne, on the north side of Lake Geneva, received me, where I remained one night, and then hastened on to Vevay and Martigny. The next morning I set out for the valley of Chamouni on horseback, my guide taking the lead on foot. At noon we reached Tête Noir—a mere resting place, where one may obtain something to eat and drink. The day was hot for the middle of April, and water, on either hand, was leaping down from the snow covered hills with surprising force. We passed five points of glaciers, which, during the winter, had gradually descended to the bottom of the valley. In the summer they are melted off, leaving the crushed granite rocks visible. The largest of these, called Argentière, was carrying large boulders on its surface which in a year or two would be dropped into the valley. Some move very slowly, owing to the obstructions on either side, and the inclination of the mountains. At 6 o'clock we reached the village of Chamouni, 3,425 feet above the level of sea. I was welcomed as the first tourist of the season by the proprietor of our hotel, and he assured me that unless all signs failed I would see the top of Mont Blanc in the morning. Tourists sometimes remain a whole week and are obliged to leave the valley without seeing the round sugar-loaf cone of the

great mountain. The fog rising from the melting snow would completely conceal it. I was awakened in good time in the morning, and took my place on the opposite side of the valley, and there waited until the rays of the sun struck the cone and cleared away the clouds. I was favored with a clear view of the top of it for at least twenty minutes. It was not my intention to make an attempt to ascend Mont Blanc or to cross the great ice field or Mer de Glace, and so I returned to Martigny by the same crooked road. I however embraced the opportunity to make a detour of a mile or so over the end of one of the glaciers. Their slow movement and their power to crush the solid rocks interested me most of all. They are forever moving, wearing away the mountains and filling up the valleys.

The next morning the railroad carried me from Martigny to Ville-neuve, and from thence a steamer the entire length of Lake Geneva. The weather was fine and we had a delightful sail of 40 miles. The tourist as he enters Geneva from the lake has a magnificent view of the city on either hand. The inhabitants are noted for their intelligence, their love of liberty and the beautiful, as well as for their industry and skill in the manufacture of watches, clocks and musical instruments. In the evening when the sky is clear they have a delightful view of Mont Blanc, raising his head above his fellows, 30 miles distant, and not far from the border line of Italy.

CHAPTER XI.

AT HOME, JULY 4TH, 1872.

My Third Visit to Paris—The Condition of the City—The Assembly at Versailles—Washington and Thiers—The Work of the Assembly—M. Thiers Elected President of the Republic—The President and Ministers Resign—Resignations not Accepted (January 19, 1872)—Home Again.

IN closing this series of chapters it is only necessary to give a brief account of my third visit to the French capital including a few pages concerning the Republic. After spending four days in Geneva, the refuge and resting place of John Calvin and other distinguished Frenchmen who were forced into exile, I hastened on to Paris by the way of Dijon. It was the 1st of May when I entered the city and I was greatly surprised to find that nearly every trace of the terrible insurrection was obliterated. I had seen Paris in her glory, in her agony and in her shame, and now, after eleven months, I was permitted to see her again, fair as the morning and beautiful as spring. What a wonderful people the Parisians are! In my absence from the city I had made an effort to read the newspapers guardedly, being well convinced that Paris had but few friends outside of France. There were jealousies, misgivings and all sorts of conjectures expressed, and I was not prepared to realize what the municipal government, in harmony with the national government, had accomplished. Half the immense war debt paid off! Three-fourths of the German army sent home!

And Paris, with the exceptions of the Hôtel de Ville and the Tuileries restored! The Germans themselves were surprised and began to wish that they had required an indemnity of ten milliards instead of five.

Without being aware of the fact, I found, on my arrival, that I had completed the figure 8 on the continent. This double circuit gave me a fair opportunity to judge of France as compared with other countries in Europe. Parisian writers, during the seige, frequently boasted of their country and of their city, but I was disposed to regard all such rhetorical flourishes as the ebullitions of patriotism in very trying circumstances. It is nevertheless true that France is the garden of Europe. In climate, in soil and in geographical position it certainly surpasses all other countries, and its productiveness no one can dispute. As to their boastful claim that Paris is the center of the civilized world, I need only add, that it is a city which for many centuries has controlled the world of fashion, and in many other respects is without a rival.

In the few days that I had to spare my first duty, as I believed, was to visit those parts of the city where the greatest amount of damage had been done by the Communards. I said to the driver "Take me direct to Place Vendôme." Under the Empire I had studied the beautiful art-work in *basso relievo* on the bronze surface of the column standing there—infantry, cavalry and artillery ascending in a spiral manner, and I had ascended it inside upon stone steps and from the top of it had looked out upon the city. Returning from Berlin, I had seen it prostrate and broken into a thousand pieces by the vandals of the Commune, and now again as by magic it stood before me, new, bright and beautiful as ever. The blackened and broken down buildings all along the track of the insurrection had disappeared in my absence, and better ones occupied their places. The Parisians, as if ashamed of the appearance of their city, united all their energies to restore it, and, with the exception of a spot here and there, no trace of the devilish work of the Commune could be seen. Place du Trône was entirely restored. The Hôtel de Ville was fenced in, but arrangements were already in progress to restore it. The Tuileries and the Palace of St. Cloud may remain in their blackened condition as memorials of a double crime—Imperialism and Communism.

This brief account of my third visit to Paris would be imperfect, if I did not devote a few pages to the work thus far of the new

government. The preliminaries of peace and the signing of the treaty at Frankfort have been referred to. Next to this in importance was the refusal of the Assembly to hold its meetings in Paris. Through a supreme effort of M. Thiers, Versailles was agreed upon as a substitute for Fontainebleau and here the Assembly still meets. Paris during the seige had become republican. Indeed it had become in part ultra-republican, that is communistic. The Monarchists were in the majority in the Assembly, and when it suited them they united against the Republicans and Communists. On this question of a change in the seat of government they united, and their intentions were well understood. They did not wish to be within the influence of republican Paris. The Bourbons were confident that they could manipulate the Chief Executive, as he had been Prime Minister under Louis Philippe, and the Bonapartists hoped that by some strange fatality fortune would once more favor them. Though neither of these parties intended such a result, the insurrection in Paris followed immediately, and a civil war would have resulted if the Germans had not been in the country.

As there was but one man in the American colonies in whom the people could place entire confidence when they proposed to establish a Republic, so in France there was but one man who could command the respect of all parties. George Washington and Louis Adolphe Thiers will always stand first among the founders of republics. M. Thiers was a man of extraordinary talents, of great physical endurance, of irreproachable character and exalted patriotism. He had also great experience as a statesman; in debate he was thoroughly master of himself. His programme was the restoration of order, the payment of the immense national debt and the liberation of the territory. He was unwilling to state what form of government he preferred; his party, he said, was France. He wished to be above all parties, so that he might be useful to his country in the most trying period of its history. No one believed that he would assist in the restoration of the Empire; nor did any one suppose that he would favor the Legitimists; their only hope was to get rid of him. The Orleanists thought they would be able to draw him over to their side, and after a failure of the Republic which they all agreed to work for, to make him their leader; on the other hand the Republicans believed that time would favor their cause. Before three months had passed around, and while he and his ministers were straining every nerve to suppress the insurrection, to negotiate a loan and to liberate the forts on the north of Paris,

M. Ternaux made an insidious attack upon him in the Chamber. M. Thiers thought it his duty, considering his peculiar relations to the Assembly, to defend himself from the tribune and to call for a vote of confidence. He said his resignation was ready. The Assembly held that it was a constituent body, and that it could elect a new Chief Executive at any time. Nevertheless a vote was taken and M. Thiers was sustained by a very large majority. On this day, May 21st, MacMahon's army entered Paris and a change of feeling began to take place. After the suppression of the insurrection the Assembly passed a vote that M. Thiers and the army deserved well of the country. This was a day of triumph for the Chief Executive, and soon after a movement was made by the Orleanists—strange as it may appear—to make him President of the Republic for five years. The Monarchists had no one to take his place and they believed they would lose nothing by at least talking about it.

M. Thiers had set out with a cabinet consisting of conservative men of all parties except Communists and this was a cause of irritation to them. He had, however, taken three prominent Republicans into his confidence, members of the Government of Defense, and had given them the most important places. M. Favre became Minister of Foreign Affairs for which he was especially well qualified; M. Picard became Minister of the Interior and M. Simon, Minister of Public Instruction. This gave the people a fair chance to establish the republic. The politics of the government was placed, in a large measure, in their hands, and M. Picard was obliged to show his hand immediately, in the appointment of Prefects in the departments, Mayors in the cities, and in the introduction of a bill, on the 22d of March, providing for Municipal Elections. Other bills of great importance were presented, as the Military Service Act and the Public Instruction Act, as well as a bill providing for General Councils for the government of the Departments. These bills related directly to the form of government France was to choose, and there was much time spent upon them. The bills relating to loans, to the payment of the national debt, and the removal of the army of occupation, were run through in haste. Commissions were appointed to take charge of all the important bills and to report them with modifications and suggestions. The Bourbons seemed to be more willing to spend time upon investigations than upon useful legislation. The conduct of many army officers and state officials under the Empire, under the Government of Defense and under the Commune had to be investigated, including that of Bazaine, Trochu

and Gambetta, and 35,000 prisoners. At one time fifty-two committees were at work besides a large number of commissions. No other than M. Grévy could have presided over such a body of men entertaining every shade of political sentiment. The Minister of the Interior could not expect, in the circumstances, to occupy his place a long time. In the selection and appointment of Prefects for the departments and Mayors for the cities, M. Picard often came in conflict with the politicians of the country, and after a service of three months he believed it his duty to resign. M. Lambrecht, the Minister of Commerce, took the place of M. Picard and M. Lefranc succeeded M. Lambrecht. About the same time, General Cissey took the place of General LeFlô. These changes seemed to be in favor of the Orleanists, but M. Thiers did not think so. To govern the country it is necessary for me, he said, to keep on good terms with the majority in the Assembly.

Our next section may include the outlines of what occurred up to the 1st of September. The insurrection being suppressed the people took courage and united all their energies to accomplish the work before them. They believed in the sincerity and ability of the men at the head of the government and were ready to give their last franc, and even to mortgage their lands in order to pay off the war debt. They had got rid of Communism, at immense cost, by crushing it, and they were on a fair way to get rid of Prince Bismarck and the German army. This was due in a large measure to the energy and talent of M. Thiers and the people gave him credit for it. The Monarchists did not suppose that an event would occur which would give to him such a broad field for the display of his varied talents. In the field of diplomacy Prince Bismarck found his equal; as a Chief Executive he faced a powerful insurrection and subdued it, and now on the tribune he is required to defend himself against a combination of Monarchists. How has he acted? Like a wise statesman and true diplomat he said to the Assembly, "You are my sovereign, I am for France; I wish nothing for myself; I prefer that you instruct me." Above all they feared his honesty and his eloquence, for they saw no way by which they could prevent him from speaking. As deputy he had a large constituency to serve, and therefore he had a right to speak on all subjects. They said, if he speaks every day he will lay a solid foundation for a republic. The hot days of summer have no effect upon him. If they could have agreed among themselves they might have elected some aspirant either Emperor or King, but this was impossible and M.

Thiers knew it very well. They had a majority in the Assembly when united; but divided they could do nothing. They were enemies of each other, as well as enemies of the Republic. They could have dissolved the Assembly and ordered a new election against the will of the Republicans, but in doing so they would have taken the risk of being defeated themselves. Special elections had taken place in consequence of resignations at Bordeaux, and these demonstrated that the people approved of the policy and acts of the new government. Of necessity, therefore, the Assembly continued to work, M. Thiers urging the deputies forward and the people endorsing his efforts.

The Monarchists continued to criticise the administration on all occasions in their newspapers. Apparently nothing that would bear a political construction was done right. Their policy was to keep up an excitement in the country by a system of alarms. M. Thiers could easily bear the newspaper criticisms, but he could not endure the misrepresentation of facts in the Assembly. One of the grievances expressed frequently in debate was this, that M. Thiers, had not opened fire upon Paris on the 19th of March, the day after the assassination of Thomas and Lecomte. Another was that he received too many deputations. The fact is he treated all with respect, and although they sometimes exaggerated what he said they were a means of information to him which he very much needed. A third grievance was presented in a formal manner in the Assembly; M. de Meaux by resolution on the 24th of August demanded the immediate disbanding of the National Guards. In Lyons they persisted in carrying the red flag; but M. Thiers replied that the law required the Guards to be disbanded as rapidly only as the new army could be organized to take their place. Moreover he assured the Assembly that no trouble could arise at present in France. Notwithstanding the passionate demonstrations, which in the French Assembly are of frequent occurrence, the commission reported the Rivet bill which conferred upon M. Thiers the title of President of the Republic. It was finally passed, after much discussion, August 31st, by a vote of 491 to 94. From the preamble agreed upon it was plain that the Monarchists who voted in the affirmative merely intended to honor the Chief Executive without in any manner recognizing the Republic.

In the meantime M. Jules Favre having completed the work assigned him as Minister of Foreign Affairs, thought it his duty to resign after a year of incessant labor and great responsibility. M. Thiers very reluctantly accepted his resignation and selected M. de

Remusat, a man of liberal political views, high social standing and great learning, to take his place. M. Jules Simon was now the only pronounced Republican in the cabinet, and the friends of the Republic began to tremble for their cause.

Another brief section will embrace all that we have to say concerning the administration of M. Thiers. The law making him President instead of Chief of the Executive Power, did not appear to be of any special advantage to him, for he claimed to be governed by the agreement at Bordeaux. The disposal of the numerous prisoners proved to be a much more serious undertaking than was at first supposed, for M. Thiers had publicly said that there should be no transportations without trial. After the death of M. Lambrecht, M. Casimer Périer, was called to take his place, October 11th, but, like his predecessors, he found the Ministry of the Interior very difficult to manage. M. Lefranc succeeded him but he too could not remain long. The Monarchists in their effort to demoralize the administration chose to operate through the Department of the Interior. The Prefects, sub-Prefects and Mayors could be easily approached, and any trouble arising among them had to be referred to the Minister.

The arrangement of the deputies in the Chamber continues as under the Empire. The Imperialists, the Legitimists and the Orleanists occupy the right and right-center, whilst the Conservatives, the Republicans and the Communists occupy the left and left-center. The attendance was unusually large during the winter, and foreigners who were admitted by tickets declare that the scenes which they witnessed in the heat of debate were beyond description. The Orleanist Princes gave notice, on the 18th of December, that they would not occupy their seats. There are 750 places or seats in the chamber but they are never all occupied on account of sickness, deaths, resignations and other causes. Fortunately for France she has at this time two distinguished citizens who stand preëminently above their fellows, because they are able to govern themselves. One is M. Grévy, who presides with grace and dignity over the largest and most turbulent Assembly in the world. I need not say that the other is M. Thiers, the President of the Republic. Both are disinterested patriots. They ask nothing for themselves. Their only ambition is to serve their country.

On the 7th of December M. Thiers read an unusually lengthy message from the tribune, in which he fully exposed the situation of the country. There were interruptions and murmurs on the right,

and he was obliged to ask the deputies to hear what he had to say. He showed clearly that material order was everywhere established, but he could not say so much of moral order. He referred to the importance of a clearly defined future, but he thought it better not to be in haste. He urged the deputies to be patient, and to look to God, the sole disposer of time and events. He referred to foreign relations and assured the deputies that everything was calm. He referred to the liberation of the territory and to the financial situation with great satisfaction. He then passed to the important question of the reorganization of the army, to the question of compulsory service and to the importance of an educated soldiery. His address produced a good impression. It restrained the impulsive tendencies of both the right and the left.

On the following day M. Duchâtel and M. Humbert demanded the return of the Assembly to Paris, but in this they were defeated. The Monarchists were afraid of Republican Paris.

The 19th of January was a solemn day. The debate on new taxes had already occupied twenty sittings and the time had come for a final vote. M. Thiers was opposed to a tax on raw material and was listened to very impatiently. He was defeated by a vote of 360 to 318, and was so much exercised, that the next day he sent in his resignation as President of the Republic. There was a general expression of surprise and unwillingness to accept it, and on motion only eight deputies voted in the affirmative. A large committee, with M. Benoist d'Azy as chairman, was appointed to wait upon M. Thiers, and to read the resolution of the Assembly to him. The President, like a true Frenchman, completely broke down, but after a few moments rallied and addressed the committee in a most tender and respectful manner. He withdrew his resignation and requested the committee to report accordingly. What made the situation more serious was this, that the ministers had also handed in their resignations at the same time, but pledged themselves with the President, to attend faithfully to their official duties until their successors presented themselves.

Passing on to the middle of March we find M. de Guiraud and others making the statement that "the Assembly goes one way and the President goes the other." Another speaker, M. de Lavergne, says of the President: "He has rendered a Monarchy very difficult, perhaps impossible." M. Thiers, like our great Lincoln, was fond of a joke, and in the presence of the Monarchists said, laughing at them to their faces: "You are three competitors for a single throne,

not one of you will ever sit on it, for the other two will take care to prevent him."

From this time on through the month of June, the Conservatives of the right-center made frequent efforts, by calling on the President, to induce him to favor a limited Monarchy, but he usually replied that he intended to live up to the agreement at Bordeaux. Some of the speakers apparently took pleasure in harrassing him by the use of such expressions as this, "The government has Ministers, but not a Ministry," referring to the fact that he required all except two or three to lay their correspondence before him every day. On one occasion he said from the tribune, being much provoked, "You had better wait until the territory has been evacuated before you push me to extremities, because then the task will be on a level with your capacities." On another occasion he is reported to have said: "You wish to be Conservatives and I also wish it; but there is only one way of being so; that is, by establishing a conservative Republic." With this expression the Monarchists of the positive kind abandoned the President, and only sought an opportunity to betray him; but the Republicans rallied around him as they had not done before. M. Thiers knew as well, and perhaps better than any man in France, that an attempt made to establish a Monarchy would immediately result in anarchy and a civil war.

I left Paris with many regrets, and hastened on to London where I delayed a few weeks visiting the hospitals, surgical clinics and other places of interest. I need scarcely add that I found among the Londoners a very general feeling of hostility to France. The average Englishman is a Monarchist, and seems unwilling to believe that any part of Europe, outside of Switzerland, can become Republican. Thence, by the way of Liverpool, westward, to the land of the free and the home of the brave.

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